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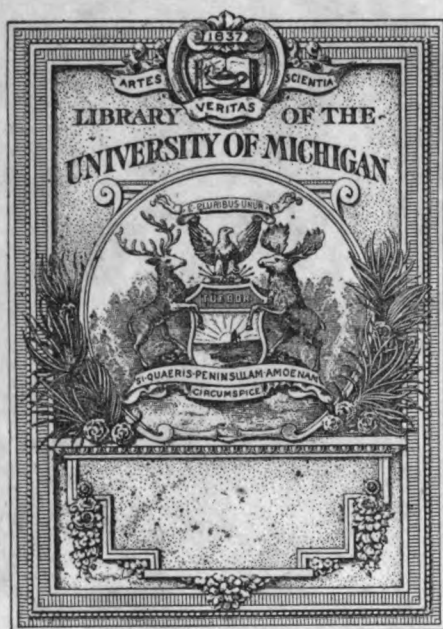
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The Catholic University Bulletin.

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN FRANCE.

In this hour of supreme trial every Catholic worthy of the name owes to the Church of France his fullest sympathy. The storm that has been long threatening, and that in the near past has already worked partial ruin, has broken in all its fury over the heads of the clergy and people of what was once the most Christian nation of Europe, but now seems to aspire to another primacy, that of Antichrist himself. With our sympathy go our earnest prayers, first that the leaders of the Church may be enriched with the prudence, courage, and moral stamina needed in the dire conflict that is opening; second, that the sacrament of unity be not broken amid all the passions that are likely to be let loose over the battle-field now spread out before the gaze of a somewhat puzzled humanity, to which the intensely anti-religious character of the French Revolution has never been quite clear enough. The Apostolic See, never wanting to its faithful children in their gravest calamities, has taken up the gage of battle, and we may rest assured that the outcome of the conflict will not be dishonorable; that the principles of religious liberty and ecclesiastical independence will be safeguarded at whatever cost; that the See of Peter, which has countless times, and under every form of government, maintained with success the rights of the Church of Jesus Christ will issue victorious from the present battle, no matter how great the astute ingenuity of its opponents, or how carefully planned their control of every exit from the new prison that the enemies of Catholicism have constructed for it in the heart of Europe, on the morrow of the German Kulturkampf, and before we are ready to celebrate the first centenary of

Catholic Emancipation in Great Britain. It is admitted on all sides that in this religious combat a new factor, Public Opinion, will have much to say, and will help greatly to brush aside, at every phase of the battle, the hypocritical pleas and excuses that the enemies of all genuine religion will not fail to put forth. THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN will keep its readers duly informed of the great principles at stake, the arguments of our adversaries and their successful refutation. We shall continue to publish all important documents bearing upon the situation, and have made arrangements with capable writers in France to put before the Catholic public the actual situation as it develops from time to time. We shall also publish articles dealing with specific points of principle that do not greatly differ in this persecution from the points at issue in other memorable conflicts from the time of St. Gregory VII to the time of the saintly Pius VII. The nature of the Church as a perfect society, her right to self-government, her right to own and freely administer the gifts of the faithful and her places of worship, her willingness at all times to meet half-way the civil authority in all matters of disputed jurisdiction, and other theses, ever old but ever new, will come up for treatment in our pages, by competent writers, and from a modern and actual point of view. In the meantime we commend to our readers the ancient motto of the City of Paris, borrowed from the language of the Christian Fathers, and now eminently applicable to the condition of the Church in France: *Fluctuat nec mergitur*, she bends before the storm but she rides the waves with confidence, for her Captain is Jesus Christ, who has never yet failed to make the "portus salutis" in proper time, however violent the tempest and hopeless the outlook.

In the struggle into which he has entered, in the cause of truth and justice, the Holy Father may count on the heartiest devotion and the most steadfast loyalty of the Catholic University of America.

THE EDITOR.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN FRANCE.

The religious question in France is attracting the attention of the whole world. The American people more than any other, perhaps, are viewing the situation with particular curiosity, and all Catholics are awaiting with anxiety the result of the struggle, since the conflict which is going on there between the Church and the State is certainly the gravest in the whole history of Catholicism in its relation with any nation. And now that we are at the very moment of the crisis, it is more than interesting to summarize the elements and to review the successive steps of this vital problem. To place the facts, all the facts, before the reader with only such explanations as are necessary for a right understanding of their full import, is the purpose of this article. The reader will thus have matter sufficient from which he may form his own judgment. Our opinion when expressed will always be based on and supported by clear facts.

After the French Revolution, a convention took place between Pius VII and the French Government. This convention, known as the Concordat, was signed on the 15th of July, 1801 (26 Messidor, an IX), by J. Bonaparte, Cretet and Bernier in the name of the French Government, and by Cardinal Consalvi, Spina and Caselli in the name of the Pope. It was ratified on the 10th of September, 1801 (23 Fructidor, an X), and promulgated on the 18th of April, 1802 (18 Germinal, an X). By this convention it was agreed that a new division of the French dioceses should be made, that the archbishops and bishops were to be nominated by the Government, that to the Pope was to be reserved the right of giving the canonical institution to the candidate (art. 3, 4, 5). The bishops were to have the right to choose the curés although their choice was to be limited to persons agreeable to the Government (art. 10). All the churches not already alienated and which were needed for worship were put at the disposal of the bishops (art. 12); the Pope abandoned all claim to ecclesiastical properties already alienated (art. 13) and the

Government was to assure a suitable stipend (*traitement*) to the bishops and curés (art. 14) and to allow donations (*fondations*) in favor of the churches (art. 15).

Such are the conditions agreed upon by the Pope and the French Government. As to what is known as the "organic articles," added to the Concordat without the knowledge of the Pope, the latter never ceased to protest most emphatically against them; yet the Government held them as law and applied them as such throughout the nineteenth century. These "organic articles" singularly aggravated the situation of the Catholic Church. No bull or decision of council, no legate of the Pope could be received in France without the Government's authorization; the bishops could not meet in a national council or provincial synod, nor could any single one of them even go to Rome without the permission of the Government. What constituted an infraction of these regulations was decided by the Council of State and ordinarily such infraction was punished by the withholding of the "*traitement*."

I. THE OPENING OF THE CONFLICT.

In 1901, in spite of the good will of most of the congregations to make their application, in spite of the readiness of the Pope to treat with the Government on the subject, the law of associations suppressing the religious orders and confiscating their properties was passed. This law was indeed a great blow to the Catholic Church, and though it could be maintained by the State that this law was not a violation of the Concordat,—since there was in that agreement no explicit word concerning the religious—its effect was to suppress one of the most important elements of the Catholic religion whose cult was to be exercised freely in France according to the Concordat (art. 1).

The Pope protested strongly against the law, and the relation between the Church and the State became more and more strained. The situation became more acute under the ministry of Waldeck Rousseau when the Pope refused to give the canonical institution to several of the candidates presented by the Government; negotiations were going on when Combes took the office of Premier. He presented the names already

rejected and even made them public before they were accepted by the Pope. This manner of acting, if strictly legal, was contrary to the usual course, which was to have a previous understanding before the publication of the names. Premier Combes demanded also that the Pope should give the reason why, in the case of one of the names proposed, he refused the appointment, adding that these reasons should be exclusively reasons of faith and morals; moreover, he asked that the formula "nobis nominavit" (has named to us) used by the Holy See in the Bulls to indicate the part of the Government in the election of the bishops should be abolished. To the last point, the Holy See agreed, finding in the letters of nomination a sufficient guarantee of its rights, but rejected the other clause. In spite of all the efforts of the Holy See to have at least some appointments made, no bishop was named during the ministry of M. Combes. Then came the visit of President Loubet to Rome on April 24, 1904. As is well known, from 1870 the Pope has always protested against the spoliation of his temporal power, and has always considered as an offence to his rights and to his person any visit made by a Catholic sovereign to the King of Italy in Rome. As a matter of fact no Catholic sovereign had from that time made such a visit. After the visit of King Emmanuel to Paris, it was natural for the President of the French Republic to return it. The Pope was glad to witness the friendship of the two nations and had no objection to Mr. Loubet visiting the King of Italy, provided that the visit should be made in any other city than Rome. So he told the French Government through his Nuncio in Paris, and through the French Ambassador at the Papal court. President Loubet went to Rome on April 24, 1904; and on April 28, the Pope sent a protest to the French Government and also informed the other Catholic sovereigns of it. A short communication of the *Osservatore Romano* May 4, announced the sending of the notes. On May 6, the French Government through its ambassador informed the Cardinal Secretary of State that the protest was rejected both as to substance and form. The protest made to the different governments and which was intended to be kept secret, was, through some indiscretion, published in the socialist

paper *L'Humanité*; in it was contained a phrase, not to be found in the protest sent to the French Government saying, that if at the occasion of President Loubet's journey, "the Nuncio had not left Paris, it was solely for reasons of an altogether special nature." On the 20th of May, the French ambassador was ordered to inquire about the authenticity and meaning of the sentence. The Cardinal Secretary of State asked that the question be put in writing, promising a written reply within an hour or half an hour. The French Ambassador accepted the proposal. Having received no communication from the French Ambassador, after two hours, the Secretary of State made known to him that the reply was ready. The written questions were not presented, but on the following day the Ambassador called on the Secretary of State and told him that his government considered his demand for written questions as a pretext to elude them and that he had been ordered to take a leave of absence, adding, however, that his action did not mean a rupture or a suspension of diplomatic relations. Soon afterwards he presented one of his counsellors as chargé d'affaires and left Rome. The rupture was evidently imminent; it was completed by the question of the two bishops of Laval and Dijon. As early as 1899, accusations of an exclusively spiritual and ecclesiastical character had been made against Mgr. Geay of Laval and on the 26th of January, 1900, the Holy Office had invited him to resign. The bishop hesitated and during four years the Holy See waited; under Pius X on the 17th of May, 1904, the Holy Office again asked by letter for his resignation announcing its intention to use canonical measures in case he should not obey within a month. Appealing to the organic articles, the bishop communicated the letter to the French Government which, through its chargé d'affaires demanded its annulment. Finally the Bishop went to Rome and presented his resignation. At the same time Mgr. Le Nordez of Dijon was called to Rome to answer certain accusations. The situation had become so grave that the seminarians in his diocese had refused to be ordained by him. Like Mgr. Geay he transmitted the letter to the government, which forbade him to leave his diocese. Finally threatened with suspension by the

Holy See, he went to Rome and likewise tendered his resignation. On July 30, 1904, the chargé d'affaires by order of the French Government, and on the plea of a breach of the Concordat on the part of the Pope, sent a note to the Holy See, in which it was announced that the government of the Republic had decided to put an end to the official relations existing between France and the Pope. On the same day the Secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Delcasse, announced to the Nuncio Mgr. Lorenzelli that the French Government considered his mission as finished. The rupture was complete.

The Government presented then to the Chamber of Deputies a project of separation. The discussion began on the 21st of March, 1905. After a long debate in which the Catholics and Liberals fought step by step each title and article, the law was voted and published in the *Journal Officiel*, December 11, 1905.

II. THE LAW OF SEPARATION.

The law of separation includes six titles and forty-four articles. In the first title containing the general principles, the Republic declares liberty of conscience for people of every creed and suppresses all support of worship by the State.

The second title, treating of the disposition of properties and pensions, prescribes that an inventory be made of all public establishments of worship and of what they contain; also of all the properties of the State, departments, or communes of which these establishments have the use (art. 3). Within one year, all properties appertaining to worship are to be transferred to the "associations cultuelles"; the properties of the State, department or communes are to revert to them (art. 4, 5). The properties not directly appropriated to the use of worship but to charity are to be transferred to an institution of public utility having the same purpose, unless claimed by the donor or his direct heirs (art. 7). If no "association cultuelle" is formed within one year, the properties of worship shall be sequestered; if several "associations cultuelles" of the same "culte" assert claims to these properties, the case is to be settled by the council of State, which will take into account all the circumstances of fact (art. 8).

If no "association cultuelle" is formed or if the one formed is dissolved, the properties are apportioned by a decree of the Council of State to the establishments of assistance in the same ecclesiastical territory, unless such properties are claimed by the donor or direct heirs (art. 9). Art. 11 provides for a pension to be given to those who have for 20 or 30 years performed ecclesiastical functions, and an allocation or a part of an allocation during four years for the others.

Title III deals with the edifices used for worship and includes art. 12-17. According to art. 12, "the buildings which were put at the disposal of the nation and which, in virtue of the law of 18 Germinal, an X (Concordat), serve for public religious service or for the residence of the ministers (cathedrals, churches, chapels, temples, synagogues, archbishops', and bishops' palaces, rectories, seminaries) with their associated properties and the furniture which they had when put at the service of the "culte," are and are to remain the properties of the State, departments and communes." Art. 13 decides that the edifices used for public worship with their furniture shall be left gratuitously to the disposition of the cultural association, the cessation of the use being pronounced by decree in the case of dissolution of the association or cessation of worship in those buildings for six successive months or of misuse of them for purposes other than those of religious worship.

As to the ministers' dwellings, art. 14 says that the palaces of the archbishops and bishops, the rectories and their dependencies, "grands séminaires" and protestant faculties of theology are to be left gratuitously to the disposition of the public establishments of worship and cultural associations for five years from the promulgation of the law." Then they are to return to the free disposition of the State, departments and communes. Art. 15 deals with the special regulation of the departments of Savoie, Haute Savoie and Alpes Maritimes annexed to France after the Concordat; art. 16 with historical monuments.

Title IV lays down the constitutive principle of "associations cultuelles." These associations must be for the ex-

clusive purpose of religious worship and formed of 7 persons for the communes having less than 1,000 people, 15 for the communes having between 1,000 and 20,000 people, and 25 for the others. These associations shall have the power of making the collections for worship and of receiving fees for ceremonies, pews and funeral supplies; they can give their surplus to other similar associations but cannot receive any assistance from the State, department or commune (art. 19). They may, by conforming themselves to the law of 1901, form a central administration and directory (art. 21). These associations may institute a financial reserve to be used exclusively for worship; this reserve cannot exceed a sum equal, for the associations having a revenue of more than 5,000 fr. (\$1,000), to three times, and for the other associations, to six times the annual average of the sum spent by each one of them for the expenses of worship during the five preceding years. Besides this reserve which must be placed in nominal values, the associations may keep a special reserve deposited in money or nominal titles in the "Caisse de dépôts et consignations" to be appropriated exclusively to the purchase or repairs of the buildings used for worship (art. 22). A fine shall be imposed on those guilty of violating regulations (art. 23).

Title V deals with the Police regulations. In art 34 it is said that "a minister of worship, who in a place where worship is exercised shall have, by speeches or lectures or distributions of writings, publicly outraged or defamed a citizen in charge of some public service, shall be punished by a fine of 500 fr. (\$100) to 3,000 fr. (\$600) and by not less than one month nor more than one year of confinement in jail, or by one of these penalties only (art. 34). If a speech pronounced or if a writing fixed publicly in the places of worship contains a direct provocation to resist the execution of laws or legal acts of public authority, the minister guilty of such an act shall be punished by an imprisonment of not less than three months nor more than two years (art. 35).

Title VI deals with general dispositions. Such are the chief points of the law of separation.

On the 31st of December was published the decree regulat-

ing the inventories. These inventories, most of the time a very summary visit through the churches, were attended usually throughout France by lively protestations and sometimes by violent resistance on the part of the Catholics.

On February 11th the Pope published the encyclical "Vehementer" in which the law of separation was condemned as "injurious to God," as "a violation of natural and international law," "contrary to the constitution of the church and to her rights," and "gravely offensive to the Apostolic See"; the Pope moreover promised some practical instructions about the attitude to be taken toward the new law.

At the same time Catholics were divided on the question whether the law should be given a trial or not. Anticipating a meeting of the bishops in Paris already announced, twenty-three eminent Catholics sent to each one of them a secret letter which was an appeal for a trial of the law of separation. The letter was published by the *Figaro*, and was the cause of much discussion. On the 30th of May, by order of the Pope all the bishops had their meeting. It was held in secret; yet by indiscreet disclosures, the journal *Le Siècle* published several documents which give us some results of the episcopal assembly. After having condemned the associations as imposed by the law, the bishops proposed (by a majority of 25, it is said) to the Holy See a form of association which they believed both legal and canonical.

Two month afterwards on August 10th, the Pope sent his second Encyclical "Gravissimo officii," wherein he rejected the project presented, and all similar ones, so long as the law would not guarantee the hierarchical constitution of the Church and its authority over ecclesiastical properties. Again on the 7th of September, 1906, the bishops had a second meeting which was secret, and wrote a collective letter which was read in all the churches on the 29th of September, in which they announced the decision of the Pope and exhorted all Catholics to obey.

According to the latest news some bishops had expressed the intention of continuing worship under the régime of the law of 1881,—a police law regulating public meetings—and the "Secrétaire des Cultes" on the 1st of December issued

a circular letter adapting this law in an apparently liberal way to religious ceremonies. It seems that the Pope has again forbidden the priests to submit the religious ceremonies to this law and ordered them to continue the exercise of worship in the churches until they have been driven out by violence.

We shall examine the most important questions involved in the present struggle between Church and State in France, viz., the ownership of the churches, the maintenance of the clergy, the reasons why the Pope has rejected the law.

III. THE OWNERSHIP OF ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY.

Here we speak only of the churches existing at the time of the Revolution. As to those built since the Concordat, it would be necessary, to determine their ownership, to know under what conditions they have been built. Sometimes they have been built by a family, sometimes by the contributions of all the parishioners or the resources of the fabrique, sometimes also the State and the commune have helped by a certain sum of money the fabrique or the parishioners.

This question of ecclesiastical properties is an important one and about which there is much disagreement. The French Government holds as a principle that the religious edifices are the property of the State (cathedrals) and of the communes (churches). The Catholics maintain that the churches are their property. Let us consider the facts. On the 24th of November, 1789, the National Assembly decreed that "all ecclesiastic properties are at the disposal of the nation on the condition that it provide, in a convenient way for the expenses of worship, the maintenance of the pastors, the relief of the poor, under the supervision and instructions of the administrators of the provinces. The maintenance of the pastor is not to be less than twelve hundred francs (livres) a year, the residence and gardens not included." Divers decrees of the years 1789 to 1792 ordered both the sale of these properties as national possessions and the suppression of the fabriques. A decree of Prairial II and III¹ gave temporarily to the communes the free use of such edifices of worship as had not been alienated.

¹ In the revolutionary calendar An (year) I began September 22, 1793.

In the year X (1802) the Concordat was promulgated. "The bishops are to make a new division of the parishes of their dioceses, which division shall take its effect only after the consent of the government" (art. 9). "All metropolitan, cathedral and parish or other churches not already alienated and which are necessary to worship, shall be put at the disposal of the bishops" (art. 12). "His Holiness, for the sake of peace and happy restoration of the Catholic religion declares that neither he nor his successors will in any way disturb the purchasers of the ecclesiastical property alienated, and consequently the possession of this same property, with its privileges and revenues, is to remain intact in their hands or in those of their assignees" (art. 13). "The Government shall assure a convenient stipend (*traitement*) to the bishops and curés whose dioceses and parishes may be included in the new territory" (art. 14). These documents, especially the first and the last, form the chief matter of the discussion, but they will not be understood, nor will the full import of the arguments based on them be realized, unless after a brief review of the situation which preceded and also which followed them.

In the first place, must we consider as law the different decisions rendered by the revolutionary assemblies from 1789 to 1800? So to regard them is certainly to acknowledge the same standing both for anarchy and a normal government. Now, before the Revolution, most of the churches belonged to the parish. The commune and the parish were indeed very closely united, since all the inhabitants of the commune being generally Catholics, were also members of the parish, and this is a point to be very carefully noted, for it has been, to our mind, the source of much misunderstanding. Also at this time, when Church and State were so closely united, their laws were very often mixed; yet the distinction exists; it is the "*fabrique*" which has the ownership of the churches. Next comes the decree of 1789 declaring that the ecclesiastical properties are "at the disposal of the nation." It must be remarked that this expression was the result of a compromise. It was proposed to declare that the ecclesiastical properties "belong" to the nation. As some protested, although admit-

ting that in certain cases the ecclesiastical properties could be used by the State, Mirabeau proposed to substitute the expression "at the disposal" which was agreed to. As a matter of fact, the Assembly considered itself as real owner of the properties and disposed of them accordingly.

In the Concordat, it said that the churches necessary for worship are "put at the disposal of the bishops." What is meant by this expression? Evidently more than a mere use. And when we remark that this disposition is made in the same terms by which the State in 1789 took possession of, and used as owner, the Church property, it is very difficult not to conclude that these churches were given over to the ownership of the bishops for the organization of the new parishes. Moreover in art 13, it is said that the Pope will not disturb the actual owners of the ecclesiastical property already sold. Is not the insertion of such a clause in the law an implicit but clear acknowledgment that, in spite of the decree of 1789, the Church had preserved its rights over the property? It is true that Bernier, one of the signers of the Concordat, on the part of the government, and a Gallican, denies in his commentary on the preparatory project, that the Pope has any such right, but he affirms that the ecclesiastical property belonged to the Gallican Church. This article, therefore, whatever be its interpretation, remains a clear acknowledgment of the possession of ecclesiastic property by the Church, and this interpretation is made more evident if, as we shall see later, we consider that the stipend given to the clergy is a compensation for the properties alienated.

The "organic articles" (18 Germinal, an X) provided that "fabriques should be established in order to watch over the maintenance and preservation of the temples and the administration of charities" (art. 76). Many bishops then established fabriques to take charge of the ecclesiastical property. This right having been contested, a decree of 9 Floreal, an XI allowed them to organize these fabriques, but granting them the right of making only provisory regulations. These fabriques organized by the bishop were called "interior fabriques." As they had almost no revenue, a decree of 7 Thermidor an XI decided that the property of former fabri-

ques not already alienated should be restored to the service of their original purpose, given back to the churches and administered by special officers named by the prefect. These officials formed what was called "exterior fabriques." Hence there were two fabriques, one under the control of the bishop, the other under that of the prefect.

It is true that two decisions of the Council of State (Nivôse 3, Pluviôse 2-6 an XIII) declare that the churches restored to worship by the law of 18 Germinal an X (Concordat) must be considered as communal property. But it must be remarked that these decrees were not inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*, and so do not fulfill a condition necessary for their becoming a law. It is true that the Emperor, six months later (25 Prairial, an XIII) declared that the decrees not inserted in the Bulletin, and yet publicly promulgated, are laws from the day of their promulgation. But it is very doubtful whether this decree can have a retroactive effect; and as a matter of fact, tribunals have refused to admit the force of decrees given before 25 Prairial, an XIII because they were not inserted in the Bulletin. A decree of May 30, 1806, considers the churches and rectories as such property of the fabriques; this is the case with the important decree of March 17, 1809, which declares that in the case of the ecclesiastical properties already alienated, but forfeited by failure on the part of the purchaser to pay the price demanded, these properties shall return to the parishes or the fabriques, which will have to support the charges, or profit by the indemnities attached to them. Moreover, as we shall see, the principle that the churches belong to the communes is not at all universally accepted.

The existence of two fabriques brought up many difficulties. By a decree of December 30, 1809, made by Napoleon, when Pius VII was a prisoner at Savona, they were both united in one which was given the right and powers of the two, and was made up of their different elements. According to this decree the curé and mayor are members by right; the prefect is to name four members out of nine, two out of five, the bishop naming the other members. The Church never approved of this decree but by force of events she had to submit to it. By this power given to its representatives, the

Government gradually took a greater part in the administration of the fabriques. More and more the fabriques came to be considered by the Minister of the Interior as part of his department and a communal administration. The Council of State also acted upon this view in several decisions. Portalis himself, the Minister of Worship and the real reorganizer of the fabriques, shared for a time of this opinion—probably because to his mind, commune and parish are practically the same, since the citizens of the commune are also the members of the parish. But he soon perceived the confusion; and on the 4th of March, 1806, he made a report to the Emperor in which he protests strongly against the theory that the fabriques are a communal organization. The fabriques, he says, do not represent the communes nor do they administer in their name. They are to the Catholics what the consistories are to the Protestants; and the consistories, he adds, do not represent the communes. The fabriques do not represent the communes but the churches. And in a letter to the Minister of the Interior (April 17, 1806) he maintains that the true fabriques are those organized by the law of the 18 Germinal, an X. Over these, he says, neither the prefect nor the mayor has any authority, but it is the bishop who is at their head. From 1814 to 1824 Interior and Worship were united and it is easily seen how the opinion which considered the church as communal property gained more ground. Yet this theory is not unanimously admitted, and we see the Cour de Cassation (1836) ascribe the fabriques to the Church. In 1840, it affirms that they belong neither to the Church nor to the communes; and then comes the time when in government administration the principle prevails that the cathedrals belong to the State, the churches to the communes, a principle which is admitted in the Law of Separation.

But perhaps it is not necessary to enter into so many details. On the question of the churches we have one fundamental document: the Concordat, a convention where the two parties interested are represented and in which the principles which must rule every subsequent decision are laid down. Every decree which is contrary to these principles, and is rendered by one of the contracting parties without the consent of

the other, is illegal and null. Now the Concordat, we have said, acknowledges, implicitly at least, the claims of the Church on the ecclesiastical property; according to the Concordat also it is to the bishops that churches are returned, without condition; and it is the bishop who has the charge of organizing the parishes. And now that the Concordat is abolished! It remains, in spite of the decree of the Assembly of 1789 which did not even dare to settle the question of their ownership, that the churches have been built, maintained and repaired by the Catholics as Catholics and not merely as citizens. It is to Catholics as Catholics that they belong. A government can be strong enough to deprive them by force of their possession, but no government, no law, can despoil them with justice of their rights.

IV. THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CLERGY.

We have seen that by article 13 of the Concordat, the Pope abandoned all claim to the ecclesiastical property already alienated; by article 14 the government is to insure a convenient competence to the bishops and curés. Is there any relation between these two articles? The Government answers negatively and considers this competence as a salary consented to by the State; and often a bishop or a curé has been deprived of it for alleged infraction of the law. The Catholics maintain that this competence mentioned in the article 14 is only a compensation for the property mentioned in art. 13. It will be remembered that the decree of 1789 says that "the ecclesiastical property is at the disposal of the nation upon the condition that it shall provide for the expenses of worship and the maintenance of the pastors, etc., . . . which maintenance should not be less than twelve hundred francs (livres) a year." This provision for the expenses of worship and the maintenance of the pastors is not considered, even by the Assembly, as a free gift, but as a debt. In the Constitution of 1791, under title V, on Public Contributions, art 2, it is said: "Under no pretext can the funds necessary for the payment of the national debt be refused or suspended. The maintenance of the ministers of the Catholic Worship pensioned, elected, retained or nominated in virtue of the decree of the As-

sembly, is a part of the national debt." The Concordat has not suppressed this debt; the Church has not given it up any more than it has given up the property not alienated. It seems logical also that the maintenance mentioned in the Concordat coming immediately after the cession by the Pope of the property alienated, is a debt, a compensation for this property. Moreover, if the text does not express this relation, the negotiations preparatory to the Concordat show it. Bernier speaking of the titles VII and VIII, which contain the substance of these two articles, declared to Spina (one of the signers on the part of the Holy See) that these two articles seem to form only one; and on the eleventh of July, presenting a report on the two measures which were destined to be the articles 13 and 14, he comments in the following way upon the last one: "This article is the natural compensation for the one which precedes it. It is admitted under the form in which it has been proposed, and it cannot be objected to." So it is that, with the Concordat or without the Concordat, the French Government has the duty of paying not a salary but a debt to the Church, so long as the property alienated is not given back.

V. WHY THE POPE REFUSES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE LAW OF SEPARATION.

IN the Encyclical "Vehementer Nos" the Pope has pronounced the Law of Separation "injurious to God," "gravely offensive to the Apostolic See," "a violation of natural and international law," since it was the breach of a bilateral contract without the consent of one of the contracting parties, viz., the Holy See, and finally "contrary to the constitution of the church and her right."

Many people have been surprised by this condemnation. They were still more surprised when they learned that the condemnation was not merely theoretical but a practical one, accompanied by a prohibition forbidding the formation of "associations cultuelles." They have been tempted to charge the Pope with intolerance when he refused to accept a project of association approved and presented by the majority of the French bishops. Yet the position of the Pope is clear: as long as the law remains what it is, it is contrary to the essential

constitution of the Church. Besides the question of property, finance, and police of worship, the fundamental question is that of the organization of the "associations cultuelles": and in this organization the law ignores the bishop, or at least, does not give him the place and part in Catholic discipline which it is essentially necessary for him to have. According to the art. 8 of the Law of Separation, if the ecclesiastical property "is claimed by several associations formed for the exercise of the same worship, the attribution, which will have been made of the property by the representatives of the establishment or by a decree, can be disputed before the Council of State which will pronounce after taking into account all the circumstances of fact." The legitimacy therefore of an "association cultuelle" shall be established, not by the bishop but by the Council of State; the bishop is not even so much as named once in the whole law. Now it is true that the Council of State is bound by art. 4 which states that the property shall be transferred to the associations that shall have been formed "in conformity to the rule of general organization of worship whose exercise they intend to secure." It can be deduced from this that the Council of State is bound to acknowledge the associations which are in union with the bishops, this being an essential character of Catholic discipline. Moreover, in the discussion of the law, the "rapporteur," Mr. Briand, the actual Minister of Worship, has declared that such was the meaning of the article. But is it not strange to see the Council of State sitting as a judge in matters of Catholic discipline and doctrine? Who assures us that the Council of State will not have its own way of interpreting the general organization of Catholic Worship? That submission to the bishop and the recognition by him of the "association cultuelle" shall necessarily be recognized as an essential part of the general organization of Catholic Worship has indeed been declared by Mr. Briand, the "rapporteur" of the law; but it remains a mere declaration of Mr. Briand, and not a part of the law. It will be observed, perhaps, by him as long as he is Minister of Worship, but it does not bind his successors, and we know that the Cabinets in France are changeable as well as the decrees.

And even if the legitimate associations cultuelles are the ones recognized by the bishop, does it mean that he will have the right to organize and regulate them? It is far from certain; and some provisions of the law are, on this point, susceptible of dangerous interpretation. In one word, the Law of Separation does not guarantee, but is even capable of radically offending, Catholic discipline and worship.

Why, then, it will be asked, have the bishops by a great majority proposed the acceptance of this law? It must be remarked, in the first place, that the French bishops themselves in their meeting have condemned the Law of Separation and its enactments. This explains the statement of the Pope in his encyclical "*Gravissimo officii*" speaking of confirming "the almost unanimous deliberation of the Assembly of the bishops," which statement, misunderstood by some, has led them to accuse the Pope of misinformation or even of dissimulation. Pressed however by the prospect of dangers to the Church, very evident in their eyes, and having, perhaps (it is simply a hypothesis) some assurance that the Government would examine in a conciliatory spirit their proposition, the bishops presented their plan of association. To respect the rights of the Church, it had to contravene the law, and to accept the law it had to sacrifice something of the rights of the Church; as a matter of fact, these two objections were made against the project. The Pope who has charge of the whole Church, who has to consider more than the mere actual and national conditions, saw the danger of their project; it could be accepted by the present Government and rejected by the following; it could little by little become a means for it to impose the letter of the Law of Separation; and this is not an illusory supposition for those who understand the disposition of the French Cabinet, most of whose members are absolutely anti-religious. In his wisdom the Pope refused to agree to the project.

It has been often objected also that he acknowledges such a law in other countries, and we know that the actual law of worship in Germany was an argument developed in the very meeting of the bishops as a precedent in favor of the project presented. It is true that the German legislation

does not respect all the rights of the Catholic Church and a strong protestation was presented against it by the German episcopate. Yet it was tolerated. Perhaps the consideration that Germany is, in majority, a Protestant country, may have been a motive for its tolerance. But had the project ignored the hierarchical constitution of the Church, it also would probably have been rejected. As a matter of fact, it is not so. It is true that the president superior decides in last place when the council of administration appeals from the decision of the bishop (art. 49) and this point must have been the one the most objected to; but even in this case the side of the bishop is presented since it is an appeal from his decision. Moreover his authority is acknowledged in most of the important circumstances. We see in this law that the bishop has the right to call a meeting of the council of administration (art. 14), and to name the president if the one elected refuses to fulfill his functions (art. 15). Again in certain cases of renunciation of their functions by the members of the administration, the final sentence is reserved to the bishop, to be pronounced with the assent of the district president (art. 32); the bishop, with the assent of the president superior, can decide whether or not in small communes there is a necessity of electing representatives (art. 36). The bishop has a right to dismiss a member of the council of administration in case he lacks the requisite qualities, or does not properly fulfill his functions (art. 37); if the council of administration refuses to meet the expenses necessary for worship, the bishop has the right to incur those expenses *ex-officio* and to take the necessary measures (art. 53). So it appears that in Germany the authority of the bishop is explicitly acknowledged and that the Catholic hierarchy is, if not as fully as it ought to be, at least in important points, respected.

There is therefore a great difference between this law, whatever be its defects, and the French Law of Separation; let us add also that the Prussian Law is much more liberal in relation to administering finances.

As to the law of 1881, how could this law be accepted, which was never intended for religious meetings? This law contains dispositions absolutely contrary to the character of

religious worship, especially of Catholic worship. Of this Mr. Briand himself was aware and that is why he sent his circular with proper modifications. But here again, we are in presence of a personal circular of Mr. Briand, of the Minister of Worship *pro tem.*; it does not bind in any way his successors and leaves the law unchanged. And it is even disputed whether or not this circular is legal. Here again we cannot help admiring the far-seeing prudence and wisdom of the Pope in refusing submission to it.

VI. SEPARATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND SEPARATION IN FRANCE.

It has been said and written that the Separation Law gives to the Church in France the same position which it has in the United States. It can be seen from the facts mentioned how utterly false is this statement. During the time of the discussion of the law, the motto of the Catholics was: "Give us freedom as in the United States." Their cry was not heard. Here in America there is really separation without privileges for the Church or obligation for the State; nay, there is a mutual and sincere respect of one for the other. In each diocese the bishop is the head of the Church and the State acknowledges him as such. In religious matters as establishing of new parishes, building of churches, schools, etc., he is absolutely independent. He has the title of ownership or the supervision of all the ecclesiastical properties and finances. The question of ecclesiastical property in the Philippines has shown to the whole world, to the French Government, how a Republic acts with justice towards the Church without being bound by any special contract. In a word, Separation in the United States means freedom; in France it means, according to the very words of Pius X, oppression of the Church by the State.

VII. THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH IN FRANCE.

What shall be the future of the Church in France is difficult to say. There will be indeed difficulties and suffering of all kinds. A new era begins for the Church, and the people will have to be educated to the new circumstances. But there

is no room for despair or discouragement. The French people are by nature generous and self-sacrificing; and they know that defending their faith, ultimate success will be theirs. Clergy and bishops give an admirable example of obedience to, and union with, the Pope,—obedience and union which, if courageously and constantly maintained, will overcome any obstacle, injustice, or violence. Indifference has been the great sin of France during the nineteenth century; this struggle at the beginning of the twentieth century will recall to the many who are indifferent that there is a religious question, and that this question is a fundamental one in the life of a nation, of the French nation especially.

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NEW MEXICO.

In attempting to trace the history of the Catholic parochial school system of the United States, we are led back step by step to the earliest organized work of the Church on the North American continent. In the Western World, as earlier, among the barbarian peoples of Europe, the work of the Church was one of Christianization and civilization, and it was clearly seen from the very first that the shortest and surest path to the attainment of this double end lay through the instruction of youth. Catholic schools sprang spontaneously from the development of Catholic life. The school-teacher followed close after the missionary and the explorer, and in many instances the first school-teachers were the pioneer-missionaries themselves.

The earliest schools within the present limits of the United States were founded by the Franciscans in Florida and New Mexico. In the year 1629, four years before the establishment of the oldest school in the thirteen original colonies,¹ there were many elementary schools for the natives, scattered through the pueblos of New Mexico,² and from the number, character, and distribution of these schools, it is evident that the date for the foundation of the first school there must be set back considerably before the year 1629.

Doubtless the work of founding these schools was begun in 1598, the year in which Don Juan de Onate conquered and took effective possession of the country for the King of Spain.³ Onate's force, which set out from México early in that year, included 7 Franciscan friars. As the expedition ad-

¹ The oldest school in the thirteen English colonies was the school of the Reformed Dutch Church, established in 1633. The next was the Boston Latin School, opened in 1635 or 1636. Report of the Bureau of Education, 1903, Vol. I, p. 555.

² Cf. Memorial of Benavides to the King of Spain, dated 1630, and printed at Madrid that year.

³ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 124.

vanced northward into New Mexico and took possession of the country, the Franciscan Fathers were installed in the chief towns of the tribes, and the work of evangelization and education began. Churches were erected, as well as convents or dwelling-houses for the friars, and, alongside of each convent, if not attached to it, was usually built a school.¹

Nor was this prominence given to education in the work of the missionaries due to circumstances or to accident. It had all been provided for almost a full century before, in the legislation framed for the liberty and protection of the natives of the New World by the great Ximenes, at the prompting of the saintly bishop Las Casas. That legislation dates from the year 1516.² By its terms, each village of the natives in New Spain was to have its school, as well as its church and hospital.³ The sacristan of the village church was also to be the schoolmaster, and was charged with the duty of teaching the children to read, taking particular care to gradually accustom the Indians to the Spanish language. The parish priest was to see that each individual was taught according to his faculties, besides being instructed in the faith. As early as 1531, the Bishop of Mexico was able to report that each convent of the Franciscan Order in his diocese had a school attached to it, and that the college which Peter of Ghent, a Franciscan lay brother, had established in the City of Mexico, was attended by more than 600 Aztec youths.⁴ The Bishop also reported the foundation of many schools for girls.⁵ For the native children schools were organized all through Mexico, and the work of erecting school-buildings and organizing and teaching classes went on hand in hand with that of erecting churches, administering the Sacraments, and preaching. The school, in fact, was considered essential to the complete organization of the parish. The aim was to give the entire native school population the benefit of at least a rudimentary education.⁶

¹ Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America*, III, p. 209.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 353.

³ *Ibid.*, von Hefele, *Life of Card. Ximenes*, p. 509 *seq.*

⁴ Clinch, *California and its Missions*, I, p. 57, 63.

⁵ Helps, *The Spanish Conquest*, III, p. 210.

⁶ Cf. in this connection, the early Spanish educational legislation for the Philippine Islands, in *Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, XXXV, p. 595.

Such was the system which led to the erection of schools alongside of the churches in New Mexico, as fast as the peaceful conquest of the country was effected by Onate. The instruction given in these schools, in accordance with the plan of Ximenes, was of a two-fold character. Up to nine years of age, the children were taught reading, writing, catechism, singing, and playing on musical instruments. Much stress was laid upon music, especially singing. It was an accomplishment that was made of by the heathen medicine-men, and was held high in popular esteem. The native children took to it naturally, and the Missionary Fathers themselves marvelled and praised the Lord "to see in so short a time so many organ choirs."¹ Spanish was also taught.

A striking feature of this system of education was its practical character. From nine years of age on, the work of the pupil in school was almost wholly industrial. The common arts and trades of the civilized world formed the curriculum—tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, carving, blacksmithing, brick-making, stone-cutting.² The girls were taught to sew and to spin. In their case also the instruction was admirably adapted to native character and talent, as well as to the needs of practical life. The Indians had a natural skill in many lines of industrial work, and the missionaries made the most of this in their system of instruction. So proficient did the pupils become in these trades, that, with the help of the women—upon whom, by a curious reversal of ordinary custom, the work of brick-making and house-building fell, the men disdaining to take part in it,—they were soon able to erect buildings for churches and schools which were larger and finer than anything which the natives had ever attempted to build before. "Over fifty churches of very curious carved roof and the walls very well painted" had been erected in this way by 1629.³

The missionaries themselves were the first teachers. Some of them were men of eminent learning, and nearly all had had the advantage of years of experience in the missions

¹ Benavides, Memorial, p. 27.

² Ibid.

³ Benavides, Memorial, p. 13.

of the Western World.¹ They taught the elementary branches, while training up the more promising pupils to become teachers. In course of time, probably, the teaching came to be largely done by these natives, but at the beginning, the Fathers had to bear the whole burden themselves. They taught the skilled native artisans how to develop their trades along European lines; they introduced domestic animals; they taught the use of the horse, the cow, and the sheep; they followed the plough, and sowed the seed with their own hands, supplanting the primitive practices with the more scientific and fruitful methods of agriculture brought from the Old World.²

The schools were scattered among the various tribes inhabiting that region which extends for hundreds of miles along the upper Rio Grande. To the westward, the missionaries penetrated far into what is now Arizona, and here too, among the powerful Mogui Nation, churches and schools were established.³ The Memorial or Report of Benavides shows that in 1630 there were about 50 Franciscans in New Mexico, serving over 60,000 Christian natives, in 90 pueblos, grouped in 25 missions, each pueblo having its own church.⁴ Many of these pueblos had schools. Benavides does not give the exact number. He enumerates some dozen places where there were schools, but intimates that the inhabitants of all the pueblos had opportunity for instruction. Thus, speaking of the Texas nation, he says: "All the pueblos have their churches, and they are very well instructed in all branches."⁵ We cannot be far from right, therefore, in concluding that the system of schools set up in New Mexico by the Franciscan missionaries comprehended in its scope the entire school population of the tribes or natives converted to the Faith. The fact is of interest when we reflect that it was not until some years

¹ Among these may be mentioned Father Joseph Truxillo, who had labored in New Mexico for many years preceding the outbreak of the rebellion of 1680. He had acquired great renown in Mexico by his learning and eloquence, cf. Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, *Menologio*, p. 87; Shea, *History*, Vol. I, p. 208.

² Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 27.

³ Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 162.

⁴ Benavides, *Memorial*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Memorial*, p. 8.

later that the first school was set up in the English-speaking colonies of America, and further that, at the time, no comprehensive system of public schools existed in any European country.¹

It is a matter of great regret that our knowledge of these schools and their practical working is so scant. Most of the knowledge we have of them is contained in the Memorial of Benavides. Nor have we any precise information about their influence. They must have been a potent factor in winning the good will of the natives and effecting their conversion, and an evidence of their influence is to be seen in the conversion of entire tribes within a few years and their adoption of European standards of civilization. Not all the tribes were converted, but it is worthy of note that where the missionaries gained a foothold at all, the conversion of a great part of the tribe almost invariably followed.

Whether the schools were kept up until the very outbreak of the great rebellion in 1680, we have no means of knowing. Very likely they were. But the schools themselves together with whatever records may have existed in New Mexico of their history and work, were completely destroyed in that uprising, and the only sources of information we have regarding them are contained in the accounts of the missions that reached the outer world before that date. Most of the Friars were massacred. School-houses, convents, and churches were burned or razed to the ground. In 1690 there was not a church, or priest, or Spaniard within the whole of New Mexico. Hatred of Spanish cruelty and tyranny seems to have been at the bottom of the revolt. Whether or not the Friars themselves were partly responsible through imprudent zeal, they shared none the less in the general enmity toward everything Spanish which had gradually grown up in the minds of the natives during the years preceding the uprising. Unfortunately for New Mexico, and, no doubt, for the development of the entire southwestern section of our country, the Friars do not appear to have ever fully regained their influence or their initiative in the missions of New Mexico. The rebellion was finally crushed. The Friars came back; churches and con-

¹ Clinch, *California and its Missions*, I, p. 57.

vents were rebuilt; the natives were brought back gradually to the faith, but a feeling of hatred, distrust and fear, lingered on in the native mind. The long wars depopulated the country. There was no trade or industry, and the country was poverty-stricken. There was no means to rebuild the schools, even if there had been any effort or intention to do so. At any rate the schools disappeared with the rebellion of 1680 as completely as if they had never existed. Almost two centuries were to pass before New Mexico, under the inspiration of an American bishop, and the breath of a new national spirit, was to give evidence of the re-awakening of a healthy Catholic life, by the foundation of Catholic schools. Meanwhile, the Franciscans found new fields for the exercise of their zeal for Christian education in Texas and California.

TEXAS.

The first Spanish expedition to Texas took place in 1689. It was followed by others, until gradually the whole country fell under the Spanish sway, and presidios or military garrisons were established among all the leading native tribes. Franciscan Friars accompanied each of these expeditions, and when a presidio was planted, the work of civilizing and converting the natives was begun by the Friars. Often, however, the missionaries preceded the soldiers. The Indians in most cases were friendly, welcoming the good priests with open arms, and eager to learn from them the arts and manners of civilization, as well as to become Christians.

The Franciscans followed much the same methods they had made use of in New Mexico. Around the church and mission-house, groups of buildings were erected, forming a little Catholic settlement, composed of the converted natives and their children. The real work of conversion and civilization was made to center about the children. Their moral training was carefully looked after, segregation of the sexes being practiced to some extent, as was done later on in California. The girls were instructed in household arts, while the boys spent the greater part of their time at work in the shops or in the fields learning agriculture and stock-raising. There was a general instruction for all once a day at least, which was

chiefly catechetical in character. Little attention was given to the study of the ordinary school subjects. The ideal was that of an industrial training, pure and simple.¹

As in New Mexico and afterwards in California, the educational work of the Franciscans in Texas was wonderfully successful, considering the difficulties in the way. The Indians in Texas were exceedingly hard to convert. "It is necessary first to transform them into men," said one of the missionaries, "afterward to labor to make them Christians."² Nevertheless, the missionaries succeeded. The Indians were converted, tribe after tribe, until nearly all except the Comanches and Apaches, were Christianized. The mission region extended from the Rio Grande on the southwest to the Sabine River on the east, and from the Gulf of Mexico on the south to the mountainous region in North Texas. San Antonio was the chief center of the Friars' work, five flourishing mission villages having been established in its vicinity.³ What is more remarkable still, the Indians were led far along the way to material civilization and prosperity. They gave up, in large numbers, their wandering life. They substituted the plow for the bow and arrow, the quiet and peaceful life of the Christian presidio for the wild Arab life of their savage state. They became artisans, farmers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, weavers. Many of their descendants are Christians to this day, even though ignorant and impoverished, owing to the operation of causes which have resulted in the entire disappearance of the Indians from other sections of our country.

The number of white settlers in Texas, as in New Mexico, was small, and this is probably the reason we do not hear of schools for Spanish children until a late date. San Antonio was the chief Spanish settlement, and a few years before 1789, a school was established there for the children of the colonists, which, although it had many ups and downs, continued to exist for a period of about thirty years.⁴

¹ Brown, *Hist. of Texas*, pp. 20-26. Yoakum, *Hist. of Texas*, pp. 53-64. Shea, *op. cit.*, pp. 479-509. Garrison, *Texas*, p. 58.

² Yoakum, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

³ Garrison, *Texas*, p. 60.

⁴ A full account of this interesting institution, its curriculum, and curious disciplinary rules, is given by I. J. Cox, in the *Texas Historical Association Quarterly* for July, 1902.

FLORIDA.

In Florida, the educational work of the Franciscans on a systematic scale dates from about the year 1594, when a band of twelve Friars arrived from Spain to reinforce the four who were already laboring there.¹ The Franciscans, by their kind ways and methods of instruction, soon made many converts among the Indians. As in New Mexico, each mission-house became a school of instruction for the natives, especially the children, in the arts of civilized life, as well as in the doctrines of Christianity. Missions were established gradually up and down the coast and far into the interior. But the work of the Franciscans did not meet with the same success in Florida as in the provinces to the West. This was due partly to the more savage and treacherous character of the Indians of Florida, and partly to the wars with the French and English, which resulted in the destruction of many of the mission-houses and the dispersal of the missionaries.² For a time, however, much progress was made.

One of the first things the Franciscans did was to establish a classical school and preparatory seminary at St. Augustine, for the children of the Spanish settlers. This school existed as early as 1606, for in that year, we find Bishop Cabezas de Altamisano, of Santiago de Cuba, during the course of an episcopal visitation to Florida, conferring confirmation upon several candidates for holy orders in St. Augustine.³ In 1602, there were already 1200 Christian Indians in Florida, and in 1612 and the following year, 31 new missionaries arrived from Spain, and the work of conversion and civilization was pushed rapidly on. The learned Father Francis Pareja, who was laboring among the Timuquan Indians at this time, published several catechisms, a grammar, and a number of other works in the native language, for the use of the missionaries and the instruction of the Indians.⁴ By the year 1634, there were 35 Franciscans in Florida, with 44 missions, and 30,000 converts. Twelve years later, the number of missionaries had increased to 50.⁵ That the Indians were instructed in reading

¹ Shea, *History*, I, p. 152.

² Fairbanks, *Hist. of Florida*, p. 177.

³ Shea, *History*, I, p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 164.

and writing is evidenced by documents embodying petitions to the King of Spain and signed with their names by the chiefs of the various tribes.¹

The prospects for Florida at this time seemed very bright, but they were soon overclouded. The tyranny of the civil authorities provoked the revolt of the powerful Apalache tribe, among whom a flourishing mission had been established, and the example of the Apalaches was followed by other tribes. The hostility of the English in the neighboring settlements, as they grew up, was another disturbing influence upon the Florida Indians, and a fruitful cause of dissatisfaction with the Spanish rule and the discipline of the missionaries, which also at times appears to have been somewhat harsh.² Owing to these and other causes, the missions, from about the middle of the seventeenth century, declined. Their record from that time on was one of stagnation or decay, and presents little that is of educational interest until the year 1736, when Bishop Tejada, in attempting to bring about a revival of religion in Florida, reopened a classical school at St. Augustine,³ the school being intended chiefly for the training of clerics. But it does not appear to have continued for more than a few years. In 1740, Gov. Oglethorpe, of Georgia, led an expedition against Florida, and in the long war which followed, the school probably disappeared, as no further reference to it is found after that date.

CALIFORNIA.

The history of the school system established by the Franciscans in Upper California belongs chronologically chiefly to the post-revolutionary period. The friars began their mission work there only in 1769, and the civilization and education of the native tribes went on under their direction until the year 1834. But the mission schools of California have a close historical connection with the school system established by the Jesuits in Lower California nearly a century before, and also with the school system set up by the Franciscans, or under their influence, in Mexico more than two centuries be-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

² *Shea, History*, I, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

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fore. The regulations framed by the Franciscan Cardinal Ximenes for the education of the Indians furnished a practical educational ideal for the members of his order doing missionary work among the natives of the New World, as well as for all the other religious orders. These regulations were, as we have seen, the guiding principle in the educational work of the Franciscans in New Mexico, Texas, and Florida. They were no less so for their work in California; only, as we shall see, they profited by the bitter lessons of experience in New Mexico and modified the system somewhat in its external arrangement. At any rate, the mission schools of California belong to the great educational movement inaugurated by Ximenes and Las Casas. They have no connection with the educational work that was being done simultaneously in the English-speaking colonies. It seems best, therefore, to consider them in connection with the movement of which they formed a part.

The Jesuits were the founders of the missions in Lower California, and the chief means they relied on for the success of their work seems to have been the building up of schools. As early as 1705, a school was set up at the mission at St. Xavier. This was followed by others, as fast as new missions were opened, each mission having two schools—one for boys, and another for girls. The subjects of instruction were Christian doctrine, reading, writing, music, and simple trades.¹ The school period lasted from the age of six to twelve. The Jesuits themselves, in the beginning, taught such trades as farming, carpentry, smithing, and brick-making, as well as the common branches of study. In the case of the girls, spinning and sewing took the place of the trades,² and, to crown the educational system, a boarding-school—a sort of normal school—was established in a central place, and to this the brightest boys were brought from each mission, and given a training in Spanish, as well as a higher training in the common branches. This school was counted on to furnish teachers for the other schools, as well as catechists and effective lay-missionaries to aid the Jesuits in the extension of the mission work.³

¹ Clinch, *California and its Missions*, I, p. 156. Gleeson, *Hist. of the Cath. Church in Cal.*, I, p. 258 *seq.*

² Clinch, p. 105.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Such were the remarkable educational achievements of the missionaries in Lower California when, in 1767, Charles III issued his *fiat* for the expulsion and deportation of the Jesuits from every part of the Spanish dominions. The Jesuits in Lower California were replaced by Franciscans. Sixteen Fathers, under the famous Junipero Serra, returned on the vessel which carried the Jesuits away. They took up the missions and continued the work of the schools, but it was now found to be very up-hill work. The authorities threw obstacles in the way, and the natives were wasting away as the result of tyrannical oppression and disease.

Father Serra, who was far-seeing and enterprising, as well as a saint, cast his eyes northward, and saw in the expedition which was being fitted out for the occupation of Upper California, the opportunity for which he longed. An agreement with the authorities was arrived at whereby the Franciscans were to take charge of the missions in the new territory, and were to be given a free hand in their work among the natives. The mission settlements were to be entirely separate and at some distance from both the *presidios*, or garrisons, and the *pueblos*, or civil colonies. Father Serra had seen the magnificent results of the Jesuits' work in Lower California, where the plan had been to form new settlements consisting of the converts alone, and thus separate them completely from the baneful influence of the gentiles, and especially the medicine-men. It was the same plan as the Jesuits had carried out on a larger scale, and with even more splendid results, in the famous "Reductions" of Paraguay. He perceived, doubtless, that it was the failure to separate the gentiles from the Christians which had led to the ruin of the missions in New Mexico a century before.

It was natural that he should count largely on education for the success of his plans. A Majorcan by birth, the son of poor laboring people, he had made a brilliant academic course, and after teaching theology for three years with great applause, received the degree of doctor.¹ He seemed destined to add another to the long list of names that adorned the annals

¹ *Life of Ven. Padre Junipero Serra*, written by his companion, Rev. Francis Pallou, p. 24; Hittell, *Hist. of California*, I, p. 301.

of Franciscan scholarship in Europe, and such, apparently, was what his superiors' plans for him contemplated. But he longed for a more apostolic career, and seized an opportunity which presented itself, of coming to America, where his learning, joined to the eminent holiness of his life, soon placed him at the head of the Franciscan missions in the far Northwest.

Bancroft's summary statement, that there were no schools in California before Borica became Governor in 1793,¹ is true, so far as regards schools after the European fashion. But it is not true in the sense that nothing was done for the education of the natives. From the very first, the work of the Friars was largely educational, and the whole routine of daily life devised for the converts who took up their residence at the missions, formed a continuous educational process, in the large sense. Father Serra founded the first of the missions, at San Diego, in 1769. Others were founded by him year by year. San Gabriel was begun in 1771, and Father Font, a Franciscan who paid a visit to this mission in the year 1776, has left us in his diary a description of what he saw:

"The discipline of every day is this: in the morning at sunrise, mass is said regularly, and in this, or without it if it is not said, all the Indians join together, and the padre recites them all the Christian doctrine, which is finished by singing the Alabado which is sung in all the missions in one way and in the same tone, and the padres sing it even though they may not have good voices, inasmuch as uniformity is best. Then they go to breakfast on the mush (*atole*) which is made for all, and before partaking of it they cross themselves and sing the Bendito; then they go to work at whatever can be done, the padres inclining them and applying them to the work by setting an example themselves; at noon they eat their soup (*pozolo*) which is made for all alike; then they work another stint; and at sunset they return to recite doctrine and end by singing the Alabado. . . .

"If any Indian wishes to go to the woods to see his relatives, or to gather acorns, he is given permission for a specified number of days, and regularly they do not fail to return, and sometimes they come with a gentile relative who stays to catechism, either through the example of the others, or attracted by the soup, which suits them

¹ Bancroft, Hist. of California, I, p. 642.

better than their herbs and eatables of the woods, and thus these Indians are wont to be gathered in by the mouth.”¹

The missions, were, in fact, immense boarding-schools. All the exercises of the day were in common. The great end in view was the formation of Christian character. This was aimed at, in the daily routine, by three means; religious practice and instruction, industrial occupation, and strict discipline. The padre stood to the converts *in loco parentis*, and the natives were treated as legal minors under a guardianship.² The converts, on the whole, accepted the conditions of life at the missions cheerfully. They loved the padres, and on some occasions showed their love and veneration for them by outward demonstrations which struck non-sympathetic observers with astonishment.³

As the formation of Christian character was the chief aim of the round of daily exercises prescribed for the convert, it was to be expected that special care would be bestowed upon the young. Father Serra early devised a system of training for girls, which became common throughout the missions, and a permanent feature of mission life. Font, in his description of the Missions, refers to it thus:

“In the missions it is arranged that the grown-up girls sleep apart in some place of retirement, and in the mission of San Louis (Obispo) I saw that a married soldier acted as major-domo of the mission, so that the padre had some assistance, and his wife took care of the girls, under whose charge they were, and whom they called the matron, and she by day kept them with her, teaching them to sew, and other things, and at night locked them up in a room, where she kept them safe from every insult, and for this were they called the nuns; the which seemed to me a very good thing.”⁴

It was the strict convent discipline, common in the bringing up of girls in Spain, which the friars introduced in the

¹ In Garce's Diary, translated by Elliott Coues, I, p. 262; cf. Gleeson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 29 *seq.*

² Blackmar, Spanish Colonization in the Southwest, Johns Hopkins University Studies.

³ Cf. Vancouver's account of his visits to the missions, in Hittell, *Hist. of Cal.*, I, p. 471.

⁴ Garce's Diary, I, p. 263.

work of training the native girls. A soldier's wife took the place of the Spanish cloistered nun, and the domestic arts, sewing, spinning, and cooking, were substituted for the convent curriculum of studies. When De Mofras visited California, more than sixty years later, the native girls were still being trained in this way.¹

When Father Serra died in 1784, he was succeeded by Father Fermin Francis Lazuen. He was a man of refinement and scholarly attainments, even more markedly so than Father Junipero, and his administrative ability was equal to his learning.² For eighteen years he remained Prefect of California, founded many new missions, and labored to extend and perfect the work of the missionaries along the lines laid down by his predecessor.

Up to this time, there seems to have been no formal school work, outside of teaching the catechism. But little effort had been made to teach the natives Spanish. The boys spent most of the day in the fields.³ Whatever teaching of the common branches there was was done incidentally, or in the case of individuals. Father Lazuen, however, introduced schools, wherein reading and writing and Spanish were taught, and singing by note, although only the most intelligent pupils were taught to read and write.⁴ In the absence of books, these arts were not considered to have much practical value, but all were taught to sing, and were given plenty of practice in the daily religious exercises. Instruction in instrumental music was also given. Each boy was taught the rudiments of a trade, and much of the school-day went into practical lessons of this kind. Carpentry, black-smithing, stone-cutting, brick-making, weaving, agriculture and gardening, were the principal trades. Special stress was laid upon the value of steady occupation for the young, and habits of industry were inculcated as an essential to real Christian life.⁵ School-houses or school-rooms were a regular feature of the mission-buildings

¹ Blackmar, *Spanish Colonization in the Southwest*, p. 41.

² Hittell, *Hist. of Cal.*, I, p. 489.

³ One of their chief tasks was to keep the birds away from the ripening fruits and crops.

⁴ Shea, *Hist. of the Cath. Church in the U. S.*, IV, p. 345.

⁵ Clinch, *California and its Missions*, II, p. 208.

from this time on, but the training of the children continued always to be in the main industrial.

The slight importance attached to reading and writing and to the learning of Spanish, a knowledge of which was essential to the natives for much intellectual progress, is a point wherein the educational system established by the Franciscans in California is certainly open to criticism. Governor Borica, in 1795, issued a circular to the heads of the missions, directing them to form a school in every establishment, and teach the Indians to speak, read and write Spanish, to the absolute exclusion of the native language. To this little attention seems to have been paid. Borica showed himself a strong friend of education, and besides encouraging it in the missions, attempted to establish schools for the Spanish children in all the garrisons and pueblos. At this time the native Spanish population of California did not amount to more than 1,500.¹ It was very hard to find teachers, but Borica finally succeeded in starting several schools in the pueblos, a retired sergeant being the first school-master, and the public granary at San Jose the first school-house. The curriculum of these first public schools in California was very simple. Christian doctrine, reading and writing, with perhaps the elements of arithmetic, were the only subjects taught.² Some interesting facts respecting the illiteracy of the Spanish soldiers were brought to light by Borica's educational zeal. In 1791, only two out of 28 soldiers at San Francisco could write. In 1794 not a man in the garrison there was able to write, and the commandant asked that one who could write be sent from Santa Barbara. In 1800, many soldiers acting as corporals could not be promoted because they could not read.³

Before passing judgement upon the neglect of thorough instruction in the common branches under the mission system, we must consider that the aim of the missionaries was not primarily intellectual, but spiritual, and that the system of instruction adopted for boys and girls respectively, was held by the friars to be the best adapted to the immediate moral,

¹ Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, I, p. 603.

² *Ibid.*, p. 643.

³ *Ibid.*

material, and intellectual wants of a people who were in a state of transition from savagery to civilization. The natives were extremely lazy, and, generally speaking, stupid. Some among them were skilled in certain kinds of dyeing and carving, and they were all passionately fond of music. The missionaries, in framing their educational system, tried to adapt it to the characteristics and needs of the natives, just as they had done in New Mexico. All the children were taught to sing, and those who had inclination for it were taught the use of the musical instruments common in Europe. They were taught the manufacture and dyeing of cloths and fabrics of various kinds, from materials raised on the mission farms. With the help of skilled artisans, brought from Mexico for the purpose, they were schooled in the arts of masonry and carpentry, and the old mission churches still standing testify, although in ruins, to the high degree of technical skill they acquired, as well as to the architectural genius of the padres.

After all, was it not more important, at least for the first generation of converts, to learn to till the soil and to support themselves by the labor of their hands, than to learn to read and write? As between knowledge and industry, the friars might very sensibly have inclined to the belief that, in view of the inherited indolence of the natives, the first and most essential thing to teach them was work, and that it would be time enough to set up schools after the European fashion when their pupils had mastered the more elementary and necessary arts which would provide for them food, clothing, shelter, and other common conveniences of civilized life. When schools were actually established, the plan was to give instruction chiefly to the children who were brightest, with a view to making them teachers and superintendents of the others in the various trades and occupations. Eventually, there were schools established at most of the missions, and probably more or less common school education came to be given to every child. As late as 1829, however, several of the missions are reported as having no schools, and the complaint of some of the padres at that time, in reply to the circular of the Governor enjoining the establishment of schools, that the boys had

little time for learning on account of their work,¹ shows us the relative importance the missionaries attached to book-knowledge as compared with industrial skill.

If we would judge fairly of the wisdom and value of the educational methods of the friars, we must view their methods in the light of the results achieved. The test of the value of a method is in its working out. Certainly, the results achieved by the friars in the civilization of the natives of California, were without parallel in the English-speaking colonies, and were not surpassed even in Mexico or Paraguay. "History," says a careful and learned modern critic, "records no better work ever accomplished in modern times for an inferior race."² At the end of sixty years, there were twenty-one prosperous missions, on a line extending from south to north of about seven hundred miles. More than thirty thousand Indian converts were lodged in the mission buildings. They had been brought from the state of savagery, taught to wear clothes and accustomed to a regular life of toil, taught to read and write, instructed in music, accustomed to the service of the Church, partaking of its sacraments, and indoctrinated in the Christian religion.³ De Mofras has left us a brilliant picture of the material prosperity of the missions at the time they reached their greatest development. The line of missions linked together the most fertile valleys of the coast. In the year 1834 they produced 100,000 bushels of grain. They possessed 424,000 horned cattle, and 100,000 cattle were slaughtered every year, yielding a product of ten dollars per head. The total annual product of the missions amounted to more than \$2,000,000, and the valuation of the movable stock, aside from the buildings, orchards, vineyards, etc., was not less than \$3,000,000. Besides this, the "Pious Fund" yielded an annual income of \$50,000.⁴ The missions had grown wealthy, in fact, and a second line of missions, farther back from the coast, and extending parallel with the first, was being projected.

¹ Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.*, II, p. 680.

² Blackmar, *Spanish Colonization in the Southwest*, p. 47.

³ Dwinelle, *Colonial History of San Francisco*, p. 84; Blackmar, *Ib.*

⁴ Blackmar, p. 47.

But the material prosperity of the mission proved, in a way, to be their undoing. The country was filling up with colonists, and they looked with a covetous eye upon the fertile valleys from which the simple natives, under the mission discipline and management, were extracting all this wealth. Agitation for the secularization of the missions had been long going on, and was growing stronger every year. Mexico, meanwhile, had thrown off the Spanish yoke, and the Government of the new republic was violently hostile to the Friars. In 1834, the blow fell. The Governor of California, acting at the instance of the Mexican authorities, issued an edict for the "secularization" of the missions. The friars were driven off, and the property taken possession of by the Government. The poor Indians, of course, got little or nothing. The final result of the process of "secularization," as might have been expected, was the plunder and complete ruin of the missions, and the demoralization and dispersion of the Christianized Indians.¹

The best tribute to the work of the Catholic missionaries, and to the effectiveness of the methods they employed for the civilization and education of the native races, is to be found in the contrast between the results produced under the system they established, and the systems that have been tried by other agencies. It is interesting to note that the United States Government, after experimenting for over a hundred years in the education of the Indians, is tending more and more towards the adoption of the methods used by the Franciscans in California over a century ago.² If we contrast the labors of the Franciscans for the Indians of California with the work of the Government and other agencies for them since, we shall not find it difficult to accept as just the following judgment of the work of the Friars, by one who was competent to speak with authority upon the subject:

"If we ask where are now the thirty thousand christianized Indians who once enjoyed the beneficence and created the wealth of the twenty-one Catholic missions of California, and then contemplate

¹ Dwinelle, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

² Blackmar, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Cf. also Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905.

the most wretched of all want of system which has surrounded them under our own Government, we shall not withhold our admiration from those good and devoted men who, with such wisdom, sagacity, and self-sacrifice, reared these wonderful institutions in the wilderness of California. They at least would have preserved these Indian races if they had been left to pursue unmolested their work of pious beneficence."¹

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¹ Dwinelle, Col. Hist. of San Francisco, p. 87. It may not be amiss to quote here what a distinguished English traveller, Mr. Alleyne Ireland, in a recently published book (*The Far Eastern Tropics*, 1905) has to say about the methods of education employed in the case of the native peoples of the Orient. Indirectly, his remarks form a striking tribute to the efficiency of the educational methods employed by the Franciscans in California and the Spanish Missionaries generally, in dealing with the native races in the Western World.

Speaking of the educational system we have set up in the Philippine Islands, he says: "Every effort is being made in the Philippines to give the people whatever advantages may be attached to a wide diffusion of educational facilities; but when it is reflected how small a proportion of the Philipinos can ever be utilized outside the field of manual labor until a great increase in industry has provided work of a higher character, it is at least open to doubt whether the present attempt to increase the literacy of the people is not premature.

"I may add in this connection, that in fifteen years of travel in tropical countries in which education has been in operation for more than a generation, I have observed no indication that the spread of instruction has had the effect of making the natives appreciate the dignity of manual labor. In fact, for every skilled workman turned out by the industrial schools in the tropics, the schools of general instruction have cast upon the country twenty men who from the very fact of their education refuse absolutely to have anything to do with any employment which involves manual labor" (p. 242).

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.¹

Before examining the claims and merits of the new psychology, it will be useful to ask the question: What is meant by the new psychology? Generally adjectives are used to qualify a term and indicate exactly in what sense it is taken. This, however, is not the case here. "New" has reference only to the time of appearance, and right here the critic might find an objection, not against the science, but against the name which it has assumed. "New psychology" applies to a special kind, method or department of psychology, and is intended to mean more than the name implies, more than a recent as contrasted with an old psychology. Now, if it is no crime to be old; if, on the contrary, age entitles one to greater respect, it must be confessed that, at times, the new psychology seems to have failed in its duty, despising the old, and posing as the only true and genuine psychology. In the mouth of some among the young generation, "old" when applied to psychology sounds like an equivalent for antiquated, decrepit, worn out, good for nothing. What must be thought of this will be made clearer as we proceed. For the present, we may remark that youth has a tendency to be rash and inconsiderate, conceited and overbearing. Enthusiasm leads to exaggerated self-confidence. Men are apt to overestimate the importance of a new method or scientific discovery. We must add, however, that generally it is not the discoverer nor the true scientist who is responsible for this, but the retailer of science in the popular review or the newspaper. A good illustration is found in the recent talk concerning Dr. Burke's artificial production of life, or rather of "radiobes," in the Cambridge laboratory.

As for us, we shall not quarrel about names; the matter is of minor importance. Nevertheless, a little attention suffices to convince us that men are easily impressed by names; and I suppose that, in the present case, the very term new as applied to psychology has made some rather suspicious, just as they

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Society for Philosophical Inquiry, Washington, December 4, 1906.

would beware of articles offered as new on the market, whereas the same term may have been an attraction for others who, by nature, are fond of change and novelty or who aspire to be the pioneers in a new investigation.

To find the characteristics of the new psychology we should examine the problems, methods and points of view of psychology to-day, and see in what they differ from those of the past. But many recent features, though very important, are not included in the meaning commonly given to the term. Comparative, abnormal, genetic psychology are also of recent origin, but, in its ordinary use, the expression new psychology does not apply to them; it has been appropriated rather selfishly by experimental psychology. The new psychology presents itself as an autonomous and exact science. As autonomous, it claims freedom and independence of philosophy. As exact, it endeavors to obtain its data not only from simple observation but also from experimentation. In the present paper my intention is briefly to review these two features and to conclude with a summary of the main results reached so far.

I.

Formerly psychology was philosophical. It was the science of the soul, of the ego. Its problems included those of the nature, origin and destiny of the soul, and all other considerations were primarily directed to or resulted from the solution of these problems. On a meager and inadequate basis of facts much speculation was indulged in. Long and generally fruitless discussions and polemics were carried on. In this respect psychology shared the fate of the physical sciences. At the beginning, they also were involved in highly metaphysical considerations on the essence of matter and motion, the primordial elements, and so on. These sciences were really what physics is still sometimes called, a "natural philosophy." The absence or scarcity of facts, and the absence of means and methods to obtain them, explain why the mind at once went higher into metaphysics.

But psychology has followed the example of the physical sciences. It has separated itself from philosophy and proclaimed its independence. Its problems are restricted to the

mental states, their description, analysis, classification, genesis, and the like. The other problems are referred to what is known as rational psychology or philosophical psychology, or better—since these are still psychologies—to the philosophy of mind.

Shall we object to modern psychology because it is empirical? Shall we repeat the trite accusation that it is a psychology without a soul, or, etymologically, a science of the psyche and yet without the psyche? In the first place it must be noted that psychology to-day is not without a soul in an exclusive, but rather in an agnostic, sense. *In his own science* the psychologist neither affirms nor denies it. He abstains from pronouncing because the question does not belong to him but to the philosopher. Moreover should the term psychology be a misnomer the harm would be slight. It is a simple matter of terminology, and we know that the name of a science means little because its signification has undergone many successive changes. Geometry is not the measurement of land. Biology no longer busies itself with life in its metaphysical aspects, but only with its manifestations. If we consider their names, we find very little difference between astronomy and astrology. Physiology is not the science of nature, and physics allied with it in etymology has an altogether different meaning. We need not be surprised then if the signification of the word psychology is more and more restricted. After all, what is that *ψυχή* which it implies? Its meaning is manifold in Greek, but in the first systematic treatise, Aristotle's *περὶ ψυχῆς*, it stands for the entelechy or substantial form of all living substances. It is the principle of life, not only conscious but even merely organic. To-day, however, no one claims such an extensive province for psychology.

If we recognize the right of physical sciences to proceed independently of metaphysics; if they are allowed to study material phenomena without pronouncing on the essence of matter, and if history shows therein a condition of progress, why should we insist on psychology remaining philosophical? It has an immense field of its own to explore—concrete facts may be studied scientifically without presupposing definitions—and if it is not the science of the psyche in its metaphysical

aspect, it is the science of psychic processes, and hence really a psychology.

Of course such a science by itself will be incomplete. Like all natural sciences it rests on certain assumptions and uses certain principles the value of which must be tested by philosophy. Like them it will call for a philosophical complement. More than any other it leads directly to metaphysics. The higher problems concerning the mind are of vital importance. But they need not belong to psychology. Their solution must be based on a solid foundation of established facts. If philosophy has failed so many times in its attempts, if construction after construction has fallen in ruins and been replaced by one as weak and as ephemeral, is it not because the foundation was insufficient, or because it was laid down not for philosophy but for a preconceived system of philosophy? It is neither necessary nor desirable for the psychologist to be at the same time a philosopher. I mean that in his psychological investigations he must leave aside whatever philosophical views of the mind he may entertain. Otherwise consciously or unconsciously there will be on his part a tendency to observe imperfectly, to observe so that the facts will fit in with his theory. The philosophy of mind ought to come after, not before psychology. Let then the psychologist, without any metaphysical bias, give us this needed basis on which may be constructed a sound and firm mental philosophy.

II.

Not only does the new psychology refuse its allegiance to philosophy and pride itself on its autonomy, it has taken a bolder step in adopting experimental methods for the study of mental phenomena. In the first lesson of his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (published 1830-1842) Auguste Comte teaches the "manifest impossibility" of introspection. The human mind can observe directly all phenomena except its own, since it cannot divide itself into two in such a way that while one-half should think the other should watch the process. He proclaims that the psychological method is radically wrong. In the forty-fifth lesson he speaks again of the deep absurdity and the evident contradiction involved in supposing that man

can perceive his own thinking process.¹ Later in England, a strong protest was also entered against the introspective method by Maudsley in the first chapter of his *Physiology of Mind*, a title which in itself is significant.

Meanwhile the sciences gave the example of fine and accurate determinations of fruitful experiments. It was in the early 40's that physics succeeded in establishing the law of the conservation of energy, showing that notwithstanding the various forms which energy may assume, its sum total in a closed system remains constant. While chemistry was engaged in the minutest analyses and measurements astronomy was calculating the enormous distances, the dimensions and motions of the stars. The discovery of errors in recording the transit of stars led Bessel (about 1820) to investigate the psychological causes of the "personal equation." Thus was attention called to what we know at present as reaction time. Physiology was shown to be in close touch with physics and chemistry. The relations of organic and of mental processes were determined more accurately. Brain physiology soon assumed the tendency to substitute itself for psychology and to consider psychic processes simply as organic functions. So in all the sciences accuracy and exactness were sought, and by experimentation all were progressing rapidly. Would psychology alone remain stationary? Would it be satisfied with the vague data that were at its disposal? Would it not also try the experimental methods so much superior to common observation? But how could mental processes be experimented on? How could they be measured?

Not physically as we calculate the dimensions, weight, energy, etc., of material substances. Evidently no physical unit can apply to mental states.

Not even psychologically, by taking one conscious state as a standard unit, as a psychological meter. Mental states have different qualities; none can be found that will apply to all the others. An emotion can no more be compared to a sensation or an image or a conation than a length to a weight or a certain

¹ There is no place for psychology in the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. Only one lesson is devoted to the "intellectual and affective life," and it comes with the treatment of the physiological sciences.

degree of temperature. Even for mental states of the same quality we may know in a general way that they have not the same intensity, that a sensation is thus different from another, or that an emotion grows stronger or weaker, but no accurate comparison is possible. We have no applicable unit, none fixed and determined.

There are three main fields of investigation which it is possible to explore by experimentation.

1. A sensation or perception is always dependent on the presence of a physical stimulus. The determination of their relations is the object of psychophysics. Fechner whose name especially is associated with that of psychophysics considered two main points, the threshold and the minimal differences of sensations. It was known before, but in an indefinite manner, that a stimulus, if too strong or too weak, too near or too distant, though certainly existing physically, produces no sensation. Psychophysics endeavors to determine for each sense the initial point of sensation. It was known also that the sensation and the stimulus do not increase in the same ratio. An addition to the stimulus is not always felt; and the addition of the same quantity produces a different effect on the sensation according to the quantity of the original stimulus. It is evident, for instance, that the addition of one voice to a numerous chorus does not produce the same difference in the auditory sensation as an equal addition to one or two singers only. What is the exact proportion of a physical and of a mental increasing or decreasing series common observation cannot determine. Weber's and Fechner's law, even if not perfectly satisfactory and universally accurate, is a more definite though indirect and comparative determination of sensations.

2. Whatever explanation be given to the fact, it is certain that a mental state is always preceded, accompanied and followed by many complex changes in the organism. This is the province of physiological psychology. Modifications in the nervous system, the circulation, respiration, pulse, muscular contraction, temperature, etc., are carefully registered and compared. Concomitant variations of organic and of conscious processes in their complex variety are examined and determined with as much precision as possible.

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3. Mental processes require time. There may be differences of opinion as to whether the time is spent only for physiological or for both physiological and mental processes; but the fact is certain that time is required, longer in proportion to the complexity of the mental process and varying greatly under certain conditions. This duration again psychology endeavors to analyse and measure, and it tries to find out what influences lengthen or shorten it.

In a word experimental psychology aims at controlling the mental states by controlling the physical and physiological processes with which they are related.

Beginning with Germany, psychological laboratories were soon established in universities. New problems were suggested, new methods devised, new apparatus constructed. A science was definitely organized and claimed a place, as a psychology, among the departments of scientific knowledge. We know what importance it has assumed at the present time.

From the beginning also objections were raised. In the first volume of the *Philosophische Studien* (1883) we find three articles by Wundt on the questions of methods and principles. He opens the first number with an article on psychological methods. Later, in answer to Zeller's objections, two other studies followed on the measurement of psychological processes. These papers are important as a vindication of experimental psychology, written by its recognized leader. Wundt remarks that the task of psychology is to analyse the contents of consciousness into their elements, to study these elements in their quantitative and qualitative aspects, and to find their relations of co-existence and succession. To the objection that we do not measure consciousness directly Wundt answers that it is not necessary. Frequently even in physical sciences we must be satisfied with indirect measurements. Nor can it be said that because the standards used are physical the new investigation is no longer psychological. All admit that physical science is real notwithstanding the fact that the objects it deals with cannot be reached except through sensations, that is, through consciousness, through something psychical. Physical standards are used, it is true, but at the same time they are also mental representations.

III.

Before we pass to the results of the new psychology let us briefly review a few issues frequently raised and discussed and on which there is yet no agreement. Is what has been named the new psychology a psychology at all? Is it a science? Must it be affiliated with the philosophical or with the physical sciences? Of these three points the first as being more fundamental and essential in the solution of the others deserves a special attention.

1. Evidently experimental psychology is not the only psychology, not the whole psychology. It cannot claim to be more than one of its branches, one of its departments and one of its methods. Psychology has other sources of information. Many prominent psychologists are not experimentalists. They take into consideration the results obtained in the laboratories but do not rely exclusively nor even primarily on them. Yet their work is up-to-date and it would be an injustice to call them "old" psychologists. Experimentalists also when they no longer limit themselves to points of detail, but endeavor to systematize their results, have recourse to data obtained by other means. Information is derived from all possible sources, and the inventive genius in devising new means is marvellous. Not only introspection, but sociology, ethnology, art, religion, political institutions, speech, literature, statistics, crime, pathology, psychiatry, etc., are called upon to supply psychology with materials. One has only to peruse a few psychological periodicals to realize what a wealth of data has been accumulated from all directions.

Experiments have been added to these, but the problem remains always the same, namely, the problem of mental processes. Experiments are used in order to produce these processes systematically, and thus to examine more successfully their conditions and manifestations. In this way more light is thrown on their nature and genesis; consciousness is assisted in giving a more varied and more accurate report. The interest is not centered on the vibrations of ether or air, nor on the nerve conduction, but on the visual or the auditory sensation, the volition or the feeling. Take such researches as those of the rapidity of perception, the keenness of the senses, the

errors of judgment, the perception of space and time, the influence of fatigue, feelings, pain, attention or distraction, and a multitude of others, why should we hesitate to call them psychological? Because physical instruments, and, to a certain extent, physical methods are used? Or because not only the psychical but also the physiological processes are considered? Such reasons are insufficient. The same experiment might be performed by the physiologist and the psychologist, but for different purposes. The attention of the former is focussed on the movement, the chemical reaction, the organic changes. The attention of the psychologist is always focussed on the mental process. For him all the rest is only an external means, a side issue, an avenue that leads to a better comprehension of the inner mental state.

Not merely in its problems and points of view, in its methods also is experimental psychology really a psychology. Introspection is not set aside; it is not supplanted by experimentation, but helped, completed and perfected. There is no substitution but rather an addition. Without experiments self-observation is of great value; without self-observation experiments are of absolutely no value; they are even an impossibility. A man who can see and hear is capable of acquiring scientific notions by the simple use of his senses. But what is the use of giving the blind man a telescope or a microscope, or the deaf man a phonograph or the receiver of a telephone? In the same manner, even if the fact is not always recognized, self-observation is the vivifying principle in all methods of psychology. Even if in the report of the experiment descriptions of apparatus, illustrations, diagrams, tables, curves, etc., occupy the larger and seemingly the more important place, it must be kept in mind that all these tend to or result from the subject's introspection; that of themselves they would be worthless; and that without introspection no data whatever could be obtained. Physical stimuli may be controlled by the experimenter, but the report of the subject is always based on the conscious state which he has experienced. The method of the new psychology then is really experimental introspection.

Nowhere is it more important to control observation than

in psychology; nowhere therefore is experimentation more necessary. Comte's and Maudsley's objections do not show the impossibility of introspection—what can a priori reasonings do against the existence of a self-evident fact?—but they show its difficulties and dangers, which are real. Mental states are very complex. By experiments we can proceed further in their analysis; likewise physics and chemistry by experiments have reached, if not the elements of matter, at least something more simple than was obtainable by mere observation. Moreover mental states are unstable, transitory and changing. They are constantly undergoing modifications under the influence of concomitant processes conscious or subconscious. They cannot be produced at will, nor is their exact and perfectly identical reproduction possible. Frequently they are not observed while they take place, but only remembered, and we know that memory, especially of mental phenomena, is subject to many illusions. Preconceived ideas and prejudices also influence introspection. Let us add that mental processes take place in a closed world accessible only to one witness.

It is to obviate these difficulties and verify hypotheses that experiments are needed. A science of psychology cannot be built on mere introspection, for its aim is to infer general laws of mind, whereas introspection is necessarily limited to the processes of the same mind. With no other basis, valid generalization is impossible, for it runs the risk of mistaking special and individual features for essential; or, on the contrary, of omitting really essential features because they have not manifested themselves. This principle has always been recognized implicitly at least. Before our laboratory experiments there was the observation of the mental behavior of others. We find even some elementary or rudimentary experiments, for instance in watching the mental effects produced by words, circumstances, contradictions, pain, or the mental changes resulting from changes of stimuli, etc. At the present time experiments are far more elaborate, but their purpose is the same: to guide and control introspection.

One of the most prominent experimentalists, Professor E. W. Scripture, of Yale, in his book *Thinking, Feeling, Doing*, writes (p. 282): "The difference between the old and the new

is not one of material; the subject is the same for both, namely, the facts of mind. The difference lies in the carefulness with which the information in regard to these phenomena is obtained. Instead of careless observation and guess-work the utmost care and self-sacrificing labor are expended in the laboratory in order to obtain single facts." And again in his *New Psychology* (p. 453): "The method of direct observation of mental life is the only possible one, and until it had received a firm basis any science of psychology was impossible. . . . All the other methods of psychology are only refinements of this method. The new psychology is thus merely a development on the basis of the old; there is no difference in its material, no change in its point of view, and no degeneration in its aims. What the old tried to do, namely, to establish a science of mind, and what it did do, as far as its means allowed, the new psychology with vastly improved methods and facilities is striving to develop in finer detail."

2. Is the new psychology a science? This is a secondary question which need not detain us. It is largely a matter of terminology hinging on the meaning we give to that word science and the characters we consider as essential. To be sure, experimental psychology is young—fifty years is a very short time especially in such a line of research—few are the verified laws and even the ascertained facts. This is common to all beginnings. The young man has not yet all the qualities of the adult. The young bird is not able to soar very high. Yet we do not hesitate to call the former a man and the latter a bird although they are not yet fully developed. To be sure also, psychological laws have not and will never have the same accuracy, universality and necessity as the physical laws, nor consequently the same mathematical formulations. For on one hand experimental psychology has to rely on averages, and in many cases psychologists give different results. On the other hand, the results are greatly affected by the subject's dispositions, temper, habits and training. Some of these defects may be remedied with time; causes of variation will be found and eliminated. Others are inherent in the nature of the subject matter itself. But after all, physical sciences also are to a great extent hypothetical. Many of their conclusions

are only approximative. Very few are their laws which need no revision and no further determination.

3. Is psychology a philosophical or a natural science? This question has been discussed time and again. That it has received no answer acceptable to all was evidenced by the general discussion on "The Affiliation of Psychology with Philosophy and with the Natural Sciences" by members of both the American Philosophical and the American Psychological Associations at their meeting of last year, December 27, 1905. The opinions were about equally divided. Space does not allow me to give this point the development it deserves. I must limit myself to simply indicating what are, to my mind, the principles of solution. (1) The question presupposes the necessity of an affiliation, and of the affiliation with either philosophy or the natural sciences. But what is the value of this assumption? Is such a necessity clear and evident? If not, it is the first thing to establish. History, and economics, for example, claim a place among the sciences, and yet we do not reduce them to either group. Perhaps then affiliation is not a necessity at all, or the disjunction referred to, *i. e.*, philosophical and natural sciences, is not exhaustive but inadequate. (2) An indication that such is the case is that in examining the arguments brought forward by both parties one is impressed by their negative force on both sides. They demonstrate the impossibility of affiliating psychology with either member of the disjunction. On the contrary, in their positive aspect they are remarkable for their weakness. Thus the advocate of the affiliation with the natural sciences does not prove his own positive contention, but only the impossibility of an affiliation with philosophy. His opponent with equal success shows that affiliation with natural sciences is untenable, but fails to convince us that it must be with philosophy. (3) The terms used are vague and ambiguous. This is a frequent source of misunderstanding and controversy, and seems to be the important factor in the present difficulty. Affiliation may be conceived as implying nothing but sympathy, association, friendly relations; or it may be understood as an adoption, a dependence, a reduction. The definition of philosophy, its extension and connotation are matters on which there is very

little agreement. Again natural sciences may be taken as including only physical sciences, or as co-extensive with whatever is not philosophy. Besides the physical and the metaphysical there is room for what we might call the extraphysical sciences. (4) Psychology can be *reduced* to neither the *philosophical* nor the *physical* sciences. Its resemblance to them is only superficial. Both parts of this assertion have been sufficiently developed in the preceding pages. Psychology differs from philosophy in its points of view, problems and methods. Although in its methods it has a *partial* likeness to the physical sciences, yet its subject matter is the mental, not the material world. Hence it differs from the physical sciences as much as an ether vibration differs from a visual sensation, consciousness from motion, thought from secretion, mind from matter.

Notice, however, that separation and irreducibility do not mean absence of relations. As there is a certain unity and continuity of nature, so there is a certain unity and continuity of all the sciences. Psychology sends numerous ramifications in both directions, physical and philosophical. It has many points of contact with all other sciences. It gives to them and borrows from them. There is an exchange of good offices, a mutual usefulness without loss of autonomy. But it is neither philosophical nor physical; it is *sui generis*, it is psychological.

IV.

Has the new, that is, the experimental psychology fulfilled its promises? Does it manifest signs of strength and vitality? Can it show useful results of the past, and thus give hopes of better and greater results for the future?

On this point some may be disappointed because they expect too much, or because they want the work to progress more rapidly than is possible. Such expectations may have originated from a misconception of the undertaking; perhaps even from rash promises made by some enthusiastic and utopian representative of the new method.

It is clear that experiments cannot claim to be the only, or even the fundamental method of psychology. This we have shown already. We have indicated also the many difficulties

which the new psychology has to overcome. Its apparent sterility is due largely to the nature of the phenomena which it observes—they are complex and of difficult access—also to its recentness, especially when we consider that, being altogether new, it had to begin with forming and discussing its own methods, devising and constructing its instruments and training its specialists.

Moreover it has limitations in its range of applicability. At present at least the attempts to apply experimental methods to the higher mental processes are few, and, if those methods are empirical, such as statistics, questionnaires and various tests, they cannot be called experimental in the same sense as those applied to sensation, nor are the results so satisfactory.

With regard to the duration of psychic processes in themselves, I do not see that with the actual methods it is measured at all. For we cannot determine where the time is spent, in the mental or in the organic series. Complex mental processes lengthen the reaction time, but this may depend largely on the disposition of the nervous system which cannot be “set” and kept in the same state of readiness to react as soon and as rapidly. An important result for psychology however is to show how certain mental states, or organic conditions, or diverse circumstances such as food, sex, hour of the day, etc., affect the reaction time.

Let us also remark that experiments reach only a limited number of physiological processes, circulation, respiration, temperature, and the like. They cannot reach the central nervous processes which are more important. The limitations concerning the accuracy of the results have already been noticed.

All these difficulties and restrictions are recognized by experimentalists. If we consider what has been and what is their attitude toward their own work we find that it is a critical attitude. They have not been led by a blind enthusiasm, but are conscious of difficulties, not only of those that are raised by outsiders, but of other known only to themselves. Psychological literature abounds in discussions of principles and criticisms of methods. Great care is taken at every step, and every step is closely watched by an army of critics. The ambi-

tion is not so much toward a rapid as toward a safe progress. Frequent stops are made to reconsider and revise the work already done.

As to the results obtained so far, they may be few. Furthermore to the ordinary psychologist or the philosopher they may appear small, minute and insignificant. But sciences are built up with such details. That the edifice is small is no reason to despise it. Perhaps even it is no edifice at all yet, but only a few scattered and uncemented stones. They must not be thrown away. They have been gathered with great patience and labor; they are valuable. With time, with the help of other sciences and of philosophy, we may hope that they will be united and cemented in a compact and solid construction.

Besides points of fine details the new psychology has established more general laws. It has accomplished much already in showing the effects of habit, attention, distraction . . . , the conditions of memory and imagination, the influence of emotions, fatigue, heredity, drugs . . . , the nature of certain abnormal states. Psychopathology has proved an important field of research especially for the French school of experimentalists. They have shown that much can be learned concerning the processes of mind by approaching them in their abnormal manifestations. In Italy much attention has been given to criminology.

Experiments have been an abundant source, if not yet of solutions, certainly of problems and hypotheses. This is a very important feature which contains promises of future success. For hypotheses are the starting point of scientific discoveries, and they are useful even when disproved. At every step new hitherto unsuspected horizons are discovered. In current psychological books, periodicals, monographs, is found an abundance of materials partly elaborated, but always suggestive of new problems none of which could have been thought of without experimental methods.

How far experimental psychology has influenced what we might call the new pedagogy is difficult to determine. It would take us too far to examine the complex causes that led to the improvement of our system of education. It is certain that

good educational methods must rest on a true psychology. What physiology is to hygiene psychology must be to education. Education tends to produce a complete and harmonious development of all human faculties, to evolve the "*mens sana in corpore sano*." Hence the importance of those sciences which study the relations and the interdependence of body and mind. Even for the purely mental aspect of education it is important to follow exact methods, to know accurately the mode of working of the faculties, and to realize what quantity and what quality of knowledge is adapted to the various pupils according to age and dispositions. The new psychology has contributed to this result directly by tests and experiments, and indirectly by teaching the methods and giving the example of accuracy in all its investigations.

In conclusion we may say that experimental methods are a great help in psychology. They develop and control introspection, show its illusions and dangers. They accustom the mind to greater precision, and give the solution of problems otherwise inaccessible.

Separated from philosophy the new psychology is nevertheless of great utility to philosophers. If a true philosophy must be based on experience, its task will be facilitated when the facts at its disposal are more numerous and better ascertained. Philosophy cannot be indifferent to the relations of the mind with the physical world and the physiological functions. The solution of the problem of mind and body will depend largely on the data furnished by experimental psychology.

Thus there is room for the new department between the physical sciences and purely introspective psychology. But it must be remembered that if philosophy must not enter psychology, that is, if psychology must be simply the study of facts and of laws without any philosophical assumption or preoccupation, nevertheless psychology leads to philosophy and is incomplete without it. In fact we find that some prominent experimentalists (like Wundt, James, Baldwin, Ladd and others) have not neglected the consideration of higher problems. A psychophysical parallelism is postulated and this may suffice in psychology. But how many questions are sug-

gested! Is the postulate legitimate? Is it true that there is a perfect parallelism? Is it certain that the two series never come in contact? Why are they parallel, and why do we observe concomitant variations? What is the mind and what is the body? What is the source and the subject of mental phenomena? What is human personality? These are no new problems, but with a patient study of facts, with a better and firmer basis of experience, the chances of lasting success for the philosopher are greatly improved. Philosophy is the highest science, and in it all sciences must seek the ultimate solution of the problems which they suggest.

C. A. DUBRAY, S.M.

INTROSPECTION AND EXPERIMENT.¹

The claims advanced in behalf of the New Psychology and the criticism which it encounters, center for the most part around the question of methods and their validity. While it is generally admitted that without introspection there can be no genuine psychology, it is not so clear that introspection either requires the aid of experiment or profits very much by that aid when it is actually given. If we are told, on one hand, that experiment remedies the congenital defects of introspection, we are also warned that the remedy is ineffectual or possibly worse than the ill. And while much is said and written about accurate observation and quantitative results, no less is urged by way of protest against the value, for psychology, of experiment and its outcome. It would therefore seem proper and perhaps needful at this stage of the discussion to consider once more the relations that exist, or may possibly be established, between the introspective method and that which is called experimental. Supposing, in other words, that both methods are applicable to the processes of mind, that each is, in its own sphere, legitimate, we have still on our hands the question as to their mutual support, agreement and confirmation.

Even within these narrow limits, the question is altogether too large to admit of a single and definite reply. I shall therefore present under two separate questions, the more important issues. We may ask, in the first place, Does psychological experiment improve the power of introspection? And secondly, Does experiment furnish us with any items of knowledge concerning the mind which are not, or cannot, be furnished by introspection?

¹ A paper read before the Society for Philosophical Inquiry, Washington, at the meeting, December 18, 1906, as a contribution to the discussion whose larger outlines are presented in Dr. Dubray's article, "The New Psychology." In the present paper, some slight changes and additions have been made in reply to inquiries and criticisms put forward at the time of its reading. The closing paragraphs were suggested by the remarks of my colleague, Rev. Dr. Turner. E. A. P.

It would of course be vain to contend that the educative function of experiment is such as to supply introspective ability where this is, in any large measure, wanting. There is no laboratory course that will atone for the lack of self-observation. In fact, one of the first aims of such a course must be to determine the degree of introspective ability which the subject possesses, and the particular way in which that ability can be most effectually called forth. But it is equally true that psychological experiment can and does impart a training which is advantageous and which may develop certain qualities hardly attainable by any other means. It is even found necessary, as a rule, in estimating the results of experiment, to make allowance for modifications in the subject due to greater familiarity with the work and to the gradual elimination of factors which at the outset had more or less seriously interfered with the purpose of investigation. It is not only that the novelty wears off and that the subject acquires skill in the requisite manipulations; but also that the mental qualities which are essential to fine introspection are steadily cultivated and made available both for the particular sort of observation which that line of experiment implies and for other lines in which the specific objects to be noted are quite different.

To present the grounds of this statement somewhat more in detail, we may at once assume that introspection is an affair of attention; it is the attentive consideration of our inner experience with the specific aim of bringing to clearer view the items of that experience. Its success, consequently, must be directly proportioned to the power of attending, or, in other words, to the degree of concentration. Now one important feature of experiment is to render possible and to facilitate concentration. The exclusion of distracting influences, the limitation of perception to a single object or at least to a narrow range of objects, and the requirement of a single response in the form of a spoken judgment or in that of movement, are so many conditions which tend to focus the mind and further the effort at voluntary attention. In particular, it should be noted that the stimuli employed are generally of such a character that they offer little or nothing in the shape of personal interest or association. Except in cases where it is desirable

to ascertain the value of aesthetic and affective elements, preference is given to colors, tones, stimulations of pressure and temperature, which merely arouse the appropriate state and isolate it, as far as may be, from the processes with which it is usually interwoven. While it is admitted that no experimental conditions, however nicely arranged, can secure us absolutely simple and elementary processes of mind, some approximation to this ideal result is obtained when the whole force of attention is directed upon states that are relatively simple. And while it is true that the fixation of attention is in itself a complex process, it still remains that by varying, under experimental conditions, the form of this complexity, we may eventually give ourselves an account of its several factors.

Here indeed we come upon another equally important function of experiment so far as the result depends upon attention. In proportion as the mind is concentrated upon a given object, the various qualities, peculiarities and details of that object, as well as its relations to other objects, are brought to light. Experimentation thus becomes an analytical procedure. The ability to discriminate grows with each perception of difference, until the finest shadings in quality and the slightest variations in intensity are recognized. A sensory impression which the mind at first seizes only in bulk, as it were, is made to yield, by successive observation and comparison, elements which were hardly suspected. There is thus developed a habit of analysis the keenness of which must increase the power and enhance the value of introspection, even where this is the only available method. When, for instance, the mind turns from outer objects to examine its store of images, ideas and motives, the acquired analytical power is surely a valuable aid. Even the complex processes of reasoning, since they require the constant use of distinction to determine the meaning and relations of thought, must become more thorough and more critically secure, in a mind that has been accustomed to discrimination.

The fact that psychological experiment deals mainly and directly with sensory functions, is no valid argument against its efficacy as a means of intellectual training. The judgment pronounced upon the likeness or unlikeness, equality or inequality, of two stimuli is based on sense-processes; but it is

not in itself a deliverance of sense. It is rather the application to objects presented through sensation of certain highly abstract ideas, such as those of identity and difference, which are conceived by the intellect and which always remain its exclusive function. Thus, in determining the differential threshold for any department of sense, the mind is engaged not only with the sensations taken severally, but also with the relation, in quality or intensity, which one sensation bears to another. The perception of this relation is undoubtedly an act of the intellect; and as the perception, by dint of repeated and methodical observation, attains a higher degree of refinement, the intellectual power of discrimination must correspondingly increase. If sense-training by the usual methods is of service in the development of mind, we may reasonably suppose that the training supplied by experiment will also be helpful.

Its value is the greater because it is systematic. Experiment implies a definite plan with a properly arranged series of steps. Mere random flashes of analytical insight do not constitute experiment any more than does toying with complicated apparatus. It is needful of course that analysis should reveal elementary processes; but this is not all. It must also exhibit the relations of process to process, the framework of the original complex state, and the relative value of each process as it appears in the whole and helps to determine the character of that whole. The extreme care which has been taken in devising and refining the so-called psycho-physical methods, is justified mainly on this ground—the necessity, not merely of discovering the elementary processes, but of getting, moreover, a correct idea of their mutual relations. To tear a tissue apart is one thing; to dissect it is quite another thing. And there is a parallel difference between casual glances at consciousness and the orderly painstaking analysis which experimentation pursues.

As I have just referred to the psycho-physical methods, I may be permitted to add that in my judgment the scrupulous testing and criticizing of these methods at the very outset is a hopeful symptom of the experimental movement. To the onlooker, indeed, the minuteness exhibited in contributions to the

literature of this subject may well occasion surprise and impatience. But whoever undertakes experimental research will quickly realize that this very refinement of method would not have been possible had not experiment detected the sources of error which have to be eliminated or at least to be reckoned with. Perhaps the most serious mistake that could have been committed was that of placing too much reliance upon the empirical results, with no heed or concern for what the subject himself might experience. Fortunately, this pitfall was soon laid bare. Experimentalists came to realize that the mechanical tracing of the kymograph and the accurate record of the chronoscope were not the sole requisites nor the most important. It was needful, in addition, to obtain information which the subject alone could supply as to what occurred in his mind at the critical moment of perception, judgment, and reaction. Wanderings of the attention, changes of the emotional state, surprise, fatigue and the curious play of individual fancy—all these were data of the highest value. They could not be registered, nor even seized by the subject, except through careful introspection. Now, however, it was introspection, not in any vague and arbitrary fashion, but under conditions the significance of which could be understood and regulated at will. One such report from the subject regarding his own experience is rightly preferred to long pages of figures or the most skillfully plotted of curves. It furnishes a clue to improvement in method, and it not seldom points the way to an entirely new line of research. Herein, I take it, we reach the essential relation between introspection and experiment in regard to their educative value. Experiment is simply a shorter way of saying that, so far as the circumstances of mental activity permit, the mind is for the time being so situated as to secure the utmost centering of attention upon objects that are presented and actions that are to be performed in a definite order. And such being the case, I am convinced that our first question must receive an affirmative answer.

The second question refers to the outcome of these two methods and their relative importance as means of adding to our psychological knowledge. Any adequate reply would evidently demand a treatise instead of an outline. There are,

however, some salient facts and considerations which even a brief survey must include; and these, I think, may be most clearly presented by first pointing out the extreme positions.

It is obvious, to begin with, that certain mental processes, and notably those which are chiefly influential in the practical conduct of life, lie beyond the reach of experimental investigation. A motive can be weighed, but only in figurative speech. Ambitions, hopes, joys and sorrows trace their effects upon the mind but not upon any record that we can handle and see. The whole scale of values, ethical, moral and religious, is surely exempt from our psycho-physical methods and from the laws that are experimentally determined. What we now know of these forms of mental life and what we may eventually learn, must result from our own introspection and our observation of other minds.

At the opposite extreme, we may set those phenomena which issue from the mind and modify in some conspicuous and tangible way the organic processes. While we are conscious in a general way of the bodily resonance produced by the coarser emotions, we cannot by introspection pure and simple ascertain the direction and extent of the change which is thus brought about. We are aware from ordinary experience that muscles, arteries and lungs are affected by our feelings. But in what particular way a given feeling modifies, for instance, the circulation, what changes it occasions in pulse and volume, how quickly or how slowly the bodily effect rises to its maximum and falls to its ordinary level—these are problems that can be solved by experimental methods alone. It is certainly a different idea that one gets from self-observation and again from the study of the plethysmograph record. And though one doubtless may know quite clearly how it feels to be fatigued, one may yet learn something from the ergograph curve. Broadly speaking, therefore, we may say that if psychology has an interest in ascertaining just how mental states influence the organism, experiment is indispensable.¹

¹ The validity of the claim advanced here in behalf of experiment, is of course independent of any theory regarding the nature of emotion. Whichever of the rival theories one may adopt, one must, I think, recognize the value of experimental methods where the organic change permits their application.

Now between these two extremes, there stretches a wide area of investigation which is not the exclusive domain of introspection nor yet of experiment, but which can be mastered only by their co-operation. Many of the problems which confront us here have their origin in practical life and its needs. To this class belong the phenomena of color-blindness, contrast, rhythmic movement, reading, writing, and, in general, all those complex processes which include an outward action in response to a stimulus of sense. For practical purposes, it is often desirable to have the several processes so bound up, the one with the other, as to exclude hesitancy or uncertainty of execution. As in the case of the piano-player, there is a systematic attempt to link visual perception, auditory perception and muscular action in one automatic connection. And when the attempt is successful, free scope is left to the higher faculties of aesthetic enjoyment and artistic interpretation. Neither the artist himself nor those who judge of his skill would profit by a separate treatment of the various elements that make up the complex whole. But this is precisely what psychology undertakes. It is not content with the statement that the musician has a keen perception of tone; it asks further what this "keenness" amounts to, how far the ability to discriminate one tone from another may be carried. Now if such questions are legitimate, and if the correct answers will form an addition to our knowledge, psychology must resort to experiment. Once it takes this course there is no limit fixed *a priori* to the extent of research or the refinement of method.

On the contrary, as inquiry proceeds, new questions inevitably arise which lead the psychologist far from the practical concern which first suggested his labor. Hypothesis and theory, rather than application, become his paramount interest. His aim, above all, is to formulate the laws which control the activity of mind. The concept of law, however, in its scientific signification, is derived from those departments of knowledge which deal with the extra-mental world. We are accustomed to physical, chemical and physiological laws, long before we seek for psychological laws. Shall we then assume forthwith that law has the same meaning for mind that it has for nature, and that mental uniformities are exact parallels of physical

uniformities; or, shall we expect that conscious changes, however they may be related to physical changes, do nevertheless form a system of their own under laws peculiar to themselves? This question, theoretically at least, we cannot shirk. And certainly we cannot answer it completely by mere introspection. What it calls for is a detailed examination of the effects produced upon consciousness by changes in the physical order. It is not sufficient to say that a given state of consciousness is influenced, in quality and intensity, by variations which the external stimulus undergoes. The very terms "stimulus" and "stimulation" imply a relation. They cannot therefore be adequately defined, unless the psychical events be somehow compared with the physical events. And this comparison is possible only by means of experiment. But if this is true, it follows that the results of experiment form an important addition to our knowledge of mind. They enable us at any rate to deal with the fundamental question as to the nature of psychological laws, so far as these are determined by the self-activity of mind.

That this activity is not altogether immanent is a fact of common observation. We know that consciousness naturally seeks expression and we are familiar with the more conspicuous modes of that manifestation. If we furthermore take the view that the organism is in a way intermediate between physical energies and conscious perception, we may be led to inquire to what extent the action of the mind modifies the organic process. Is the modification in all cases the same; or has each form of consciousness a peculiar accompaniment on the organic side? Should the latter turn out to be true, as the results so far obtained seem to indicate, we may then reasonably claim to have learned something new regarding the mental process in question and regarding its connection with other processes. Should it appear, for instance, that the same vaso-motor effects occur when the state *A* is present in consciousness as those that accompany the state *B*, we have reason to infer that these two states, whether directly connected or not as mental events, are somehow related to the same processes in the brain. It is indeed a wide range of inquiry that opens before us at this point. We know through introspection what is meant by a

vivid recollection, a strong tendency, an easy flow of ideas, a forceful inhibition of desire and an immovable attitude of will. But introspection does not inform us whether these phrases, literally descriptive of our conscious experience, are also descriptive of the energy or rapidity or sluggishness which characterize cerebral change. It is only by experiment that we can hope to obtain even a beginning of the knowledge which an answer to these questions presupposes.

We may, if we choose, set these and similar questions aside and content ourselves with the thought that the most complete answer to be hoped for from experiment leaves us face to face with the problem of the connection between body and mind. Numerous and accurate as our data may become, they will not, in any explicit fashion, enable us to decide between the theory of interaction and that of parallelism. Knowing each and every coincidence of consciousness and brain, we should be as far as ever from understanding how the one affects the other, or perhaps from determining whether there is any "affecting" at all. The outlook is even less hopeful, when we inquire as to the ultimate nature of mind, its place in the real universe and, possibly, its relation to the Absolute. These, it may be urged are the all-important questions; and the failure of the experimental method to furnish an answer, far from ruling out the questions as irrelevant, simply shows that the method is its own condemnation.

The reply is, in part, obvious. Such problems are beyond the scope of experiment and of introspection alike. Their solution, if they are ever solved, must come from speculation, that is to say, from our reflection upon facts. To prove that the soul is a substantial being or to prove that it is merely an aggregate of conscious states, one must rely on deduction. Monism and dualism, materialism and spiritualism, inter-actionism and parallelism, are metaphysical theories. If the introspectionist believes that he can, by introspecting, decide upon their merits, his belief is groundless. And he is certainly doomed to a disappointment which the experimentalist avoids by declaring frankly that with these philosophical theories he has no concern.

A further reply, however, though by no means new, is worth

noting. As the history of speculation clearly shows, each of the rival solutions mentioned above claims to be the one correct and sufficient interpretation of facts. This is as true of Aristotle and the Scholastics as it is of any modern philosopher. The validity of each interpretation depends in great measure upon the manner of reasoning; but it also depends upon the data with which reason begins. Once it is shown that a considerable portion of these data can be supplied by experiment, the only outstanding question is whether the conclusions of reflective thought account logically for the facts. It would surely have been an error on the part of the experimentalists had they pretended to reveal the inner being of mind. And it would be no less disastrous on the philosopher's part to reject as trivial the evidence which experimental methods, while yet in the formative period, have furnished.

Viewed historically, these methods are new in their details and in the manner of their application. But their spirit and their underlying principles have prompted all really scientific research in the province of psychology. The alternative that is offered the psychologist to-day is not—introspection or experiment—but rather—introspection with primitive modes of experimentation or introspection with such perfected methods of experimentation as recent advance in neighboring fields of knowledge enables us to devise.

EDWARD A. PACE.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF COLERIDGE.

It is the purpose of this article to set forth the philosophy of Coleridge—the philosophy, not the theological opinions; and to set it forth, not for the purpose of praising or of censuring, but in order that a scheme of thought which played a great part three-quarters of a century ago, and which is now again attracting much attention, may be understood before it is criticised. The writer of these pages might use the words of Dunoyer: “Je n'impose rien; je ne propose même pas; j'expose.” Such an exposition is by no means superfluous, for no philosopher has been the object of more superficial and flippant criticism. Walter Pater's essay, for example, which is admirable in its treatment of Coleridge the poet, betrays the completest misconception of the philosopher and his philosophy. Even Mr. J. Dykes Campbell, the accurate and sympathetic biographer, falls into the common delusion that Coleridge's talk about a *magnum opus* was either a pretence or a dream. In fact, there is a great mass of manuscript ready for publication, which it is hoped that some of our American universities may purchase; but, at all events, enough has already been published to enable us to draw out the broad outlines of his system. The scheme of thought shall be explained, as far as possible, in the philosopher's own words.

Coleridge's philosophy must be viewed as that of a man who, having fallen from Christianity into the lowest form of Unitarianism, and from that to Pantheism, recoiled with horror from the blank atheism to which false principles by logical consistency were leading him; and who gradually worked his way upward to “an ampler ether, a diviner air.” When he was brought by divine assistance to the Christian Faith, he employed his genius in assailing philosophical systems, some of which are directly hostile to religion, and others of which offer a downward slope to anyone disposed to fall away; and he spent his best thought in constructing a system that would place the mind in harmony with the spirit of Christianity, and which might be used to illustrate its doctrines. “I wish,” he

said a few days before his death, "that life and strength had been spared to complete my philosophy. For, as God hears me, the originating, continuing, and sustaining wish and design in my heart was to exalt the glory of His name, and (which is the same thing in other words) to promote the improvement of mankind. But *visum aliter Deo*, and His will be done." The system, therefore, was never brought to completion; but perhaps the "glorious insufficiencies" of Coleridge may be found as interesting as the perfectness of narrower and shallower minds.

His political philosophy may briefly be described as a development of Burke's. He says: "In Burke's writings the germs of almost all political truth may be found." Two paragraphs on Burke, in the *Biographia Literaria* and in *The Friend*, form the most judicious and discriminating criticism of Burke's mind to be found in the English or in any other language. It may be added that he was a hearty admirer of the American people; and that on Irish questions his sympathies were with the "masses" against the "classes." At the time when Catholics were relieved of political disabilities (a measure which he saw must lead to the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church), his intense attachment to the principle of the Christian State and State-support for the Church caused him to waver between a desire to see the United Kingdom divided, and a desire to see the Catholic Church established in Ireland. In metaphysics, it is a philosophy which has sometimes been supposed, or represented, to be peculiarly mystical, or fanciful, or dialectical; but he himself thought it coincident with common sense: "It is the two-fold function of philosophy to reconcile reason with common sense, and to elevate common sense into philosophy." "It is wonderful to myself," he said in the last year of his life in reference to a disquisition written many years before, "to think how far more profound my views now are, and yet how much clearer they are withal. The circle is coming round to—and to be—the common sense." This is, of course, something very different from the "common sense philosophy" of Reid. "The creed of true common sense," says Coleridge, "is composed of the results of scientific meditation, observa-

tion, and experiment, as far as they generally are intelligible. It differs, therefore, in different countries and in every different age of the same country. The common sense of a people is the movable *index* of its average judgment and information. Without metaphysics science could have no language, and common sense no material. In all countries of civilized men, metaphysics have outrun common sense. Fortunately for us that they have done so. For from all we know of the unmetaphysical tribes of New Holland and elsewhere, a common sense not preceded by metaphysics is no very enviable possession." He draws the distinction between common sense and philosophy in a note upon a statement made by a favorite author concerning the relation between accident and substance as objects of our perception: "This is the language of common sense, rightly so called, that is, truth without regard or reference to error; thus, only, differing from the language of genuine philosophy, which is truth intentionally guarded against error."

He claimed no special originality. "In Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and India, the analysis of mind had reached its noon and manhood while experimental research was still in its infancy.¹ For many, very many centuries, it has been difficult to advance a new truth, or even a new error, in the philosophy of intellect or of morals." "In philosophy, equally as in poetry, it is the highest and most useful prerogative of genius to produce the strongest impressions of novelty while it rescues admitted truths from the neglect caused by the very circumstances of their universal admission." "There neither are, have been, nor ever will be, but two essentially different schools of philosophy, the Platonic and the Aristotelian. To the former I profess myself an adherent. *Nihil novum vel inauditum audemus*; though as every man has a face of his own, without being more or less than a man, so is every philosopher an original, without ceasing to be an inmate of the Academus or the Lyceum."² "My system, if I may venture

¹ This statement remains true concerning Greece, notwithstanding the fact that among the Greeks, philosophy began (contrary to the general law) not with religion but with physics.

² Vide *Biographia Literaria*, ch. xii (Vol. III, p. 344), Table Talk, June 28,

to give it so fine a name, is an attempt, not to oppose other systems, but to show what was true in each, and how that which was true in particular, in each of them became error *because* it was only half the truth. I wish to connect by a moral *copula* natural history (science) and human history—to take from Science its fatalism and from history its accidentality, to make science historical and history scientific.” He described himself as a Platonist, and it was to his Platonic principles, under God, that he ascribed his return to the Christian Faith. (Compare Augustine, Confessions, VIII, 3, and VII, 9–21.) But he never overlooked the broad distinction between the highest philosophy and the truths of Revelation. “The nearest philosophy to Christianity is the Platonic; but the true honours of Christianity would be most easily manifested by a comparison between that *nec pari nec secundo* but yet *omnibus aliis propiore*, the Platonic.” He remarks that Cambridge “Platonists” of the seventeenth century are “more truly Plotinists,” and that “from confounding Plotinism with Platonism, they fell into the mistake of finding in the Greek philosophy many anticipations of the Christian Faith, which in fact were but its echoes.” His disciple, Mr. J. H. Green, who first sought the philosopher’s acquaintance in 1817 for the purpose of studying Schelling, says that he abandoned the design “in consequence of Coleridge’s declaring his dissent from Schelling’s doctrines; and Coleridge began immediately the exposition of his own views . . . At this period, his doctrines were based on the self-same principles which he retained to his dying hour (1834); and differing as they do fundamentally from those of Schelling, I cannot but avow my conviction that they were formed at a much earlier period, nay that they were growths of his own mind, growing with his growth, strengthening with his strength, the result of a Platonic spirit the stirrings of which had already evinced them-

1834, Notes on Jeremy Taylor (V, 225), Biogr. Lit., ch. V (III, 208), Aids to Reflection, Aphorism IX on Spiritual religion, footnote (I, 267) and Introductory Aphorism I (I, 117), Letter to J. Gooden (Harper’s ed., IV, 339) dated 1814 by mistake. The references are to Harper’s edition of the works of Coleridge, except in the case of the “Letters,” which are published by Houghton & Mifflin, and the *Anima Poetæ* (a volume of excerpts from his note-books) published by Heinemann, London.

selves in his early boyhood, and which had only been modified and indirectly shaped and developed by the German School.”¹ The fact is that about the years 1814 and 1815, when he was composing the *Biographia Literaria*, he was much attracted by the mysticism of Jacob Böhme, of which he regarded Schelling’s theories as the intellectual systematization; but scarcely was the work published, when he realized that Schelling’s theories could not be purified from Pantheism. In consequence of the tone of the *Biographia*, the tradition of Schellingism long clung, and perhaps in some quarters still clings, to his name. In 1825, he wrote “Of the three schemes of philosophy, Kant’s, Fichte’s and Schelling’s (as diverse each from the other as those of Aristotle, Zeno, and Plotinus), I should find it difficult to select the one from which I differ most. . . . Immanuel Kant I assuredly do value most highly, not however, as a metaphysician, but as a logician who has completed and systematised what Bacon had boldly designed and loosely sketched out in the miscellany of aphorisms, his *Novum Organum*. In Kant’s ‘Critique of Pure Reason’ there is more than one fundamental error. . . . I can not only honestly assert, but I can satisfactorily prove by reference to writings . . . that all the elements, the *differentials* (as the algebraists say) of my present opinions existed for me before I had even seen a book of German metaphysics, later than Wolf and Leibnitz, or could have read it if I had. But what will this avail? A High German Transcendentalist I must be content to remain; and a young American painter, Leslie . . . has, I find, introduced a portrait of me in a picture from Sir W. Scott’s ‘Antiquary’ as Dr. Duster Swivil, or whatever his name is.” (Letters, II, 736). The absurdity of this opinion may best be seen if we reflect that, on the one hand, the German metaphysical systems are pantheistic (“pantheism,” says Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard, “is the inner religion of Germany”) and, on the other hand, that Coleridge, as Professor W. G. T. Shedd remarks, is “the foremost and ablest English opponent of Pantheism; we do not speak of formal opposition . . . but we allude to the whole plan and structure of the philosophy

¹ Vide Notes on John Smith, V, 67, and introduction to B. L. (III, p. xxxi), also *Anima Poetæ* (p. 259).

which he finally adopted, as in its own nature the most effectual preventive of the adoption of Pantheism." Coleridge, at the time when he admired Schelling's system, gave Schelling abundance of praise; and Schelling magnanimously said that Coleridge did not plagiarise from him, but that he had borrowed a remark from Coleridge. It was a fortunate thing for Coleridge, as he said himself, that his first lectures on Shakespeare were delivered before those of Schlegel were published or even delivered; and in fact some of the passages in Schlegel with which a coincidence exists in Coleridge were not in Schlegel's lectures when they were orally given, but were added when the lectures were prepared for publication. It is astonishing that critical malice and literary jealousy should be blind, or should try to make others blind, to the law that similar ideas arise in similar intellects when occupied with the same subject.

In logic Coleridge is distinguished by the firmness and boldness with which he asserts the interdependence of the intellect and the moral disposition, in the attainment of ethical and spiritual truth: "My opinion is thus: that deep thinking is only attainable by a man of deep feeling, and that all truth is a species of revelation." He says concerning the Sensistic School of Hartley and Condillac: "[Some of the French adherents] have embraced this system with a full view of its moral and religious consequences: such men need discipline, not argument; they must be made better men before they can become wiser." Of his own method in moral philosophy he wrote: "We have begun, as in geometry, with defining our terms, and we proceed, like the geometricians with stating our postulates; the difference being that the postulates of geometry no man can deny: those of moral science are such as no *good* man will deny. For it is not in our power to disclaim our nature as sentient beings, but it is in our power to disclaim our prerogative as moral beings, . . . and a man need only persist in disobeying the Law of Conscience to *make* it possible for himself to deny its existence, or to reject or repel it as a phantom of superstition." "By undeceiving, enlarging, and informing the intellect, philosophy sought to purify and elevate the moral character. . . . Christianity reversed the

order. . . . Her first step was to cleanse the heart. . . . In preventing the rank vapours which steam up from the corrupt heart, Christianity restores the intellect likewise to its natural clearness. By relieving the mind from the distractions and importunities of the unruly passions, she improves the quality of the understanding." "There is small chance of truth at the goal where there is not a childlike humility at the starting-post." "Beware of arguments against Christianity, which cannot stop there, and consequently ought not to begin there."⁴

It may be seen, then, that the foundation of Coleridge's philosophy is the law of conscience, the freedom of the will, the fact of responsibility, and the sense of sinfulness. It was this which estranged him from all pantheistic theories (so plausible to the mere dialectical metaphysician); and it is the most striking proof of the nobleness of his disposition, that in the years in which he was falling a slave to opium, his mind sought no excuse for his conduct in the Necessitarian or the Pantheistic theories which then fascinated his youthful intellect, but that his faults only aroused and deepened in him a conviction of the reality of the moral law, of the responsibility of man, and of the freedom of the will, and finally led him from the personality of man to the personality of God. "Evidences of Christianity!", he exclaims in the *Aids to Reflection* (i, 363), "I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it; rouse him, if you can, to the self-knowledge of his need of it; and you may safely trust it to its own evidence (remembering only the express declaration of Christ himself: 'No man cometh to me unless the Father leadeth him'). Whatever more is desirable for Christians generally (I speak not now with reference to professed students of theology) may, in my judgment, be far more safely and profitably taught, without controversy or the supposition of infidel antagonists, in the form of ecclesiastical history."

⁴ Vide *Letters*, March 23, 1801, B. Lit., ch. vii (III, p. 235); *Aids to Reflection*, I, p. 193. (Observe that in this passage Coleridge originally wrote "Our nature as moral beings," which he changed to "our prerogative as moral beings." The correction has been overlooked in the American edition) vide also pp. 225, 226, 290. With him "Nature" is a non-moral term.

In Epistemology he emphasizes the distinction between the imaginable (or unimaginable) and the conceivable (or inconceivable): "Materialism owes all its proselytes to the propensity, so common among men, to mistake distinct (vivid) images for clear conceptions and, *vice versa*, to reject as inconceivable that which from its own nature is unimaginable." Materialism is "an attempt to render *that* an object of sight which has no relation to sight. . . . Under the despotism of the senses, we are restless because invisible things are not the objects of vision; and metaphysical systems, for the most part, become popular, not for their truth, but in proportion as they attribute to causes a susceptibility of being seen if only our visual organs were sufficiently powerful." "Every system which is under the necessity of using terms not familiarized by the metaphysics in fashion, will be described as written in an unintelligible style, and the author must expect the charge of having substituted learned jargon for clear conceptions; while according to the creed of our modern philosophers, nothing is deemed a clear conception but what is representable by a distinct image. Thus the conceivable is reduced within the bounds of the picturable."⁵

"The position of Aristotelians, *nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu*, on which Locke's essay is grounded, is irrefragable: Locke erred only in taking half the Truth for a whole Truth."⁶ Accordingly, Coleridge insists, in season and out of season, on the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason: "The diversity, the difference in kind, between reason and understanding, was known to, and clearly admitted by, many of our older divines, by Hooker for instance; and it is implied in the whole of Bacon's *Novum Organum*." "In Hooker and the great divines of his age, it is evident that they knew and asserted the distinction, nay the diversity, of the things themselves, and it was merely an occasional carelessness in the use of the terms that reason is ever put where they

⁵ B. Lit. ch. X, ch. VI, ch. XII (Vol. III, pp. 225, 226, 245, 351).

⁶ *Aids to Reflection*, I, 154. Amid the extravagant praise and extravagant censure of which Locke has been the object, it is a pleasure to note Dr. Pace's article in the BULLETIN, January, 1905, as a model of two rare qualities, accuracy in representation and sobriety in judgment.

meant understanding. But alas! since the Revolution (1688), it has ceased to be a mere error of language, and in too many it now (1825) amounts to a denial of reason."

The Understanding is "the faculty judging according to the senses," "the faculty by which we generalize and reflect," "the faculty which, generalizing from particular experiences, judges of the future by the analogy of the past." The Reason is "the power of universal and necessary convictions, the source and substance of truths above sense, and having their evidence in themselves." "The understanding suggests the materials of reasoning; the reason decides upon them. The first can only say, This is so, or this is likely to be so; the last says, This must be so." It is the faculty of reason which establishes the essential distinction between man and brute; for, he says, the understanding, considered in itself and in abstraction from the soul in which it is rooted, and the reason by which it is illuminated, differs only in degree in man and brute. Hence, he remarks, we speak, without tautology, of "the human understanding." "Reason has no concern with the impermanent flux of particulars, but with the permanent relations, and is to be defined, even in its lowest or theoretical attribute, as the power which enables man to draw necessary and universal conclusions from particular facts.

. . . From the understanding to the reason, there is no continuous ascent possible, it is a *metabasis eis allo genos*." "They differ in kind, not in degree." "The essential peculiarity of the human understanding consists in its capability of being irradiated by reason—in its recipiency; and even this is *given* to it by the presence of a higher power than itself." "The understanding in all its judgments refers to some other faculty as its ultimate authority; the reason in all its decisions appeals to itself as the ground and substance of their truth." "In Kant's 'Critique of the Pure Reason' there is more than one fundamental error; but the main fault lies in the title-page, which, to the manifold advantage of the work, might be exchanged for 'An Inquisition respecting the constitution and limits of the Human Understanding,'"—an inquisition to be conducted by the Reason.

¹ Concerning the Reason and Understanding, see Coleridge's *Works passim*,

The understanding and the reason are both divided into theoretic and practical; but observe that this distinction is not coincident with Kant's; for Coleridge again distinguishes the practical reason from the conscience. The practical understanding is the power of "adapting measures to circumstances," or means to proximate ends; it is the perception of utility and expediency; in religion it is "the mind of the flesh." The practical reason is the perception, not of utility, but of right and wrong, good and evil; it apprehends ultimate ends and the means to these. It is not exactly the same as conscience, for conscience adds to the perception of right and wrong the sense of responsibility and of obligation. It is the conscience that is the organ of the "Categorical Imperative." Thus Coleridge distinguishes what Kant did not; and with him the practical reason is the power which, since the time of Hutcheson, has been called in British philosophy the "Moral Sense." (Compare Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, ch. V, § I, and "W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival," p. 217 and p. 334.) "Theoretic reason, as the ground of the universal and absolute in all logical *conclusion*, is rather the light of reason in the understanding. The practical reason alone is reason in the full and substantial sense." "The understanding is the faculty of reflection; the reason, of contemplation. Reason, indeed, is much nearer" (more analogous) "to sense than to understanding; for reason, says our great Hooker, is a direct aspect of truth, an inward beholding, having a similar relation to the intelligible or spiritual, as the sense has to the material or phenomenal." The objects of the reason he calls ideas; and the objects of the understanding conceptions. It is to be observed, however, with regard to the most general concepts, which, in his opinion, are not generalized by the understanding from experience, but constitute the understanding, that he thinks that "in strict and severe propriety of language I should have said *generalific* or *generific* rather than general, and *concienciencies* or conceptive acts rather than conceptions."

but especially *Aids to Reflection*, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, no. VIII (Vol. I, p. 241). It may not be superfluous to note that the English word *faculty* represents both the scholastic *facultas* and *habitus*. The scholastic term for practical reason was "Synderesis."

It belongs to the understanding to conceive and to define the meaning of a common name, or name of a class, for "the proper functions of the understanding are, that of generalizing the notices received from the senses in order to the constitution of names; that of referring particular notices (that is, impressions or sensations) to their names; and, *vice versa*, names to their correspondent class or kind of notices." He is fond of pointing out that ideas, easily and naturally apprehended by the reason, appear, when presented to the understanding, to be inconceivable, that is to be definable only by means of two concepts contradictory (in appearance) to one another. Take, for example, "the idea of moral freedom as the ground of our proper responsibility. Speak to a young Liberal fresh from Edinburgh, or Hackney, or the Hospitals, of free-will as implied in free agency; he will perhaps confess with a smile that he is a Necessitarian, will proceed to assure his hearers that the liberty of the will is a contradiction in terms,* and finish by recommending a perusal of the works of Jonathan Edwards or of Dr. Crombie; or, as it may happen, he may declare the will itself a mere delusion, or nonentity, and advise the study of Lawrence's Lectures. Converse on the same subject with a plain simple-minded yet reflecting neighbour, and he may probably say (as St. Augustine said long before him in reply to the question, What is Time?) 'I know it well enough when you do not ask me.' But alike with both the supposed parties, with the self-complacent student just as certainly as with our less positive neighbour, if we attend to their actions, their feelings, and even their words, we shall be in ill-luck if ten minutes pass without having full and satisfactory proof that the idea of man's moral freedom possesses and modifies their whole practical being, in all they say, in all they feel, in all they do and are done to; even as the spirit of life, which is contained in no vessel because it permeates all." The idea, then, is not the less easily apprehended by the reason because it comes forth from the mould of the defining faculty, or understanding, in a self-contradictory

* So Huxley, in his *Life of Hume*, says that defenders of free-will "rather pride themselves on a fixed belief that our volitions have no cause, or that the will causes itself; which is either the same thing or a contradiction in terms."

form. "Of the understanding, considered in and of itself, the peripatetic aphorism, *nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu*, is strictly true. . . . This insulation of the understanding, however, is our own act . . . A man of healthful intellect uses his understanding in this state of abstraction only as a tool or organ . . . as the means, not the end, of knowledge. . . . Of the discursive understanding, which forms for itself general notions and terms of classification for the purpose of comparing and arranging *phenomena*, the characteristic is clearness without depth; it contemplates the unity of things in their limits only, and is consequently a knowledge of superficies without substance. So much so, indeed, that it entangles itself in contradictions in the very effort of comprehending the idea of substance." He even goes so far as to assert the paradox that "this is one of the distinguishing characters of ideas, and marks at once the difference between an idea (truth-power of reason) and a conception of the understanding, namely, that the former, as expressed in words, is always a contradiction in terms."⁹ Freedom, duty, the soul all in every part of the body, Immortality, God, these and similar ideas are for Coleridge the proper objects of the reason, mysterious to the understanding. For him, then, the reason has two functions; the lower, or speculative, to illuminate the understanding and to subordinate the generalizations of experience to necessary principles, and distinguish the essentials from the concomitants; the higher, or practical reason, to be "a Spiritual organ" for the intuition of moral principles and the apprehension of spiritual realities. He thought that "the controversy of the Nominalists and Realists was one of the greatest and most important that ever occupied the human mind; both were right and both were wrong; they each maintained opposite poles of the same truth; which truth neither of them saw for want of a higher premiss. Duns Scotus was the head of the Realists; Ockham, his own disciple, of the Nominalists. Ockham, though certainly very prolix, is a most extraordinary writer." (Coleridge elsewhere speaks of Scotus as the greatest metaphysical genius that the British

⁹ Aids to Reflection, app. B. (I, 459), Church and State, ch. I (VI, p. 33).

Islands have produced). It is well, by the way, for us to remember that when modern writers speak of Scholastic Realism, they are thinking of the last phase when it assumed the extreme form which Ockham assailed. The moderate Realism of St. Thomas might be described from the other side as a moderate conceptualism. The controversy now chiefly concerns Relations. Moreover, moral ideas should be distinguished from others, for they are not abstracted from sense-perceptions or experience, but are prior to a reality which they aim at producing. No mere combination or modification of experiences, or of universals abstracted from experience, could create the idea of holiness. "Whether ideas are regulative only, according to Aristotle and Kant, or likewise constitutive and one with the power and life of nature, according to Plato and Plotinus . . . is the highest problem of philosophy, and not part of its nomenclature. That which, considered objectively (that is, as existing externally to the mind) we call a law, the same contemplated subjectively (that is, as existing in a subject or mind) is an idea. Hence Plato often names ideas Laws; and Bacon, the British Plato, describes the laws of the material universe as ideas in nature." "Idea and Law are correlatives that mutually interpret each the other; an idea with adequate power of realizing itself being a law; and a law, considered abstractly from, or in the absence of, the power of manifesting itself in its appropriate product, being an idea."¹⁰

There is no writer in the study of whose opinions it is more requisite to observe the chronological order of the works; for his mind was constantly growing. At the time, however, of the re-publication, or rather the re-composition, of *The Friend* (1818), he had abandoned Schelling's philosophy, and had begun the exposition of a system of his own (as Mr. Green informs us); and therefore the following passage may be cited: "The grand problem the solution of which forms, according to Plato, the final object and distinctive character of philosophy, is this: for all that exists conditionally (that is, the existence of which is inconceivable except under the condition of its

¹⁰ *Statesman's Manual*, *app.* E. (I. 484), Church and State, ch. I (VI, 31), *Essay on the Prometheus of Æschylus* (IV, 358).

dependency on some other as its antecedent) to find a ground that is unconditional and absolute, and thereby reduce the aggregate of human knowledge to a system. . . . And now, the remarkable fact forces itself upon our attention, namely that the material world is found to obey the same laws as had been deduced independently from the reason. . . . The problem, what is the ground of coincidence between reason and experience, or, between the laws of matter and the ideas of pure intellect—the only answer which Plato deemed the question capable of receiving, compels the reason to pass out of itself and seek the ground of this agreement in a supersensual essence, which being at once the ideal of the reason and the cause of the material world, is the pre-establisher of the harmony in and between both. Religion, therefore, is the ultimate aim of philosophy.” “Christ [is] the Self-subsisting Word, *the light which lighteth every man*, so that what we call reason is itself a light from that light, *lumen a luce*, as the Latin more distinctly expresses it.”¹¹

The validity of the cognitive faculties is stated by Cole-ridge in the following manner: “The words of the Apostle are literally and philosophically true: ‘We (that is, the human race) live by faith.’ Whatever we do or know, that is in kind different from the brute creation, has its origin in a determination of the reason to have faith or trust in itself. This, its first act of faith, is scarcely less than identical with its own being. *Implicite* it is the copula—it contains the possibility—of every position to which there exists any correspondence in reality. (I mean that but for the confidence which we place in the assertions of our reason and conscience, we could have no certainty of the reality and actual outness of the material world. It might be affirmed that in what we call ‘sleep’ everyone has a dream of his own, and that in what we call ‘awake’ whole communities dream alike. The senses can only say ‘It seems’; ‘It is’ is a sense of reason.) It is itself, therefore, the realizing principle, the spiritual *substratum* of the whole complex body of truths. . . . This primal act of faith [is] a faith not derived from, but itself the ground and source of,

¹¹ The Friend, Sect. II, Essay V (Vol. II, p. 420); Notes on the Book of Common Prayer (Vol. V, p. 22).

experience, and without which the fleeting chaos of facts would no more form experience than the dust of the grave can of itself make a living man." "Man discovers, and recoils from the discovery, that the reality, the objective truth, of the objects he has been admiring, derives its whole and sole evidence from an obscure sensation, which he is alike unable to resist or to comprehend, which compels him to contemplate as without and independent of himself what yet he could not contemplate at all, were it not a modification of his own being." "Berkeleyism" (which in his youth he embraced) "can only be confuted or answered" he said, "by a single sentence. His premiss granted, the deduction is a chain of adamant." "Berkeley's scheme is merely an evolution of the positions—All perception is reducible to sensation, and All sensation is exclusively *subjective* (he who feels, feels himself) . . . Now, I would commence my reply to Berkeley by denying both positions, or—what is tantamount—the second." But he would only refute Berkeley; he would not undertake to demonstrate the opposite thesis: "I saw," he says, "that in the nature of things such proof is impossible." He attaches no weight to the argument that sensation must have a cause, because in fact the realism of the human race does not rest itself upon that argument, and because, he says, "the very faculty of deducing and concluding would equally demand an explanation." It rests then, he says, on trust or faith.¹²

Of Coleridge's cosmology, it is sufficient here to say that it was "Dynamic," and that he held the mechanical philosophy, which obtained the ascendancy at the revolution of 1688, in abhorrence as leading in logical consistency to rationalism, materialism, and atheism. In his psychology, that which signalizes the diversity of spirit from matter is the Will. In nature every cause is likewise an effect; every antecedent is likewise a consequent of some antecedent. But the Will is "a

¹² *The Friend*, pt. II, xi (Vol. II, 460); *B. L.* (vide Vol. III, p. 702, 704, 295, 244). For a criticism of the position that we trust, or put faith in, our faculties, see Newman, *Gr. of Ass.*, pt. I, ch. iv, I, 4: "We use, not trust, our faculties . . . We do not confront or bargain with ourselves." Certainly we must have used them for many years before we can even think of trusting or distrusting.

power of originating an act or state." As for the objections to free will, "what but absurdity can follow if you decide on spirit by the laws of matter?" The objector admits that "in willing we *appear* to ourselves to constitute an actual *beginning*, and that this seems *unique* and without any example in our sensible experience or in the phenomena of nature; but may it not be an illusion arising from our ignorance of the antecedent causes?" To this Coleridge answers: "You *may* suppose this; you may suppose that the soul of every man should impose a *lie* on itself, and that this lie and the acting on the faith of its being the most important of all truths and the most real of all realities, should form the main contradistinctive character of Humanity, and the only basis of the distinction between things and persons, on which our whole moral and criminal law is grounded; you may suppose this; I cannot (as I could in the case of an arithmetical or a geometrical proposition) render it impossible for you to suppose it. . . . Were it not in your power to do so, the belief of the contrary would be no subject of a *command*, no part of a moral or religious duty. You would not, however, suppose it *without a reason*. But all the pretexts that ever have been, or ever can be, offered for this supposition are built on . . . certain conceptions of the understanding generalized or abstracted from objects of sense, and having therefore no force except in application to the objects of sense."¹³ He considers freedom proved by the existence of a rule of morality (recognized in the practical reason), by the commands of conscience, by responsibility, conviction of guilt, and remorse as distinguished from regret.

The immortality of the soul is defended mainly, though not exclusively, on religious grounds. "My conscience forbids me," he wrote in 1815, "to propose to myself the pains and pleasures of this life as the primary motive, or the ultimate end, of my actions; on the contrary, it makes me perceive an utter disproportionateness and heterogeneity between the acts of the spirit, as virtue and vice, and the things of the sense, such as all earthly rewards and punishments must be. Its hopes and fears, therefore, refer me to a different and spiritual state of being; and I believe in the life to come, not through

¹³ Aids to Reflection, aphorism X, on spiritual religion (I, 273).

arguments acquired by my understanding or discursive faculty, but chiefly and effectively because so to believe is my duty, and in obedience to the commands of my conscience." But he afterwards advanced to a position in which he saw, not only that the reason on this point is not in apparent opposition to the conscience, but that it actually supports the command of conscience and makes its rationality clear.

"The main argument is that none but a wicked man dares to doubt it. When it is not in the light of a promise, it is in the law of fear, and at all times a part of the conscience, and pre-supposed in all spiritual conviction." In some Notes on Jeremy Taylor, he says: "Though I agree that the misallotment of worldly goods and fortunes was one principal occasion exciting well-disposed and spiritually awakened natures by reflections and reasonings, such as I have here supposed, to mature the presentment of immortality into full consciousness, into a principle of action and a well-spring of strength and consolation, I cannot concede to this circumstance anything like the importance which Taylor attributes to it. I am persuaded that, as the belief of all mankind, of all tribes and nations and languages, in all ages, and in all states of social union, it must be referred to far deeper grounds common to man as man, and that its fibres are to be traced to the tap-root of humanity. . . . Throughout animated nature, of each characteristic organ and faculty there exists a pre-assurance and instinctive and practical anticipation; and no pre-assurance common to a whole species does in any instance prove delusive. All other prophecies of nature have their exact fulfilment—in every other *engrafted word* of promise, nature is found true to her word: is it then in her noblest creature that she tells her first lie?"

The distinction and opposition between right and wrong, between good and evil, is for Coleridge essential and absolute. Utilitarian theories were to him as intellectually absurd as they are in the end morally deteriorating. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number! The question is, What happiness? A Chickasaw or Pawnee Bentham would necessarily hope for the most frequent opportunities possible of scalping the greatest possible number of enemies for the long-

est possible time. There is no escaping this absurdity unless you come back to a standard of reason and duty, imperative on our merely pleasurable sensations." Duty, however, or the unconditional command is no mere blind instinct, as it *might* be in the Kantian theory. The command of the conscience, on the one hand sanctions and enforces—but on the other is illuminated by—the intuitions of the practical reason, which is as truly as the speculative reason (or even more truly) a cognitive faculty. "That which is neither a sensation nor a perception, that which is neither individual (that is a sensible intuition) nor general (that is, a conception), which neither refers to outward facts, nor yet is abstracted from the forms of perception contained in the understanding, but which is an educt of the imagination actuated by the pure reason, to which there neither is nor can be an adequate correspondent in the world of the senses,—this and this alone is an idea." Such ideas are especially the object of the practical reason, or "moral sense."

Of our knowledge of God, and of the origin of that knowledge, he says: "The belief of a God and of a future state (if a passive acquiescence may be flattered with the name of belief) does not, indeed, always beget a good heart; but a good heart so naturally begets the belief that the very few exceptions must be regarded as strange anomalies from strange and unfortunate circumstances." In the *Biographia* he says that "for a very long time I could not reconcile personality with infinity; and my head was with Spinoza, though my heart was with John and Paul. . . . I became convinced that religion, as both the corner-stone and the key-stone of morality must have a moral origin. . . . It were, therefore, to be expected that its fundamental truth would be such as *might* be denied, though only by the fool, and even by the fool from madness of heart alone." When he had read Kant's works, his view was as follows: "The question, then, concerning our faith in the existence of a God, not only as the ground of the universe by his essence, but as its maker and judge by his wisdom and holy will, appeared to me to stand thus: The scientific reason, the objects of which are purely theoretical, remains neutral, as long as its name and semblance are not

usurped by the opponents of the doctrine; but it then becomes an effective ally by exposing the false show of demonstration, or by evincing the equal demonstrability of the contrary from premises equally logical. The understanding meantime suggests—the analogy of experience facilitates—the belief. Nature excites and recalls it, as by a perpetual revelation. Our feelings almost necessitate it; and the law of conscience peremptorily commands it. The arguments, that at all apply to it, are in its favor; and there is nothing against it but its own sublimity. It could not be intellectually more evident without becoming morally less effective; without counteracting its own end by sacrificing the life of faith to the cold mechanism of a worthless because compulsory assent.” But he advanced to firmer ground. He always maintained, indeed, that the existence of a personal God—not a mere Absolute, or Infinite, or Fate,—is not susceptible of “scientific demonstration,” for “all scientific demonstration is independent of the will, and is apodictic only as far as it is compulsory on the mind, *volentem, nolentem*.” “But I also hold that this truth, the hardest to *demonstrate*, is the one which of all others least needs to be demonstrated. . . . For every mind not devoid of all reason and desperately conscience-proof, it is little less than impossible not to believe; only, indeed, just so much short of impossible as to leave some room for the will and moral election, and thereby keep it a truth of Religion, and the possible subject of a commandment.” The proofs of the existence of a *personal* God are drawn from premises and principles furnished by the practical reason (and enforced by the conscience), not by the theoretic reason. He points out the result to which the dialectics of mere speculative reason must lead, in this region of mystery, unless they start from principles furnished by the practical reason and are controlled by the conscience: “The dialectic intellect by the exertions of its own powers exclusively can lead us to a general affirmation of the supreme reality of an absolute being; but here it stops. It is utterly incapable of communicating insight or conviction concerning the existence or possibility of the world as different from the Deity. It finds itself constrained to identify (more truly, to confound) the Creator with the aggregate of

his creature, and cutting the knot which it cannot untwist, to deny altogether the reality of all finite existence. . . . The inevitable result of all consequent reasoning, in which the intellect refuses to acknowledge a higher or deeper ground than it can itself supply, and weens to possess within itself the centre of its own system, is (and from Zeno the Eleatic to Spinoza, and from Spinoza to the Schellings, Okens, and their adherents of the present day ever have been) pantheism under one or another of its modes; the least repulsive of which differs from the rest, not in its consequences (which are one and the same in all, and in all alike practically atheistic) but only as it may express the striving of the philosopher himself to hide these consequences from his own mind. . . . All speculative disquisition must begin with postulates, which the conscience alone can at once authorize and substantiate; and from whichever point the reason may start,—from the things which are seen to the one invisible, or from the idea of the absolute one to the things that are seen,—it will find a chasm which the moral being only—which the spirit and religion of man alone—can fill up.” It is remarkable that he found that the idea of a personal God, intelligent, free, loving, holy, was to him most easily received in the Trinitarian form; and he held that the Unitarian denial of the three-fold personality led in logical consistence to the denial of all divine personality whatsoever. He speaks of the idea of God as being con-natural to man, as it were latent in the human mind, so that it is part of a fully-developed human nature. “Ideas, or truths of philosophy properly so called—as distinguished from formal or abstract sciences—correspond to substantial beings, to objects the actual subsistence of which is implied in their idea, though only by the idea revealable. To adopt the language of the great philosophical Apostle, they are ‘spiritual realities that can only spiritually be discerned,’ and the inherent aptitude and moral pre-configuration to which constitutes what we mean by ideas and by the presence of ideal truth and of ideal power in the human being. They, in fact, constitute his humanity; for, try to conceive a man without the ideas of God, eternity, freedom, will, absolute truth—of the good, the true, the beautiful, the infinite: an animal endowed with a

memory of appearances and facts might remain; but the man will have vanished; and you have instead a creature '*more subtle than any beast of the field,*' but likewise '*cursed above every beast of the field; upon its belly must it go, and dust must it eat all the days of its life.*' "

From the truth of a personal, infinite God, he drew the inference that mysteries were no ground for objection to religion. "From these premises I proceeded to draw the following conclusion: first, that having once fully admitted the existence of an infinite yet self-conscious Creator, we are not allowed to ground the irrationality of any other article of faith on arguments which would equally prove that to be irrational which we had admitted to be real; secondly, that whatever is deducible from the admission of a self-comprehending and creative spirit may legitimately be used in proof of the *possibility* of any further mystery concerning the divine nature." "Religion necessarily, as to its main and proper doctrines, consists of ideas, that is, spiritual truths that can only spiritually be discerned, and to the expression of which words are necessarily inadequate and must be used by accommodation. Hence the absolute indispensability of a Christian life with its conflicts and inward experiences, which alone can make a man answer to an opponent who charges one doctrine as contradictory to another: 'Yes,' it is a contradiction in terms" (in language and concepts of the understanding) "but nevertheless both are true, nay parts of the same truth."¹⁴

Yet without doubt he indulged in an excess of private judgment on questions of Christian doctrine. He was the introducer of Biblical Criticism into the United Kingdom by his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (written in 1824, and long circulated in manuscript before being published) and by some Notes published in his *Literary Remains*. The conclusions indicated were mild enough, compared with those into which Reuss, Vatke, and Leopold George plunged, a few years later than the *Inquiring Spirit*. It was the Protestant idea of Inspiration, combined with the principle of private interpretation, and with the rejection of Tradition as an authority, that

¹⁴ *B. L.* ch. x (III, 296, 298), *Confessio Fidei* (V, 15, 16), *Aids to Reflection* (I, 221), *The Friend*, II, xi (II, 470).

made the Higher Criticism so dangerous to Christianity. In the Oxford School, it encountered no adequate antagonist. In the very year in which Coleridge's *Literary Remains* were published, Newman became absorbed in the issue between the Church of England and the Catholic Church; while Pusey, who had studied in Germany, and who had written a description of German Schools of theology, now thought the higher criticism absolutely irreconcilable with the Inspiration of Scripture and therefore opposed it indiscriminately and unconditionally. Coleridge thus became a source of the Broad Church School of theology, while in ecclesiastical polity he is pronounced both by Carlyle and Newman (and in the mouth of two such witnesses the fact stands) the precursor of the Oxford or High Church Movement.

It is with his philosophy, however, that we are here concerned. Mr. Wilfrid Ward has lately pointed out that Coleridge is the link between Burke and Newman; and James Robert Hope (Hope-Scott) wrote to Newman (in 1839): "Coleridge's 'Church and State' has evidently had a great deal to do with the fundamental ideas of Gladstone's book" (*The State in its relation to the Church*). A Neo-Scholastic may be allowed to make two remarks on Coleridge's philosophy. (1) Coleridge had a hearty admiration for Aristotle and for the great Scholastics; he often censured the ignorance and inconsistency of those who at the same time praise Locke and censure the Scholastics.¹⁵ On the other hand, the great Scholastics are by no means pure Aristotelians; St. Thomas assuredly often corrects Aristotle by interpretation, and often, especially in *Ethics*, where he agrees with him in the letter, does not agree with him in the spirit. (2) If I were asked, not to criticise Coleridge's philosophy, but to point out its chief merits, I should say that these lie in his insistence upon our moral responsibility for our opinions as much as for our actions, and in his fixing attention on the fact that our arguments in religion must start from principles cognized by the practical reason and therefore dependent on our moral disposition and largely under the control of the will, which is,

¹⁵ Vide Table Talk, July 2, 1830, April 30, 1830, and the note in the appendix dated April 20, 1811.

itself, bound by the conscience, man's first guide. "By sending from his solitude the voice of earnest spiritual instruction," wrote one who unfortunately was afterwards sucked into the vortex of Carlyle, "he came to be beloved, studied, and mourned for, by no small or careless school of disciples." "There was no week," wrote Southey to Henry Taylor when Coleridge's *Table Talk* was published, "in which his talk would not have furnished as much matter worthy of preservation as these two volumes contain."

The year 1860 marks the date when Coleridge's influence was at the Nadir, as it marks that in which Mill's was at the Zenith. It was about that year that Principal Shairp, who has been quoted in our former article, expressed the desire for a revival of Coleridge. The revival of spiritual philosophy began about 1870, with the publication of Newman's essay on Assent and methods of proof in morals and religion, and with W. G. Ward's controversy in the *Dublin Review* against Mill. A few years later came James Martineau; and since that time, true philosophy has steadily been gaining ground. To-day the antagonist in the United Kingdom is not Mill or Spencer, but something like Hegelianism (which also began about 1870); and to that, Coleridge is the best modern prophylactic.

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THE WORD *CELT*.

Probably the earliest mention of the word *Celt* with which most readers are familiar occurs in that classic phrase where, in the introduction to his 'Commentaries on the Gallic War', Cæsar, speaking of the division of all Gaul into three parts, says that the native name of the group of peoples who occupied the centre of Gaul between the Seine, the Marne and the Garonne is a Celtic word. The word is found long before Cæsar's time, however. In fact, as early as the end of the sixth century, B. C., we find, for the first time in history, the word in a derived form, in the Greek writer Hecataeus of Miletus, who uses it in a geographic sense. In his 'Voyage around the World,' of which only fragments have been preserved, he says, speaking of Marseilles, that it is near *Celtica*, and he also says that Nyrax, wherever that may have been, is a Celtic city. The word *Celt*, itself, is found first in Herodotus, in a passage dating from the middle of the fifth century B. C., or, more precisely, between the years 445 and 443, where he informs us that the Celts, οἱ Κελτοί, live at the sources of the Danube, that is, in the southwest corner of Germany in the present Grand Duchy of Baden, and in Spain and on the coast of the Atlantic. The Latin *Celtæ*, with which we are familiar in Cæsar, is the plural of a masculine *ā* stem and, on it, the later Greek historians and geographers built the form *Κελται*, as a variant of the older *Κελτοί*.

There are two very different applications of the word *Celt* in the ancient writers: as the name of a tribe in Gaul, and as the general name for all the Celts of the Continent. Apparently, the ancients never applied the name to the inhabitants of the British Isles. Since each tribe had its own name, it is probable that the word *Celt* was originally nothing more than the name of one of these tribes, but, just why it was given to that particular group of people that Cæsar speaks of, we have no way of knowing. On the other hand, the Greeks, up to the third century B. C., not only had no other name than this for all the Continental Celts, but the confusion is heightened by

their sometimes including under that denomination, the Germans. Of the three words, *Γαλῆται*, *Κελτοί* and *Galli*, which are found applied to the Celts by the ancient authors, we may say that, as a rule, they are used without much difference of meaning. Some, however (as Diodorus the Sicilian), seem to mean by *Κελτοί*, the Celts of Gaul, and by *Γαλῆται*, the Germans; to others (as Dio Cassius) these terms meant just the reverse. The poets probably had the Celts in mind when they wrote of Hyperboreans. There is not the slightest reason to believe that *Κελτοί*, *Γαλῆται* and *Galli* are all forms of the same word, as was the opinion of Diefenbach (1840) and of Leibnitz (*Collect. Etymol.*, p. 79, Opera, Genevæ, 1768): “Galatas et Celtas idem vocabulum putem.”

The word Celt has had a checkered career. It has grown from the name of a single tribe, so as to include (in the *extra-Celtic* use of the word) in a vague way, all the members of the family, so that now it has come to mean anyone who speaks, or is descended from one who speaks, any Celtic language. This is a quite modern use of the word, and there is nothing to show that the Celts themselves ever employed it, or that it is employed properly to-day, in this wider meaning, in any of the neo-Celtic languages. It is doubtful if the Celts of antiquity ever felt or acted as a united people, except to a certain extent, under Vercingetorix' lead at the siege of Alesia.

It would be interesting to know why the Celts called themselves by that name or, what is just as likely, why they were called so by their neighbors or enemies. Here nothing certain is known. Pausanias, writing about the year 173 A. D., says that that was the name which the Celts had given themselves, and Cæsar (51 B. C.), as we have seen, says that, “*ipsorum lingua*,” they were called Celts. It is well known that countries and their inhabitants more often bear names given them by their discoverers and first explorers than names that originated at home. For example, “Indian” as the name of the Red Skins. An interesting instance or two from Celtic toponymy will illustrate this point. The Gaulish *Allobroges* were originally those “of another, not of the speaker's country,” and they must have got the name from another Celtic speaking tribe that lived outside their borders. *Argyll*, the name of

that part of Scotland that lies between the Mull of Kintyre and the Clyde is, in the dialect of that district, *Earra-gháidheal*, which represents an older *airer-gaidel*, the first member of which it has recently been sought to equate with the Irish *airther* "eastern", and to conclude that the name meant originally "the east-land of the Gail." It is true that it was precisely in that part of Scotland that the old Kingdom of *Dalriada* was established but, unfortunately for the value of *Argyll* as an illustration, there are some objections that will have to be met before this explanation of its meaning can be entirely satisfactory.

At all events, the name *Celt* may have been imposed upon some tribe from without, by the uitlander, and need not be of Celtic origin. This is at least a possibility, but highly improbable, and the statements of the ancient writers that the word belonged to the language of the people who bore the name is generally accepted. We must confess that we know nothing of the exact meaning of the word *Celt*, but it has at all times been the delight of dilettanti and bibliophiles to speculate on its origin and meaning. Court de Gébelin in the eighteenth century wished to bring it into relation with the German *Kälte*, Leibnitz, with the German *gelten*, and Davies (1804) makes it out to be the Hebrew כְּלָחִי, "the men of the extremity", to intimate the position occupied by the descendants of Gomer who, according to many of the scholars of the early part of the last century, were the Cymri. The relation of the word to the Irish *clethe*, "great, noble", is to be rejected along with the other explanations which are here resurrected only as curiosities. The only hypotheses worthy of consideration are the following: (1) It has been suggested that the root of the word is the same as that found in Old-Irish *ar-cel-im*, Middle-Irish *ar-chell-aim* "I carry off, plunder, steal", in Old-Irish *fo-chelim* "I protect", and in Latin (*per-, re-*) *cello*, *calamitas*, *in-columis*, *clā-des*, *clāva*, Lithuanian *kalti* "to beat, hammer." (2) It has been suggested that the word means "warrior", and that from it is derived the pre-Germanic **Celtio-*, the Old-German *hildja-* "battle"; the Frankish, which is seen in (Bruni-) *childis*, the Old-Norse *hild-r* "war," and the Old-English *hild* "fight." (3) It has been suggested that the word is

connected with the word of the same form meaning "dress or raiment", which we know in the Scotch *kilt*. When applied to a tribe it would mean "the clothed ones", and according to this explanation, combined with that given under (2), the Celts would be "the people clothed in armor." (4) Finally, it has been suggested that the word is a participial formation in *-to-* from a root *kel* which we know in Latin *celsus* (*cel-to-s*), Lithuanian *kélta-s*. According to this etymology, the Celts are the "exalted, eminent ones", a derivation that cannot fail to suit the wishes of the most exacting Celt. Be that as it may, the meaning of the root *kel* eludes us, and no such root meaning "to raise" has been found in any of the living Celtic languages, and we are obliged to say that this explanation, as well as the others, is a pure supposition. The humanists of the Renaissance did not worry their heads long over the problem, but accounted for the name in a delightfully simple way, by an ingenious myth which brought into relation an autochthonous nymph named Celto, the Greek hero Hercules and the child Britto, the first and last of whom, they said, have given their names to the Celts of the Continent and of the Isles.

The word *Celtic* is of extremely rare occurrence in the neo-Celtic languages. But, an Irishman or a Breton, for example, when speaking in English or French of his native language, will often be found calling it "Celtic" as if it were the only one with a right to the name. It is obviously a misuse of the word to apply it to Irish, Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Breton, Cornish or Gaulish, to any but the whole group of Celtic languages. Formerly, there were many "Celtic" grammars and dictionaries which were confined to Irish or Welsh, and celtists who knew but Irish, Welsh or Breton, as the case might be. That was as meaningless as if one who knows only Latin or Greek were to be called a classical philologist, or a romanist, one who is acquainted with the philology of but one of the Romance languages. The meaning of the word *Celtic*, as used even in scientific works, is not always unmistakable. The Germans sometimes write *keltisch* when they mean and had better write *urkeltisch*. The same mistake is occasionally met with in French works; that is, we find *celtique* in the sense of *celtique*

primitif, which is correctly called in German, *urkeltisch*, and in English, *protoceltique*. Besides, in French works on archæology, we sometimes find that a distinction is made between *Celtic* and *Gaulish*, by which the former denotes the era characterized by the appearance of metals, bronze arms and the practice of incineration, the latter, the era characterized by the prevalence of iron and the practice of inhumation. This difference of usage seems to be a survival of the old days when the ethnic distinction between Celts and Gauls was insisted upon.

The earliest instance of the word *Celt* in Irish literature is found in the *Leabhar na hUidhre* (f° 1, a) the "Book of the Dun Cow," a manuscript of miscellaneous contents compiled in the twelfth century. The word is *Celtecdai*, a nom. pl. substantivized adjective meaning "the Celts", and occurs in a fragmentary history of the six ages of the world. In the modern dialects of Irish the word is of very rare occurrence. It is not found in any of the Irish-English dictionaries except Dinneen's, and no Irish equivalents are given to *Celt*, *Celtic* in any of the English-Irish dictionaries. There are very few instances of its use in the modern literature, and always as a learned word, for example in an article by John Fleming in the *Gaelic Journal*, VII, 13 and by Dr. Douglas Hyde in his *Filidheacht Ghaedhealach*, pp. 12, 44, and such expressions as Irish *Coimthíní uile-Cheilteach*, Welsh *Cynghrair oll-Gelt-aidd*, Breton *Kendalc'h oll-Geltiek*, "The Panceltic Congress."

The dictionaries of Scotch-Gaelic, Welsh and Breton contain some curious entries under this head, but nothing of value. The prevalent opinion seems to have been that the word *Celt* is to be derived from the verb *celim* "conceal, hide" and, sometimes, another word *coill* "wood, forest", was brought in to help along the explanation. Consequently, the Celts are the "sequestered people or woodlanders", a Celt "one that abideth in a covert, or an inhabitant of the wood." This groundless assumption that the word *Celt* is related to *celim* was for a long time a favorite one and has found its way into most of our dictionaries of the English language.

There is considerable difference of opinion whether the word *Celt* should be (1) spelled with a *c* and pronounced with

an *s*, or (2) spelled and pronounced with a *k*, or (3) spelled with a *c* but pronounced with a *k*. There are none, it seem, who would spell it with a *k* but pronounce it with an *s*. The following reasons may be offered in favor of the first of these spellings and pronunciations. *C* is to be preferred to *k* in the spelling of *Celt*, since, in the oldest Irish alphabet, the character *k* is found very rarely and exclusively in loan words and, besides, the word is spelled with a *c* in Latin and, as we might expect from its position before *e*, also in all the Romance languages; it is only in Greek that it is spelled with a *k*, and there is no reason why the Greek spelling should be followed when the word is written in English.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Celts themselves pronounced their name with a *k*, since it is contrary to the genius of the Celtic languages, as it is of the Greek, Latin and German, to pronounce the *c* as *s*. But, we are not to conclude that English speakers in pronouncing *Kelt* are reproducing the exact sound that the *c* before *e* has in Modern-Irish, for example. There is a very large difference of articulation between the two sounds. In the English pronunciation of the word the contact is made much farther back on the palate, while in Irish it is pronounced in very much the same position as English speakers give to the initial sound in the word *kin*, the sound which is often represented phonetically *k̠*. This difference is not only proved by a study of the English and Irish pronunciation of the initial consonant in this word with the aid of the artificial palate, but it is easily sensible through the ear.

It may be said by the defenders of the pronunciation *k* that to give the "hard" sound to the letter *c* would help to differentiate our word from *celt* "a stone chisel", pronounced *sell*. But, by so doing, we should be adding to the *kelts*, viz. *kelt* (Scotch) "a salmon, sea-trout after spawning, foul fish", and *kelt* (Scotch and Northern dialects) "frieze, homespun cloth."

It has been objected to the pronunciation *sell(ik)* that the sibilant is not a pleasing sound; but, words do not stand or fall on the ground of euphony alone. And are *Keltism*, *Keltist*, *Keltology*, etc., really more euphonic than when

pronounced with an *s*? *Kelticist* and *Keltism* would, if left to themselves, tend to become *Celticist* etc., by anticipation of the following *s*-sound. We seldom, if ever, hear of a Pan-Keltic Congress or of *Keltia*. In Germany, the question *Celt* or *Kelt* is not settled, and we sometimes find the same scholars using now the one, now the other form. It would seem, however, that the choice depends some on the combination. Thus, for example, *Keltentum* and *Celtomanie* are more common than with *C* and *K* respectively. The titles of the two German periodicals in the very field that concerns us here, the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* and the *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*, may be adduced as testimony in favor of the *C*-form, and we may hold the view of the majority of German scholars, differing with Leibnitz, *o. c.* "*Celtas, vel (ut pronuntiari debet) Keltas,*" that the word is in the same class with *Cypern*, *Cyclus* and *Macedonien* and its *c* should be pronounced *ts*.

It cannot be objected to this conclusion that the native name of the British Celts, *Cymry* and the adjective *Cymric*, are always pronounced with a *k*. The initial consonant in these words, whether spelled with a *C* or a *K* (preferably with the former, though both letters are used indifferently in early Welsh manuscripts) should always be pronounced "hard" because of its position before a "broad" vowel. The word *Cymry* is genuinely Celtic and postulates a **Cambroges*, "the compatriots, or men of the same country."

According to the Dictionary of the Philological Society, the first instance cited of the word *Celt* in English dates from the year 1607, and the first citation of the word *Celtic* is from the year 1656. In this Dictionary, which represents the most recent and highest scholarship applied to lexicography, a decided preference is given to the spelling *C* and the pronunciation *s* of *Celt*, *Celtic* and their derivatives, celtified, celtish, celtism, celtist, celtization, celtically, celtican, celticism, celtivist, celticity, celticize, celtologist, celtology, celtologue, celtomanie, celtophile, celto-Roman, etc.

One of the strongest arguments for this pronunciation is that the word *Celt* has become as thoroughly anglicized as *Cesar* and *Cicero*. Whatever may have been the origin of the

word, it undoubtedly entered English from the French *Celte*, which, itself, had developed out of the Latin *Celta*. The analogy of the large number of other words beginning with *c* followed by *e* or *i* which English has taken from the French, of such Greek and Latin proper names as *Circe*, *Ceres*, *Cephissus*, *Cerberus*, *Alcibiades*, and even of Gaulish names as *Cingetorix*, *Vercingetorix*, in all of which it is customary, if one wishes to avoid being pedantic, to pronounce the letter *c* as *s*, is strong enough to carry the word *Celt* with them.

The remainder of this article will consist of a rather literal translation of those passages from the works of the Greek and Latin authors, glossaries, inscriptions and coins, ranging from the earliest times to the end of the Merovingian period (middle of the eighth century) in which the word *Celt* or any of its derivatives is found. The translation will be confined to these detached sentences in the order and extent in which they are cited by Dr. Alf. Holder in his epoch-making "Thesaurus of Old-Celtic" (*Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, 1904 and fol.) cols. 888-977.

Herodotus, II, 33 (written between 445 and 443 B. C.): The river Ister (the Danube) rises in the territory of the CELTS and near the city of Pyrene (*i. e.*, in the Pyrenees) and it divides Europe in its course. The CELTS, however, dwell beyond the pillars of Hercules and border on the lands of the Cynesii (*i. e.*, in southern Portugal), who are the last inhabitants of Europe to the westward. IV, 49 (written between 443 and 432 B. C.): For, the Ister flows across all Europe. It rises in the country of the CELTS, who are next to the Cynetae (another name for the Cynesii) and inhabit the remotest parts of western Europe; its course is across Europe and it empties at the borders of Scythia.

Avienus, Ora Maritima, 130-137 (based on sources of the end of the fifth century, B. C.): If one dared steer his boat from the Oestrymnides through the sea that lies in Lycaon's clime, where the air is crisp with cold, he would land on soil once settled by Ligures but now devoid of inhabitants; for, the CELTS in long and frequent wars laid waste the lands and expelled the Ligures. . . . (The

Celts were more intimately known in Hellas, from having served as mercenaries in the service of the tyrant Dionysius and other commanders.)

Plato, De Legibus, I, 9, p. 637, D. E.: It is not of drinking, or not drinking, wine at all that I am speaking, but of drunkenness. The question is whether it is better to follow the custom of the Scythians, and Persians, and Carthaginians, and CELTS, and Iberians, and Thracians, who are all war-like people, than to follow your own custom (From this it would appear that Plato was familiar with the Celtic and Iberian troops in the pay of the Syracusans).

Xenophon, Hellenica, VII, 1, 20 (speaking of Celtic mercenaries in the service of the tyrant Dionysius, 369, B. C.): Triremes which carried CELTS, Iberians and about fifty horsemen. 31: When, then, Archidamus led them on, those few of the enemy who received their attack at the point of the spear, were killed; but as the rest fled they fell, some by the hands of horsemen, others by the CELTS.

Scylax, Periplus, 18 (here for the first time, about 356 B. C., the Gauls in Cisalpina are mentioned under the name of Celts): After the Tyrrheni, come the CELTS, who were left behind on an expedition (*i. e.*, the remnants of a Gaulish invasion); they extend on the narrow part as far as Adria which is at the inmost recess of the Adriatic. 19: After the CELTS, come the Veneti, in whose territory is the Eridanus (the Po).

Ephorus, 4 fr. 38 M: The region of the westerly wind and the setting sun is inhabited by the CELTS, while the Scythians occupy the region of the north wind and the bear. These (four) parts are not, however, of equal magnitude, for the territory of the Scythians and the Ethiopians is greater than that of the Indians and the CELTS, but each is of about the same size as the corresponding part of the other group. For, the Indians dwell between the summer and the winter rising sun, while the CELTS posses the territory from the summer to the winter setting sun, and thus the adjoining parts are of unequal size and the opposite parts are of the same size.

Theopompus, fr. 223 M (quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus):

Drilonios is a large city and the most distant of the CELTS.

Aristotle, Meteorologica, I, 13, p. 350^b 2: The Ister and the Tartarus have their source in the Pyrenees which is a mountain towards the equinoctial west, in *CELTICA—Historia animalium*: VIII, 28, p. 606^b 2-5: And in many places this difference is to be attributed to the climate. Thus, for example, in Illyria, Thrace and Epirus, the asses are small, but in Scythia and *CELTICA* no asses are born; for the cold in those countries is very severe—*De anim. generatione*, II, 8, p. 748, 22-26: Then again, the ass is a cold animal; hence, because it is naturally impatient of the cold, it cannot be raised in cold regions, as, for example, in Scythia and the neighboring lands, nor among the CELTS, who dwell beyond Spain; for that country, too, is cold—*Nicomachean Ethics*, III, 10 p. 1115^b 26-29: He, however, is either insane, or has no sense of pain, who fears nothing, neither earthquakes nor floods, as it is said is the case with the CELTS.

Eudemius of Rhodes, Ethics, III, 1, 25 p. 1229^b 25-30: Hence, we are not to conclude that he who endures terrible things through ignorance is a brave man, as if one were to expose himself in insanity to thunder and lightning. Nor is he a wise man who, knowing the danger, exposes himself to it, in consequence of anger, as the CELTS, who take up arms and attack the sea-waves. Generally speaking, barbaric bravery is accompanied with anger.

Aristotle, Politics, II, 9, p. 1269^b 23-27: So that, of necessity, in such a state wealth is highly valued, especially if the citizens are governed by their wives, as is the case with all military and warlike nations, except the CELTS and a few others who openly approve of pederasty. VII, 2, p. 1324^b 9-12: Moreover, in all nations that are able to gratify their ambition, military power is held in esteem, for example among the Scythians, and Persians, and Thracians, and CELTS. 17, p. 1336^a 15-18: Hence, many barbarian peoples have a custom of plunging their infants in a cold stream; others, as the CELTS, clothe them in a light garment only—*Fragments*, 30 (35 Rose), quoted by Diogenes

Laertius (about 200 A. D.), I, 1: Some say that the profession of philosophy began among the barbarians. For, Aristotle in his work on "Magic" and Sotion (about 200 B. C.), in the twenty-third book of his (lost) "Succession of the Philosophers," say that the Persians had their interpreters of dreams, the Babylonians or Assyrians their astrologers, the Indians their naked philosophers, and the CELTS and Galates what they called druids and *Σεμω-θεοι*. *Fragments*, 564, quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. *Γέφυρα*: Germara, a tribe in *CELTICA* who do not see the day, as Aristotle tells us in his *De Mirabilibus*. *Fragments*, 568 (610 Rose), quoted in Plutarch's *Camillus*. 22: The philosopher Aristotle appears to have heard a clear account of the capture of Rome by the CELTS, but he says that it was saved by Lucius; the deliverer of the city was not Lucius, but Marcus Camillus.

Pseudo-Aristotle, De mirabilibus auscultationibus, 50, p. 834^a 6 = *Fragments*, 248, 9 p. 1524^a 22 ff: It is said that *CELTIC* tin is melted down much more quickly than lead. 85, p. 837^a 7-11: It is said that there is a certain road, called the 'Herculean,' which extends from Italy as far as *CELTICA*, the *CELTO-Ligurians* and the Iberians, and that any Greek or native travelling that road is protected by those who dwell along it, so that no harm shall be done him, and if any should be done, the penalty is paid by those in whose territory the wrong was committed. 86, p. 837^a 12-23: It is said that the CELTS possess a poison to which they have given the name 'toxicon,' and it is said that this poison causes death so quickly that when the *CELTIC* hunters have shot a deer or other animal they run up to it and quickly cut away from the body the wounded flesh before the poison has time to penetrate, both to save the food and to keep the carcass from putrifying. They say that an antidote has been found for this poison in oak bark, but, according to others, the antidote is a certain leaf which they call *χορδαιον*, so called because it has been observed that when a crow has tasted of the poison, and feels the evil effects of it, it makes at once for that leaf, and, as soon as it has swallowed some of it, it is relieved of the pain.

Ptolemaeus Lagida, Historia Alexandri, fr. 2, p. 87 M (*ad a.* 336): the CELTS who live at Adria.

Anyte (a. 280–78), in *Anthologia Palatina*, 7, 492: We have departed, Miletus, our dear native land, three maidens, thy countrywomen, since we repulsed the lawless passion of the impious Galates (the Gauls in Asia Minor), and the mighty Mars of the CELTS has driven us to this death. (Compare Hieronymus, *Against Jovinianus*, I, 41, Opp. ed. Vall. Ven. 2 c. 308 E–309 A: Could any one pass over in silence the seven virgins of Miletus, who, when the Gauls were laying waste everything far and wide, that they might suffer no outrage at the hands of the enemy, escaped disgrace by death?)

Callimachus, Hymn to Delos, 171–175 (after the year 272 A. D.): Hereafter shall a common contest arise for us, when those latest born Titans from the extremest west shall raise their barbarous sword and their CELTIC god of war over the realm of Greece and hurl themselves (upon her) (Compare Pausanias, I, 7, 2).

Since the second century, B. C., the Celts find a place beside the Ligures in the legend of the Argonauts.

Apollonius of Rhodes, Argonautics, IV, 601–612: And round about, the unhappy daughters of the Sun, entwined with slender poplars, weep a plaintive lamentation, and the shining tears of amber trickle from their eyes and some, falling on the sand, dry in the sun. But, when the blast of the loud-sounding wind dashes the dark sea-waters high on the bank, the amber tears all flow together into Eridanus' waves in a swelling stream. The CELTS, however, have a legend that the tears which are whirled along in eddies are those that Leto's son, Apollo, shed without number when he came to live among the sacred Hyperboreans. 633–634: (Waters) which spread over the vast marvellous land of the CELTS. 641 ff: Journeying among countless tribes of CELTS and Ligures.

Apollodorus, I, c. 9, § 24, 5: Accordingly, the Argonauts sailed past the tribes of Ligures and CELTS, and were borne through the Sardinian sea, skirting Tyrrhenia until they arrived at Aea, where, as suppliants, they were purified by Circe.

Polybius uses the word *Γαλδραι* only when his source of information are Roman writers. When referring to the west, he uses the names Celts and Galates without difference of meaning, and, according to him, there are only Galates, no Celts, along the Danube. I, 6, 4: The Romans waged war on the Etruscans, then on the CELTS, and next on the Samnites. 6: The Romans, having reduced the Etruscans and the Samnites to submission, and having worsted the CELTS in Italy in many battles . . . Having become thoroughly expert in the art of war from their contests with the Samnites and the CELTS . . . All the tribes inhabiting Italy, except the CELTS, were made subject to them (*a. u.* 484). 13, 4: The first expedition of the Romans into Illyria and these (eastern) parts of Europe, as well as their struggles against the CELTS in Italy, took place at about the same time. 17, 4: Accordingly, the Carthaginians levied mercenaries from over sea, many Ligures and CELTS and a still larger number of Iberians, and despatched them all to Sicily. 43, 4 (speaking of the mercenaries in the Carthaginian army): He at once commissioned some officers accompanied by Hannibal to go to the CELTS . . . he sent Alexon to fetch the other mercenaries. 67, 7: In the army were Iberians and CELTS, some Ligures and some from the Balearic Islands, and not a few half-breed Greeks. II, 13, 5: The Romans did not venture, however, at that time to impose conditions or make war on the Carthaginians, because of their fear of the CELTS, who were threatening their own affairs, and because they almost daily expected an attack from them. 6: And so they determined, by pacifying and mollifying Hasdrubal, to attack the CELTS and try conclusions with them, for they were convinced that, so long as they had such men on their flanks, not only would they be unable to keep their control over the tribes in Italy, but even to reckon on safety in their own country. 7: Accordingly, they at once despatched envoys to Hasdrubal with whom they concluded a treaty by which the Carthaginians, without saying anything of the rest of Iberia, engaged not to cross in arms the river that is called Iber. Then the Romans,

without delay, pushed on the war against the CELTS in Italy. 17, 3: The chief intercourse of the Etruscans was with the CELTS, who were their neighbors, and who, envying them the beauty of their lands, took some slight pretext to gather a large army and drive the Etruscans from the valley of the Po (424 B. C), which they themselves at once took possession of. 4: First, the country lying near the source of the Po was held by the Laiui and the Lebecii; after then, the Insubres settled in the country; they were the largest of those tribes, and, next them, along the river, dwelt the Cenomani. 5: The district along the shores of the Adriatic was occupied by another very ancient tribe called Veneti, in customs and dress not much unlike the CELTS, but using a quite different language, 6: about whom the tragic writers have written much and told many wonderful tales. 7: On the other (south) side of the Po, in the Apennine district, first come the Anares and, next them, the Boii settled. After them, towards the Adriatic, come the Lingones, and the last places, the country on the sea-coast is occupied by the Senones. 8-12: These are the most important tribes occupying the above mentioned districts; (9) they lived in unwallled villages and had no permanent buildings; they lived simple lives, made their beds of straw, fed on meat, and followed no pursuits but those of war and farming, without being acquainted with any other science or art whatever. Each man's property, moreover, consisted of flocks and herds and gold, as these were the only things that could easily be carried about at times of difficulty and removed from one place to another as their fancy directed. They made a great point of friendship, for the man who had the largest number of attendants and companions they regarded as the most powerful and formidable among them. 18, 1-4: At first, they did not merely take possession of the territory, but made many of the neighboring peoples subject to them, terrifying them by their recklessness and boldness. Some time afterwards (*a. u.* 364), having defeated the Romans in battle and those who, after the Romans, opposed them, they pursued the fugi-

tives and, in three days after the battle, occupied Rome itself with the exception of the Capitol. But it happened that war broke out between them and the Veneti who were invading their country. Accordingly, they made terms with the Romans to whom they handed over the city and returned to their own country. Subsequently, they were occupied with wars at home. Some of their tribes who lived on the Alps and saw with envy the rich possessions of others were continually gathering their forces and making raids upon them. 6 ff: When, again, thirty years after the taking of the city (*a. u.* 393), the CELTS advanced with a large army as far as Alba, the Romans, surprised by the unexpectedness of the attack and unable to collect their allies' forces, did not venture to lead their legions against them. But when, twelve years later, they invaded in great force, the Romans had become aware of their approach, and, having mustered their allies, they marched out in great spirit, being eager to engage them and make a final desperate attempt. But the Galates, etc. 22, 8: The CELTS had not yet set out from their country. 10: The Romans were anxious to first settle the trouble with the CELTS. 11: Then, with one accord, they gave their attention to the war with the CELTS, convinced that it was to their advantage to come to a decision with them. 23 (*a. u.* 529), 3-5: The kings of the CELTS were obliged to leave behind a portion of their forces to guard their territory, because of their fear of those tribes (the Veneti and Cenomani). They themselves with their main army struck camp and set out boldly, making their march through Etruria, their force consisting of about 50,000 foot, and twenty thousand horse and chariots. As soon as the Romans heard that the CELTS had crossed the Alps, etc. 25, 1: Having made their way into Etruria, the CELTS began their march through the country, devastating fearlessly and without opposition; finally, they took up their march to Rome. 5: The CELTS lit their watch fires and left their cavalry in camp. 7: (The Romans) believed the CELTS had fled. 8: The CELTS rose from their position and fell upon them (the Romans). The struggle was at

first fierce on both sides. 9: At length, the CELTS won by superior courage. 10: The first desire of the CELTS was to besiege them. 26, 1: (Lucius Aemilius) having been informed that the CELTS had entered Etruria and were drawing near Rome. 27, 2 ff: When the CELTS had reached Telamon in Etruria, some of their foragers fell in with the advance guard of Gaius and were made prisoners. Under examination by the commander they furnished precise information as to what had taken place; they informed him, besides, that both armies were in the neighborhood, that the CELTS were close at hand, and Lucius' forces hard upon their rear. 4: The CELTS (cut off by the two hostile armies) were left on the road. 5: Under which (ridge) the CELTS had to march. 6-8: At first, the CELTS, unaware of the presence of Atilius' forces, but supposing from what was taking that the cavalry of Aemilius had marched around them in the night, and were preoccupying the vantage points, immediately despatched their cavalry and some of their light infantry to contend with them for the possession of places along the eminence. But they soon learned from a prisoner who was brought in of the presence of Gaius, and then they hurriedly drew up their infantry so as to face two opposite ways, some towards the rear and others towards the front. For they knew that one army was pursuing them, and, judging from the intelligence which had reached them and from what was actually taking place, they expected that they would have to encounter another on their front. 28, 3-6: The CELTS, however, stationed on their rear the Alpine tribe called Gaesatae to oppose the enemy from that point where they expected the attack of Aemilius' force, and, behind them, the Insubres; on their front they placed the Taurisci, and the Boii who dwell south of the Po to hold the position opposite that just mentioned, and to await the attack of Gaius. Their waggons and chariots they placed on the extremity of either wing, while the booty was gathered together and placed under a guard on one of the adjacent hills. The result was that the army of the CELTS was double-faced and their arrangement not only

effective but also calculated to inspire terror. 10: And Gaius' head was brought to the king of the CELTS 29, 2: Whether the CELTS occupied the most dangerous position. 5-8: The ornaments and clamor of the CELTS terrified them (the Romans). For they had innumerable horns and trumpets, and with these and the shouting of their entire army they made so great and loud a noise, that it seemed that not only the trumpets and voices but even the nearby hills, resounded and gave forth cries. Not less astounding was the appearance and rapid movement of the naked warriors who were in the front of the army, men in the prime of youth and beauty. And all the warriors in the front ranks were richly adorned with golden bracelets and armlets. 30, 1 f: The CELTS in the inner ranks found their cloaks and breeches of great service, but the naked warriors in the front were in great difficulty and distress because of this unexpected mode of attack (of the Romans). 9: The infantry of the CELTS were cut to pieces on the field of battle, and their horse turned in flight. 31, 1 f: Forty thousand CELTS were slain and no fewer than ten thousand were taken prisoners, among whom was one of their kings, Concolitanus. The other king, Anerostes, fled with a few followers to a certain place where he put an end to his own life and that of his relatives. 7: In this way the most important invasion of the CELTS was repelled. 8: The Romans hoped to be able to entirely expel the CELTS from the country along the Po, and, accordingly, great preparations were made and the appointed consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Titus Manlius were sent out with their legions against the CELTS (*a. u.* 530). 32, 1: Publius Furius and Gaius Flaminius again invaded CELTICA (*a. u.* 531), marching through the lands of the Anares, who dwell not far from Marseilles. 7: The Romans determined to avail themselves of the forces of the allied CELTS. 9: Finally, they themselves (the Romans) remained behind on this side of the river, and sending the CELTS who were with them to the other side, they pulled up the bridges over the stream. 33, 4: They attacked the CELTS full in front in regular battle. 5: They made the CELTS help-

less, by preventing them from fighting with broadswords. 34, 1: The next year (*a. u.* 532), embassies came from the CELTS seeking peace and promising to do everything, etc. 7: When the CELTS heard of the presence of the enemy, they raised the siege and came out to meet them and give battle. 15: The CELTS, encouraged by their success held their ground courageously, but after a while, they turned and fled to the mountainous districts. 35, 2: In this way, the war with the CELTS came to an end. 36, 1 (*a. u.* 533): Hasdrubal was assassinated, one night, in his own lodgings by a certain CELT for some private wrong. III, 2, 6: Acquiring a supremacy over the Iberians and the CELTS. 34, 1: Hannibal waited for the messengers who had been sent to him from the CELTS. 4: He took care to send messengers with unlimited promises to the chiefs of the CELTS, whether dwelling south of the Alps or actually in the mountains. 5-6: To reach the places just mentioned and to avail himself of the support and co-operation of the CELTS in the proposed undertaking. His messengers returned with the news that the CELTS were willing and expecting him, and that the passage of the Alps, though exceedingly difficult and toilsome, etc. 8: He hinted at the fertility of the country to which they (Hannibal's soldiers) would come and the good will and active alliance of the CELTS. 37, 9: The country around Narbonne and thence as far as the Pyrenees already mentioned, is the district which the CELTS possess. 39, 4: From the Pyrenees, which separate the Iberians from the CELTS. 40, 1: Hannibal, greatly alarmed at the impregnable positions occupied by the CELTS. 41, 1: Such was the state of affairs concerning the CELTS from the beginning until the arrival of Hannibal among them. 6 fl: Owing to the unevenness of the country and the number of tribes of CELTS intervening. But, contrary to expectations, Hannibal won over the CELTS, partly by bribes and partly by force. 9: Joining with them as leaders and supports some CELTS (= Livy's "Gaulish auxiliaries," XXI, 26, 5), who happened to be serving as mercenaries among the Marseillais. 43, 12: While the CELTS, both by reason

of their disorder and the unexpectedness of what had taken place, turned and were put to flight. 44, 9: When the CELTS had spoken thus, they withdrew. 45, 2: The Romans and the CELTS lost a hundred and forty horsemen. 47, 3: The Rhone flows, for the most part, through a deep valley, where, to the north, live the Ardues (*sic.* Read, Aedui) a CELTIC tribe, while it is walled in on the south by the northern slopes of the Alps. 48, 6: For, they (some historians) do not tell that not only once or twice before Hannibal came, but in very recent times, the CELTS who lived along the Rhone crossed the Alps with numerous forces and fought battles with the Romans who were allied with the CELTS occupying the plains along the Po. 60, 11: According to their original purpose, the remaining mass of CELTS inhabiting these plains (of the Po) were anxious to join the Carthaginians. 12: And some of them (the Celts) were even compelled to serve with the Romans. 66, 7: For, no sooner had he (Hannibal) gained the advantage than all the CELTS in the vicinity hastened, according to their original engagement, to proclaim themselves his friends, to furnish him with provisions and to join the Carthaginian army. 67, 1: While the CELTS who were serving in the Roman army, seeing that the prospect of the Carthaginians looked the brighter, conspired and set upon a time for carrying out their plans, waiting in their several tents, etc. 8: The CELTS in the neighborhood had long been unfavorably disposed towards them (the Romans). 68, 8: While the numerous CELTS who inhabited the plains, excited by the good prospects of the Carthaginians, provided their army with supplies in abundance and were ready to take part with Hannibal's troops in every undertaking and danger. 10: They (the Romans) attributed it (their defeat) to the treacherous neglect on the part of the CELTS, which they concluded from their recent revolt. 69, 5-7: But afterwards, Hannibal found out that certain CELTS who lived between the Po and the Trebbia were sending messages to the Romans, believing that in this way they would secure safety for themselves from both sides. He accordingly despatched

two thousand infantry and a thousand **CELTIC** and Numidian cavalry with orders to devastate their country. This order was executed and the Romans took possession of great booty; then, straitway, the **CELTS** appeared at the Roman palisade beseeching their aid. 9: The **CELTS** and Numidians fled and found a place of safety in their own camp. 11: After that skirmish, the **CELTS** again retreated and sought the protection of their own camp. 70, 4: When the **CELTS** would be idle and forced to remain inactive, their fickleness would not allow them to remain faithful to the Carthaginians, but they would turn against them once more. 9: Hannibal, wishing to avail himself first of the fresh spirit of the **CELTS**. 71, 2: Because the **CELTS** invariably set their ambuscades in such places (*i. e.*, in the woods). 72, 8 f.: Hannibal drew up his infantry, consisting of about twenty thousand Iberians, **CELTS** and Libyans, in one long line, while the cavalry, amounting to more than ten thousand, including the **CELTIC** allies, he divided and stationed on either wing. 74, 4: Those in the front ranks, hard pressed, defeated the **CELTS** and a division of the Libyans, and, after killing a large number of them, broke through the Carthaginian line. 10: For, it happened that the loss of the Iberians and Libyans had been slight, the heaviest having fallen on the **CELTS**. 75, 2: All the **CELTS** had gone over to their (the Carthaginian) side. 77, 3: Hannibal went into winter quarters in **CELTICA**. 78, 2: The lawlessness of the **CELTS**, who were restless and contentious. 5: Seeing that the **CELTS** were discontented at the length of time that the war dragged on within their borders, and were eagerly anxious for an engagement, on the pretence of hatred for Rome, but, much more from hopes of booty. 79, 3 ff: Behind these he (Hannibal) placed the **CELTS**, and last of all the cavalry. He entrusted the charge of the rear guard to his brother Mago, that he might see to the security of all, but especially to watch the impatience of the **CELTS** and their aversion to hard labor, in order that, if they should show a lack of endurance and should attempt to turn back, he might check them by means of the cavalry and force

them on. 6-8: But the CELTS suffered greatly on their march through the deep marshes which had been disturbed and trampled on, and, unaccustomed to all such pain and toil, they bore the fatigue with impatience and were soon exhausted, while they were prevented from turning back by the cavalry in their rear. All, however, suffered severely, especially because they had had no sleep for four continuous nights and three days while they marched over a road that was under water. But the CELTS suffered most of all and lost most men. 83, 4: Hannibal, by a *détour*, deployed his cavalry and CELTS into one line under cover of the hills on the left. 84, 6: Flaminius fell in with a company of CELTS and was killed. 85, 5: In all, fifteen hundred were killed, most of whom were CELTS. 93, 10: The Iberians and CELTS bringing up the rear. 106, 6: The Senate sent the Praetor, Lucius Postumius, as commander of a legion into Galatia (= Gallia Cisalpina), with instructions to affect a diversion with the CELTS who were campaigning with Hannibal. 113, 7 (*a. u.* 536): Close to the river, on his left wing, he (Hannibal) stationed the Iberian and CELTIC horse opposite the Roman cavalry; and, next to them, half the heavy-armed Libyan infantry; and, next in order, the Iberian and CELTIC foot. 8: He advanced with the central brigade of Iberians and CELTS. 9: He aimed to engage first with the Iberians and CELTS. 114, 2: The shields of the Iberians and CELTS were about the same size, but they were differently arranged. 4: Of the naked CELTS. 115, 2: But, as soon as the Iberian and CELTIC cavalry on the left got at the Romans. 5: For a short time, the lines of Iberians and CELTS held their ground and fought the Romans gallantly. 6: The CELTS had been drawn up in a thin line. 7: For, the centre, where the CELTS had been stationed on the arc of the crescent, advanced much before the wings, the curve of the crescent being towards the enemy. 11: As the Romans were pursuing the CELTS. 117, 6: Of those who fell on Hannibal's side, four thousand were CELTS. 118, 6: It (the Roman army in Gaul) was utterly annihilated by the CELTS. VII, 9, 6: All the cities

and tribes in Italy, *CELTIA* (but in III, 59, 7 Polybius uses *Ialaxia* to mean *Gallia omnis*) and Liguria with whom we are on friendly terms. 7: Of all the tribes and cities in Italy, *CELTIA* and Liguria. VIII, 32, 1: He (Hannibal) detached two thousand *CELTS*, and, having divided them into three companies, he assigned two of the young men who were managing the affair to each company. 4: But he (Hannibal) directed the Carthaginian and *CELTIC* officers to kill all the Romans they met. 9: Some of them (the Romans) fell in with the Carthaginians, others with the *CELTS*. XI, 3, 1: The Romans slaughtered a number of the *CELTS* like victims as they lay asleep in their beds stupefied with drink. 3: In the battle, not less than ten thousand were killed, taking Carthaginians and *CELTS* together. 19, 4: For, Hannibal had (in his army) Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, *CELTS*, Phoenicians, Italians and Greeks, who had naturally nothing in common, neither laws, nor customs, nor language. XII, 28^a, 3 ff: At any rate, he (Timaeus) mentions the great expense and labor he went to in collecting records from Assyria and in enquiring closely into the customs of the Ligures, *CELTS*, and Iberians, so that he could not have himself expected to be believed in his account of them. One would like to ask the historian which of the two he thinks requires more expense and labor,—to remain at home and collect records and investigate the customs of the Ligurians and *CELTS*, or to obtain personal experience of all the tribes possible, and see with one's own eyes. XV, 11, 1 (*a. u.* 552): Hannibal placed the elephants, which numbered more than eighty, in the van of the whole army. Next, he stationed his mercenaries, of whom there were about twelve thousand, consisting of Ligurians, *CELTS*, Baliarians and Mauretani. XVIII (XVII), 11, 2: Because of fear of the *CELTS*. XXXIV, 10, 1: The rivers Illeberis and Ruscinus which flow past some cities of the same name inhabited by *CELTS*—*Fragments*, 20, p. 1390 (Hultsch) quoted by Suidas, *sub v.* ἐξηθενήχοντας: The *CELTS*, seeing the Romans prepared to fight, and thinking that their bodies were so

weakened by hunger that they had chosen the quickest kind of death.

Apollodorus, *Chron.* 4, quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus, fr. 59 M: Aeria is a CELTIC city, as Apollodorus says in the IVth Book of his "Chronicles." 60: The Aedui were allies of the Romans in CELTIC Gaul, according to Apollodorus, "Chronicles," Bk. IV, 62: The Arverni, the most warlike tribes of the Galates of CELTICA. Apollodorus, in the IVth Book of his "Chronicles", speaks of the Arverni of the CELTS.

Nicander, quoted by Tertullian, *De Anima*, 57, p. 393, 17 R: For, the Nasamones consult private oracles by making prolonged visits to the tombs of their relatives, as is told by Heraclides, or Nymphodorus or Herodotus, and, as Nicander affirms, the CELTS, for the same purpose, pass the night at the tombs of their brave men.

Eudoxus of Rhodes, quoted by Apollonius, *Historia mirabil.* c. 24: Eudoxus of Rhodes, in his work on CELTICA, says that there is a certain people who do not see by day, but by night.

Artemidorus, quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus, p. 20, 7: The Agnotes are a tribe in CELTICA near the ocean, according to Artemidorus. p. 436, 18: Mastramela is a city and a marshy lake in CELTICA. Artemidorus in the "Epitome of the Eleven Books", p. 608, 6: Tauroeis, is a CELTIC colony of the Marseillais (of the Phocaeans. cf. Strabo, 4, p. 184). Artemidorus, in the 1st Book of his "Geography", says that it was a ship with the figure-head of a bull that carried over the founders of the city who were castaways from the fleet of the Phocaeans, and, having reached that place, they called their city after the ensign of the ship, the nation Tauroentii.

Pseudo-Scymnus of Chios, 165-169: (Tartessus), a famous city, produces tin which is carried down the river from CELTICA, and gold and copper in abundance. Then comes the land called CELTICA extending as far as the sea that lies near Sardinia, and this is the largest nation towards the west. 173 f: That region that extends from the west wind to the summer setting-sun the CELTS inhabit, but that to the

north, the Scythians. 176-177: The CELTS, on the other hand, dwell beneath the equinoctial and summer setting-sun, as they say. 183-195: The CELTS practice the Grecian manners, having friendly relations with the Greeks through those who have dwelt abroad and enjoyed their hospitality. They conduct their assemblies with music, which they cultivate as a means to civilization (*cf.* Diodorus II, 47, 2: This god (Apollo) they (the Hyperboreans) sing the praises of continually during the day in hymns, and they honor him especially. 4: They have a language of their own and are most friendly disposed towards the Greeks). At the very end of their region stands the so-called North Pole, which is very high and raises its head over the waving ocean. The lands nearest the Pole are occupied by those CELTS who are furthest away, the Enetoi, descendants of the Istrians, who extend inland as far as the Adriatic. It is said that it is thence that the Ister begins its course. 777: The Ister is doubtless known as far as CELTICA.

Parthenius eroticus, 8: (Aristodemus of Nysa tells the story in the 1st Book of his "Histories," except that he changes the names, calling Herippe, Euthymia, and the barbarian Cavarus). At the time when the Galates were making their incursions into Ionia and were laying waste the cities, the festival of the Thesmophoria was being celebrated in Miletus and the women had gathered together in the temple which was removed some little distance from the city. A band which had broken from the barbarian army reached Miletus and by a sudden attack seized the women, some of whom were at once ransomed for large sums of silver and gold, but the others, whom the barbarians claimed as their own, were carried off, and amongst them was Herippe, wife of Xantus, a man of the highest character and of the noblest family in Miletus; and she left behind a boy two years old. Now, Xantus felt much sorrow at her loss, and having converted a large portion of his wealth into gold, he took two thousand pieces of gold with him and went first to Italy, whence he was accompanied by certain friends to Marseilles and thence to

CELTICA. When he had come to the house where his wife was living with the man who happened to be one of the most highly esteemed among the CELTS, he asked to be entertained and, without hesitation, he was received most hospitably. As he went in, he saw his wife, and she threw her arms about him and embraced him lovingly. As soon as the CELT appeared, Herippe related to him her husband's wanderings, and that he had come to pay a ransom for her release. The barbarian admired Xantus' spirit, and at once, calling together his nearest relatives, he prepared a party and received him as his guest. While they drank, he made the woman sit on the same couch with her husband at the table and asked, through an interpreter, what sum of money had been gathered together; when he said that he had about a thousand pieces of gold, the barbarian ordered the sum to be divided into four portions, and three of them to be put aside for Xantus, his wife and his child, and to leave the remainder as the ransom for the woman. When they had gone to rest, Herippe found much fault with her husband because he had not the amount of gold that he had promised the barbarian, and she said that he would be in danger of his life if he failed to stand by his promise. But Xantus replied that he had hidden away in his servant's boots another thousand pieces, since he had not expected to find any barbarian so just but that he would have need of a heavy ransom. The next day, the woman made known to the CELT the great amount of gold, and urged him to put Xantus to death, saying that she much preferred him to her country and her son, and that she utterly loathed Xantus. This talk did not please the barbarian, and he had a mind to punish her. As Xantus was ready to depart, the CELT accompanied him in the friendliest way and conducted Herippe. When they reached the borders of the country of the CELTS, the barbarian said that he wished to offer sacrifice before they separated, and the victim having been brought up, he bade Herippe assist, and when she had taken hold, as she was accustomed to do on such occasions, he drew his sword and struck her

and cut off her head, and he asked Xantus not bear him any ill, telling him of her treachery, and he handed over to him all the gold to take with him. 30: It is told how Hercules, when he was driving Geryon's oxen from Erytheia, wandered across the country of the CELTS. And he reached Bretannus, whose daughter CELTINE fell in love with Hercules. She hid his cattle and refused to give them up, unless he would first consent to be united with her. Hercules, eager to recover the oxen, but much more because he was struck by the girl's beauty, consented, and, in the course of time, a son was born to them named CELTUS, from whom we are to suppose the CELTS are called. (cf. Herodotus, IV, 8-10.)

Scholiast, Homer, Odyssey, 208: When he (Phaethon) fell with the divine flash on Eridanus' stream and was destroyed, his sisters, who were near at hand near the CELTIC sea, bewailed him unceasingly night and day.

Eustathius, to Homer, Iliad, Z, 219, p. 1139, 57 (according to Mommsen this passage is probably from Poseidonius): The third (trumpet), that of the Galates, is formed by casting . . . it has a sharp sound, and is called *χαρυνξ* by the CELTS.

Cæsar, Gallic War, I, 1, 1: All Gaul is divided into three parts, of which the Belgæ inhabit one, the Aquitani the other, and the third is inhabited by those who, in their own language are called CELTS, in ours (*scil.* the Roman) Gauls. 2: All these differ from each other in language, customs and laws. The Garonne separates the Gauls from the Aquitani, while the Marne and the Seine separate them from the Belgæ.

Pseudo-Aristotle, De Mundo, 3, p. 398^b 8-14: Then, little by little, beyond the Scythians and *CELTICA*, the ocean holds together the inhabited world at the Galatic gulf and the columns of Hercules which we have already spoken of. Outside these pillars, the ocean flows around the earth. Nevertheless, out in that ocean are situated two very vast islands called British, namely Albion and Ierne (Ireland), larger than any we have yet described, lying beyond the CELTS.

Crinagoras, Anthologia Palatina, 9, 283, 1-4: Ye Pyrenees, and ye deep-valed Alps which face the mouth of the Rhine, ye were witnesses of the rays which Germanicus flashed, lightening many battles for the CELTS.

Diodorus, I, 4, 7: Up to the beginning of the war between the Romans and the CELTS, which was brought to a successful termination by Gaius Julius Cæsar who subdued most of the most warlike tribes of CELTS and who, because of his deeds, was proclaimed a god. 5, 1: And from the first Olympiad to the beginning of the CELTIC war, which I have made the end of my history, there are seven hundred and thirty years. II, 47, 1: Hecataeus and others say that in the ocean, on the other side of CELTICA, is an island that is not smaller than Sicily. IV, 19, 1: Hercules gave over the rule of the Iberians to the noblest of the country, and he himself with his army arrived in CELTICA, which he marched through and broke up the lawless practices of the natives, especially the murder of strangers. Because of the great multitude of men of all nations who willingly shared in his expedition, he founded a very great city, which, because of his many wanderings on this expedition, he called Alesia. 2: He allowed, also, many of the natives to settle in the city, and, since these soon became powerful through their number, the whole population became wild and barbarous. Even in our time, the CELTS regarded this city as the heart and metropolis of all CELTICA. It remained free and was never conquered until finally Gaius Julius Cæsar took it by storm and made it and all the CELTS subject to the Romans. 3: Hercules continued his journey from CELTICA to Italy, and, on his way across the Alps, he smoothed the roughness of the way and the impassable places, so that the road was practicable for armies and beasts of burden. 4: The wild tribes who inhabited the mountain, and who were in the habit of plundering and killing those who travelled through those impassable places, he subdued and the leaders of their lawlessness were put to death. Thus he (Hercules) made the way safe for future travellers. When he had crossed the Alps and the plains of what now is called Gaul, he con-

tinued his journey through Liguria. 56, 4 (from Timaeus): The CELTS who dwell by the ocean worship the Dioscuri most of all the gods. According to tradition handed down from ancient times, these gods came to them from the ocean. V, 24, 1: It is said that once there ruled in CELTICA a famous man, who had a daughter of uncommon stature and far surpassing others in beauty. So proud was she of her bodily strength and wonderful beauty, that she rejected the hand of every suitor, and believed that no one was worthy of her. 2: When Hercules came into CELTICA, after his expedition against Geryon, and built the city of Alesia therein, she saw him and wondered at his excellence and strength of body, and with all eagerness she agreed, with the consent of her parents, to a union with him. 3: She bore Hercules a son who was named Galates, etc. 25, 5: Many other navigable rivers flow through CELTICA, about which it would be too long to write. Most of these rivers freeze over and form natural bridges, but since the ice is extremely smooth and travellers are in danger of slipping on it, they strew straw on the ice and then there is no danger in crossing. 27, 4: There is a curious practice of the CELTS of the upper country in respect of the sacred precincts of their gods: in the temples and religious places which one finds scattered here and there in the land are piles of gold thrown on the ground and consecrated to the gods, and none of the natives dares touch it, because of their superstition, although the CELTS are exceedingly fond of money. 32, 1: It is necessary to make a distinction here that is not observed by many. Those who live above Marseilles in the interior and those who live on the Alps and this side of the Pyrenees are called CELTS; while those who live above this part of CELTICA, in the country towards the south (reading νότον; Niebuhr, however, reads ἀρκτον, the north) and along the coast and the Hercynian mountains, as well as all those who occupy the expanse as far as Scythia, are called Galates. (What follows is from Poseidonius). But the Romans have included all these nations under one general name, calling them all with-

out distinction Galates (Lat. *Galli*). 33, 1: Concerning the CELTS . . . The Iberians and the CELTS (*vd. sub Celt-iberes*, below). 38, 5: Much tin is also brought over from the island of Britain to the opposite coast of Gaul where merchants receive it and load their horses with it and bring it through the interior of CELTICA to the Marseillais and the city of Narbonne. XII, 26, 4 (*anno* 442 B. C.): There was peace besides among the peoples inhabiting Italy and CELTICA and Iberia and almost all the rest of the inhabited world. XIV, 113, 1: The CELTS who lived across the Alps, having passed in large bands through the defiles of the mountains, invaded the country situated between the Apennines and the Alps, and drove out the Etruscans who inhabited it. 3: The CELTS divided the land among themselves according to tribe, and those who were called Senones received as their part the most distant crest of the mountains along the sea. 4: The Roman Commons sent deputies into Etruria to make a careful examination of the movements of the CELTS. 6: As soon as the CELTS heard of the matter, they sent envoys to Rome to demand the surrender of the deputy who had unjustly begun hostilities. 7: To induce the envoys of the CELTS . . . 114, 1: The envoys of the CELTS having returned to their camp . . . (when the tribunes heard of) the approach of the CELTS . . . (informed of the approach) of the Galates . . . 3: But the CELTS were drawn up in a thin line and, whether by chance or by design, they had placed their best men on the hills. 4: At the same time, the trumpets on both sides gave the signal, and the armies, with loud shouts, came to close quarters. The picked men of the CELTS, who were opposed to the weakest of the Romans, drove them easily from the hills . . . 5: Their ranks were thrown into disorder and they fled, while the CELTS pressed them closely and struck them down . . . The CELTS cut down the hindmost. 115, 1: Although the CELTS had slaughtered so very many on the banks of the river, they did not stop in their eagerness for blood, but shot at those who were swimming, and, because of the crowds that were in the river and the great

number of missiles fired at them, they did not fail to reach their mark. 5 f: For, the first day (after the battle) the CELTS spent in cutting off the heads of the dead, according to their native custom. 116, 3: Because of the fact that the CELTS were encamped with heavy forces about the city. 4: To make a sortie against the CELTS. 5: But the CELTS noticed the fresh traces, which showed that some one had climbed up, and they decided to climb by the same rock during the night . . . and some of the CELTS succeeded in reaching the summit, etc. 117, 6: Those of the CELTS who had served in Iapygia, turned back through Roman territory, and, shortly after, they were ambushed by Cerians and completely destroyed on the Trausium plain (*i. e.*, Pisaurum). XV, 70, 1: Two thousand CELTS and Iberians sailed from Sicily for Corinth; they had been sent by the tyrant Dionysius as auxiliaries for the Lacedaemonians, with pay for five months. XVI, 73, 3: They (the Carthaginians) procured a large sum of money with which they levied Iberians, CELTS and Ligures as mercenaries. 94, 3 (Pausanias) with a CELTIC sword concealed under his garments. XX, 64, 2 (*anno* 307): Agathocles still had left six thousand Greeks and these with an equal number of CELTS, Samnites and Etruscans constituted his infantry. XXIII, 21 (*anno* 251 B. C.): But, since traders had brought to the camp a large quantity of wine, the CELTS became drunk and uproar and disorder spread among them. The Roman consul Caecilius attacked them suddenly and won a complete victory and took possession of sixty elephants which he sent to Rome, where they were an object of general wonder. XXV, 2, 2 (*a.* 241-237): The foreign troops who served in the Carthaginian army were Iberians, CELTS, men from the Balearic islands, Liby-Phoenicians, Ligurians and half-Greek slaves who had revolted. XXV, 9 (*a.* 238-230): The CELTS were many times more numerous than the rest and, highly conceited because of their strength and courage, they regarded the enemy with contempt. XXV, 10, 1 (*anno* 230): Hamilcar made war on the Iberians and Tartessians as well as on Istolatus, the general of the CELTS, and his brother. He

put them all to death, among them the two brothers and many other distinguished chiefs. XXV, 13 (*anno* 225): The CELTS, having united with the Galates for the war against the Romans, mustered a host of two hundred thousand men and won the first battle; they were victorious in the second assault also and killed one of the Roman consuls . . . Aemilius raided the territory of the Galates and the CELTS, and took possession of many cities and strongholds and filled Rome with their great spoils. Ch. 14 (*a.* 225): Hieron, king of Syracuse, provided the Romans with wheat during the CELTIC war. XXX, 21, 3: Alexander's character was far from being like that of Perseus. For, Alexander, by a magnanimity that was adapted to the greatness of his enterprises, gained an empire. But Perseus, by his pettiness, estranged the CELTS and, by other similar blunders, ruined a great and ancient kingdom.

Strabo, I, 1, 13, p. 7: In small distances, a little deviation north or south does not make much difference, but in the whole circle of the inhabited earth, the north extends to the utmost confines of Scythia or CELTICA. 17, p. 10: As in their (the Romans') war against the Germans and the CELTS, the barbarians took advantage of their position in marshes, woods and inaccessible deserts, deceiving the enemy, who were ignorant of the land, as to the location of different places, concealing the roads and the supplies of food and other necessities. 2, 27, p. 33: But, afterwards, becoming acquainted with these towards the west, they (the ancient Greeks) called them CELTS and Iberians, or by combining the names, CELTIBERIANS and CELTOSCYTHIANS, thus ignorantly uniting under one name various distinct peoples. 28, p. 34: Ephorus, in his treatise on Europe, likewise shows us the opinion of the ancients respecting Ethiopia. He says that if the celestial and terrestrial sphere were divided into four parts, the Indians would possess that towards the east, the Ethiopians that towards the south, the CELTS towards the west, and the Scythians towards the north. 4, 3, p. 63: The length of Britain itself is about the same as that of CELTICA, which

extends opposite to it. It is not greater than five thousand stadia in length, and its extremities are as far apart as those of the opposite continent . . . Pytheas says that Kent is some days' sail from *CELTICA*. 5, p. 64: . . . For all these (headlands and islands) lie to the north and belong to *CELTICA*, not to Iberia; this seems then to be only an invention of Pytheas. II, 1, 12, p. 71-72: Hipparchus states that the distance from Byzantium and the Dnieper is 3,700 stadia, and that there will be a like distance between Marseilles and the latitude of the Dnieper, which would be the latitude of that part of *CELTICA* next the ocean; for, on proceeding that many stadia, one reaches the ocean. 13, p. 72: There will remain a distance of 25,200 stadia from the parallel that separates the torrid from the temperate zone to that of the Dnieper and that part of *CELTICA* next the ocean. For, it is said that the farthest voyages now made from *CELTICA* northwards are to Ierne (Ireland), which lies beyond Britain and barely sustains life on account of its excessive cold. . . . Ierne is supposed to be not more than 5,000 stadia distant from *CELTICA*, so that the whole breadth of the inhabited earth would be estimated at about 30,000 stadia, or a little more. 16, p. 73: Can one find such fertility as this (in the east) in the lands near the Dnieper, or in that part of *CELTICA* that lies next the ocean, where the vine either does not grow at all, or does not bring its fruit to perfection? P. 74: (To compare them with) those parts near the Dnieper and those districts inhabited by the most distant *CELTIS*. For, they are not under so low a climate as Amisus, Sinope, Byzantium and Marseilles, which are generally held to be 3,700 stadia south of the Dnieper and *CELTICA*. 17, p. 74 (from Hipparchus): Consequently, they (Bactria and Aria) will be removed and placed 8,800 stadia north of the Dnieper and *CELTICA*; for this is the distance that the equator is south of the parallel of latitude which separates the torrid from the temperate zone, which, we say, is better drawn through the Cinnamon country. We have demonstrated that the regions that are not more than 5,000 stadia north of *CELTICA*, that is as far as Ierne,

are scarcely habitable. Their reasoning, however, would represent another habitable circle, even 3,800 stadia north of Ierne. P. 75: (That part of Bactriana next the Caucasus) 8,800 stadia north of *CELTICA* and the Dnieper. 18, p. 75: Hipparchus says that at the Dnieper and in *CELTICA* there is one continued dim sunlight during the whole of the summer nights from sunset to sunrise, but, at the winter solstice, the most the sun rises above the horizon is nine cubits. It is much more striking in regions distant 6,300 stadia from Marseilles (which region he supposes to be peopled by *CELTS*, but I believe they are Britons, and 2,500 stadia north of *CELTICA*). 41, p. 93: I shall only remark now that both Timosthenes and Eratosthenes, as well as those who preceded them, were quite ignorant of Iberia and *CELTICA*, and knew even a thousand times less about Germany, Britain and the country of the Getae and Bastarnae. II, 2, 1, p. 97: As if he (Polybius) were to arrange the zones according to the different nations inhabiting them, calling one the Ethiopian, another the Scythian and *CELTIC*, and a third the intermediate zone. 5, 8, p. 115: Navigators say that the longest passage by sea from *CELTICA* to Libya is, from the Galatic Gulf, 5,000 stadia. 19, p. 122: It (the Mediterranean) is bounded on the right hand by the shores of Libya as far as Carthage, and on the other by the shores of Iberia and *CELTICA* as far as Narbonne and Marseilles, thence by the Ligurian shore, and, finally, by the coast of Italy as far as the Strait of Sicily. 27, p. 127: The shape of Iberia resembles the hide of an ox, the parts corresponding to the neck projecting towards *CELTICA* which adjoins it. These are the eastern portions and on this side lies the chain of mountains called Pyrenees. 28, p. 128: Next this (Iberia) on the east is *CELTICA*, which extends as far as the Rhine. It is washed on its northern side by the whole course of the British channel, for this island (Britain) lies opposite and parallel to it throughout its length, which is as much as 5,000 stadia. It is bounded on the east by the river Rhine, whose course is parallel to the Pyrenees; its southern part is bounded by the Alps commencing from

the Rhine and by that part of our sea (the Mediterranean) where the so-called Galatic Gulf (of Lyons) extends, on which are situated the far-famed cities of Marseilles and Narbonne. Right opposite to this gulf, facing the other way, lies another gulf, likewise called Galatic (Bay of Biscay), looking towards the north and Britain. It is here that the breadth of *CELTICA* is narrowest; it contracts into an isthmus of less than 3,000 stadia, but more than 2,000. Within this region is a mountain-ridge at right angles to the Pyrenees, called Mount Cemmenus (Cevennes); it extends as far as the central plains of the *CELTIS*. The Alps, which are a very lofty range of mountains, form a curved line whose convex side is turned towards the above mentioned plains of *CELTICA* and Mount Cemmenus, and its concave side towards Liguria and Italy. Of the many tribes who inhabit this mountain range, all, with the exception of the Ligurians, are *CELTIC*. 30, p. 128: After Italy and *CELTICA*, the rest of Europe extends towards the east, and is divided into two parts by the Danube. III, 1, 3, p. 137: This range (the Pyrenees) extends in an unbroken line from south to north and divides *CELTICA* from Iberia. The breadth of both *CELTICA* and Iberia is irregular, the narrowest part in both being the strip of land along the Pyrenees from our sea (the Mediterranean) to the ocean, especially on either side of the mountain; this brings it about that there are gulfs both on the ocean side, and also on the side of the Mediterranean. The greatest of these bays are the *CELTIC*, which are also denominated the Galatic gulfs, and they make that isthmus (of Gaul) narrower than the Iberian. 2, 11, p. 148: The idea that the northern parts of Iberia are more accessible to *CELTICA*, than to proceed thither by sea, and other similar statements on the authority of Pytheas. III, 3, 7, p. 155: They make use of wooden (*ξύλινοις* Friedemann; *χηλίνοις* 'plaited,' Meineke; *κηρίνοις* 'waxen,' codices) vessels like the *CELTIS*. III, 4, 5, p. 158: The *CELTIS*, now called *CELTIBERIAN*s and *Berones*. 8, p. 159: This (Emporium) is a colony of the Marseillais, and it is about forty stadia distant from the Pyrenees and the

borders of Iberia and *CELTICA*. 10, p. 161: This constitutes the whole coast-line from the Pillars to the dividing line of the Iberians and the *CELTS*. 11, p. 162: The *CELTIC* (side of the Pyrenees) is bare of trees; in the midst are enclosed valleys admirably fitted for habitation. 12, p. 162: The Berones are neighbors of the Conian Cantabrians, and they, too, owe their origin to the *CELTIC* expedition. 16, p. 164: Unless one thinks that it will add to the pleasure of life to wash themselves and their wives in stale urine kept in tanks, and to rinse their teeth with it, as is said to be the custom with the Cantabrians and their neighbors. This practice and that of sleeping on the ground is common to the Iberians and the *CELTS*. 17, p. 165 . . . These feelings (of recklessness, cruelty) are common to the *CELTIC* tribes, and to the Thracians and Scythians, likewise their ideas of bravery both of their men and of their women. IV, 1, 1, p. 176: Next in order, comes *CELTICA* beyond the Alps, the general outline of which has already been sketched; we have now to describe it in greater detail. Some divide it into three parts, calling their inhabitants Aquitanians, Belgians and *CELTS* (*i. e.*, *Κέλται*, a form built on Cæsar's *Celtae*). The Aquitanians differ completely from the others, not only in their language, but also in their physical characteristics, and resemble the Iberians more than the Galates. The others are Galates in appearance, but they do not all speak the same language, some of them differing slightly in speech. They differ, too, a little in their form of government and mode of life. The dwellers near the Pyrenees, bounded by the Cevennes, are called Aquitanians and *CELTS*. For, it has been remarked that this *CELTICA* is bounded on the west by the range of Pyrenees, which extend to either sea, both the inner and the outer (p. 177); on the east the boundary is the Rhine, whose course is parallel to the Pyrenees; on the north it is enclosed by the ocean, from the northern headlands of the Pyrenees as far as the mouth of the Rhine; on the opposite side it is bounded by the sea of Marseilles and Narbonne and the Alps from Liguria as far as the sources of the Rhine. At right angles to the

Pyrenees are the Cevennes, traversing the plains and extending over about 2,000 stadia until they terminate in the middle near Lyons. The people who inhabit the northern portions of the Pyrenees and as far as the Cevennes extending towards the ocean and bounded by the river Garonne, they call Aquitanians; and CELTS, the inhabitants of the other parts, also towards the sea of Marseilles and Narbonne and touching a part of the Alpine chain; and Belgians, the rest who dwell along the ocean as far as the mouth of the Rhine, and some who dwell by the Rhine and the Alps. This was the division adopted by the divine Cæsar. But Augustus Cæsar, when making four grand divisions of the country, assigned the CELTS to the province of Narbonne, the Aquitanians he left the same as Julius Cæsar, but he added fourteen nations of those who dwell between the Garonne and the Loire. The rest he divided into two parts, assigning the district extending as far as the upper parts of the Rhine to the territory of Lyons, and the other to the Belgians. 2, p. 178: What we have said applies, in the main, to the whole of farther *CELTICA*. We shall now speak in detail of each of the four divisions, of which we have, thus far, spoken only summarily. 3, p. 178: Some, however, hold that the boundary of *CELTICA* is the spot where the Trophies of Pompey stand. 11, p. 185: The third (river) is the Sulgas which unites with the Rhone near the city of Vindalum, where Gnaeus Ahenobarbus in a great battle routed many myriads of CELTS. . . . At the point where the Isère and the Rhone unite near the Cevennes, Quintus Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, with not more than 30,000 men, destroyed 200,000 CELTS, and there he erected a white stone as a trophy and two temples, one dedicated to Mars, the other to Hercules. 12, p. 186: Their (the *Volcae Arecomisci*) seaport, which is called Narbonne, may justly be called the seaport of all *CELTICA*. 13, p. 187: That these nations immigrated from *CELTICA* is shown by their relationship to the Tectosages, but we are not able to say from which district they emigrated. 14, p. 189: This much we have said concerning the inhabitants of the district of Narbonne, whom earlier

writers called CELTS. It seem to me that the Greeks then called all the Galates CELTS from them, because of their great celebrity; the nearness of the Marseillais may also have contributed to it. 3, p. 192: It is from this part of the Alps that the Adda flows in an opposite direction (to the Rhine), towards hither *CELTICA*, and empties into the Lake of Como. 4, p. 193: The distance from the rivers of *CELTICA* to Britain is 320 stadia. IV, 1, p. 195: I believe that these Veneti (the Vannetais of Brittany) were the founders of those who live along the Adriatic; for, almost all the other CELTS in Italy, just as the Boii and the Senones, have come over from the land beyond the Alps. 6, p. 198: A certain tree, similar to the fig-tree, grows in *CELTICA*, and it bears a fruit shaped like a Corinthian capital; when this fruit is cut, it discharges a deadly juice which they smear over their arrows. It has often been remarked that all the CELTS are voluptuaries and that pederasty is not considered shameful. Ephorus says that *CELTICA* is exceedingly extensive, so that he assigns to it most of what we now call Iberia, as far as Gades; he asserts that the people are admirers of the Greeks, and he tells many peculiarities of them that do not appear in the present inhabitants. This is a curious practice of theirs: they mortify themselves so as not to become stout or pot-bellied, and if any young man exceeds the measure of a certain girdle he is punished. So much concerning *CELTICA* beyond the Alps. V, 1, p. 199: Britain is triangular in form; its longest side faces *CELTICA*, nor is it greater nor less in length than it; for, each of them is about 4,300 or 4,400 stadia, that is, the *CELTIC* side from the mouth of the Rhine as far as the northern end of the Pyrenees towards Aquitania, and the coast of Kent right opposite the mouth of the Rhine, and the most eastern point of Britain, to the western promontory of the island, which lies opposite Aquitania and the Pyrenees. 2, p. 200: (The Britons) have hounds naturally suited for hunting; the CELTS use these hounds, as well as their native dogs, for the purposes of war. The men are taller than the CELTS and their hair is less yellow and they are not so thick-

set . . . Their habits are like those of the CELTS, though simpler and more barbarous. . . . In battle they make use of war-chariots for the most part, as do most of the CELTS. 3: Because of the insurrections among the CELTS, both among his own (Cæsar's) soldiers and among the barbarians . . . (the Britons) were required to pay a moderate tax on imports to *CELTICA* and exports thence . . . 4, p. 201: And yet, to eat human flesh is said to be a Scythian custom; and even the CELTS and Iberians and many others are said to have done the like during the severities of a siege. IV, 6, 1, p. 201: After *CELTICA* beyond the Alps and the people who inhabit that country . . . 3, p. 203: These (Celtoligurians) were the first transalpine CELTS whom the Romans subdued, after having waged a long drawn out war against them and the Ligurians. 5: The Durias mingles with the Po after flowing in an opposite direction to it through the territory of the Salassi into Cisalpine *CELTICA*. 10, p. 207: The Iapodes, a nation now common to the Illyrians and the CELTS, dwell near these regions. 11, p. 208: One of the passes from Italy into farther and northern *CELTICA* is through the territory of the Salassi and leads to Lyons. V, 1, 3, p. 211: Cisalpine *CELTICA* is enclosed within these limits and its length along the coast together with the mountains is about 6,300 stadia; its breadth is rather less than 2,000. 4, p. 212: One division is inhabited by Ligurian and *CELTIC* tribes, of whom the former dwell in the mountainous parts, the latter in the plains; the other division is inhabited by CELTS and Heneti. These CELTS are of the same race as the transalpine CELTS. There are two views about the Heneti: some say that they are a colony of those CELTS of the same name who dwell along the ocean, etc. 6: In ancient times, as we have remarked, the district through which the Po flows was chiefly inhabited by CELTS. The greatest nations of the CELTS were the Boii and the Insubres, and the Senones and the Gaesatae, who once upon a time took the Roman Capitol by assault. 11, p. 217: Then come the Alps and *CELTICA*. . . . The boundaries of this country, which we call cisalpine *CELTICA*, from the rest of

Italy were marked by the Apennine mountains above Tyrrhenia and the river Aesis (Esino), and then by the Rubicon. Both these rivers empty into the Adriatic. 12, p. 218: The mines in that neighborhood are not now worked with so much care, because of the greater profit in the mines in the country of the transalpine CELTS and in Iberia; but, formerly they must have been, since there were gold-diggings even at Vercelli. V, 2, 1, p. 218: In the second place, we shall treat of that part of Liguria which lies in the Apennines themselves, between the establishments of that part of *CELTICA* already described and Tyrrhenia. 9, p. 226. Lake Trasimennus, near which is the army-pass from *CELTICA* into Tyrrhenia. 10, p. 227: For, about these parts are the boundaries of ancient Italy and *CELTICA*, on the side towards the Adriatic, although the boundary-lines have often been changed by the rulers. 4, 1, p. 240: We must begin again from the *CELTIC* boundaries. VI, 4, 2, p. 287: It happened that they lost their city (Rome) suddenly to the CELTS. . . . Having got rid of these difficulties, the first thing the Romans did was to reduce all the Latins, they then put a check to the frequent and unrestrained violence of the Tyrrheni and the CELTS who lived along the Po. . . . The Iberians and CELTS and all who yielded to the Romans, shared a similar fate. . . . Likewise, the whole of *CELTICA*, both within and beyond the Alps, together with Liguria, were annexed a part at a time, but, subsequently, the divine Cæsar, and, after him, Augustus subdued them by incessant and general warfare. VII, 1, 1, p. 289: We have spoken of Iberia and of the *CELTIC* and Italic nations and the islands adjacent. . . . North of the Danube are the countries beyond the Rhine and *CELTICA*. The nations (inhabiting these districts) are the Galatic and the Germanic, as far as the lands of the Bastarnæ, the Turegetæ and the river Dnieper; likewise (north of the Danube) is the country between that river, the Don and the mouth of the Sea of Azof which stretches inland as far as the ocean and is washed by the Euxine sea. South (of the Danube) are the people of Illyria and Thrace, and, mingled with

them, certain tribes of CELTS and other races, as far as Greece. 2, p. 290: Next after the CELTS come the Germans who inhabit the country across the Rhine to the east; they differ but little from the CELTIC race, except in their being more savage, of greater stature and with yellower hair; but, in other respects, in appearance, manners and customs they are like them, such as we have related of the CELTS. The Romans, therefore, seem to me to have applied this name (*Germani*) to them, wishing to signify the genuine Galates; for, in the Latin language, *Germani* means "the genuine." 3, p. 290: The first division of this country extends along the Rhine from its source to its mouth. The entire river-land extends over almost the whole breadth of the country on the west. The Romans have transplanted some of the people of that country into CELTICA. . . . 5, p. 292: So that one passing from CELTICA (but, Bergk reads *Ἑλουμεταῖς*, "Helvetia, or eastern Switzerland") to the Hercynian Forest, has first to cross the lake and then the Danube. 2, p. 293: Nor is it true, what is told of the Cimbri, that they take up arms against the flood-tides, or that the CELTS exercise their intrepidity by permitting their houses to be washed away, and afterwards rebuild them, and that more of them perish by floods than by war, as Ephorus relates. VII, 3, 2, p. 296: There are, besides, the CELTIC tribes of the Boii, Scordisci and Taurisci. 8, p. 301 ff: And Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, tells us that in that campaign (of Alexander the Great against the Thracians) the CELTS who live along the Adriatic joined with Alexander for the purpose of making a treaty of peace and friendship, and that the king received them in a friendly way, and asked them, while drinking, what they feared most; for, he supposed that they would say it was he; but they replied that they feared no man, unless perhaps that the heavens would some time fall on them, but that they valued the friendship of such a man (as Alexander) above everything. 11, p. 304: (Boerebistas, a leader of the Getae) subdued the CELTS who lived among the Thracians and Illyrians. 5, 1, p. 313: Thracian tribes are found as far as the Propontis and Hellespont,

and Scythian or CELTIC tribes intermixed with them. 2, p. 313: The Daci subdued the Boii and Taurisci, CELTIC tribes under Critasiros. . . . The Alps, which extend to the Iapodes, a mixed CELTIC and Illyrian tribe. 4, p. 315: The CELTIC style of armor.

(To be Continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Le Livre d'Hénoch, traduit sur le texte éthiopien par François Martin, Professeur de Langues Sémitiques à l'Institut Catholique de Paris et par L. Delaporte, J. Françon, B. Legris, J. Pressoir, membres de la Conférence d'Éthiopien (1904) de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris, 1906. 8°, pp. clii + 319.

The present volume is the first of a series "Documents pour l'Étude de la Bible" which will comprise translations of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, of the Assyrian and Babylonian religious texts, of the Phœnician Inscriptions and of the Targums. The purpose of the series is stated in the opening pages of the present work, and the considerations of Abbé Martin are well worth meditating. He wants to remedy the evil of speculation in Biblical studies, for, "on ne résout pas des difficultés historiques ou textuelles à coup de syllogismes sans s'exposer à de cruels mécomptes" (VI). Alluding to some recent Biblical syntheses, he says, and how truly! "Beaucoup d'adversaires ont combattu, uniquement parce qu'ils croyaient la foi en danger; beaucoup de partisans ont soutenu parce que les conclusions leur semblaient s'accorder avec leurs vues philosophiques personnelles. . . . De la question de fond, de la question de savoir si les théories proposées étaient réellement la conséquence rigoureuse, l'explication nécessaire des textes et des faits, on s'est généralement trop peu préoccupé et pour cause" (VII).

In place of these *a priori* conclusions and preferences, Fr. Martin advocates a more personal use of the originals, Biblical or extra-Biblical, or at least of reliable translations. While a real progress is being slowly achieved for the Sacred Scriptures, the other documents which bear on the correct understanding of the Bible, have been sadly neglected; it is this lacuna that Fr. Martin wants to fill. His aim is to make these documents accessible to the greatest number possible of readers. The use of a translation, it is true, will never adequately replace the originals, and it is to be hoped that many will devote their talents and energies to the mastery of these languages and the acquirement of sound critical methods; but as these workers will be comparatively few, it is of prime importance that the others should have, in a reliable translation, sufficient means for controlling assertions and for passing a more independent judgment on the questions of the day.¹

¹ We had already from the pen of Abbé Martin; *Textes Religieux Assyriens et Babyloniens*, Paris, 1903.

In accordance with this vast program, Fr. Martin offers to the public the book of Enoch. The choice of Enoch to open the series is most significant; it is in many respects the most complicated of the Apocrypha, and the success in the treatment of it is sufficient guarantee of the merits of the whole collection. The importance attached to the book of Enoch in early Christianity is too well known to be insisted upon here. Suffice it to recall to the reader that Enoch has had a deep influence in framing New Testament ideas and diction, and has been quoted by St. Jude in his Epistle; it has been considered as authoritative by many of the early Fathers, whose testimonies Fr. Martin has collected, pp. cxxiii-cxxxvi. It is safe to say that a thorough knowledge of the Book of Enoch is indispensable for following the evolution of New Testament thought.

After a brief account of the various portions of the book of Enoch, the author analyzes the doctrines contained in it with regard to God, the world, angels, demons and satans, man and sin, eschatology, the Messiah, etc. This section might have fulfilled its end better by being placed after the Investigation of the sources. As Fr. Martin advocates, the book of Enoch is not homogenous, but is made up of several independent works put together without any regard to their chronological order; the reader would have been better prepared to follow the historical evolution of the ideas, had he had a clear concept of what belonged to each one of the sources.

In a third chapter Fr. Martin examines the history of the book as such. The book was originally written in Hebrew (perhaps, portions in Aramaic?) but the original is now lost. It has been preserved in its entirety only in an Ethiopic version, of which we have 26 MSS.¹ Of the Greek version,² only portions remain; the most important of these fragments is the Gizeh papyrus containing Chapters I-XXXII; other fragments have been preserved by Syncellus in his Chronography, etc. At one time, the whole book existed in several Greek recensions; it is from one of these—not the Gizeh, however—that the Ethiopic version was made. After a complete survey of the various opinions with regard to the literary problem (pp. lxii-lxxvii) in which the author shows himself thoroughly familiar with the bibliography, he proceeds to give his own views on the structure of the book. Not only is the book, as it now stands, of a composite

¹ The best addition of the Ethiopic text, is that of Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch*.

² The Greek text has been edited by Radermacher, and more recently by Swete in his "Old Testament in Greek."

nature; not only are the main documents so many independent compositions, but most of them are themselves compilations, in which older fragments, notably the Noachic fragments, have been incorporated. It is not always easy to distinguish between fragments anterior to each compilation and later interpolations, and some of the conclusions of Abbé Martin might be controverted, but, on the whole, his distribution of sources is most satisfactory. The authors of Enoch are Palestinian Jews, occasionally Pharisees. The dates of the various documents range from 170 to 78 B. C. With regard to the influences that the various authors underwent and the various sources from which they drew their informations, Fr. Martin mentions after the Hebrew Scriptures, Babylonian cosmogony and mythology, and to a certain extent, Egyptian religious ideas. Greek philosophy and mythology have had little influence, owing to the anti-Hellenic and nationalist tendencies of the authors, who lived at an age when Hellenism was the great enemy. In this last assertion, however, there seems to be some exaggeration. The fight made against the Greeks at the time of the Maccabees was directed more against the Seleucidæ of Syria than against the Ptolemies of Egypt, and was more national and political than philosophical. Besides, Greek ideas were already in the air when the fight began, and those that imbibed them perhaps never suspected their origin. For our part, we are convinced that the Greek influence of Alexandria over the Palestinian Jews themselves has been greatly underrated. Again Abbé Martin considers Persian infiltrations into the book of Enoch as very doubtful, because the date of the sacred books of Persia and even the reform of Zoroaster, is too problematic; in points of contact it may be the Persians who borrowed, not the Jews. This is certainly true, but it is beyond doubt also, that, broadly speaking, the work of Zoroaster must have been based largely on older national ideas and that these ideas are much older than their consignment to writing; just as the contents of the Koran existed among the Arabic tribes, long before Mahomet systematized them. Many things that Fr. Martin refers to Babylonian and Egyptian influences may have reached the Jews only through the medium of Alexandria, where literary men from almost every country found a home and a shelter.

We would strongly recommend all this chapter to the careful study—not cursory reading—of the Biblical student. Everything is treated with the greatest care and scholarship. The method followed is not different from the one used in the Bible itself not excepting the New Testament, however different the results may be. We also thank the author for having kept separate problems that should be kept separate,

such as the composite character of the book and of each portion, dates, authors and influences; the rejection of the latter does not entail the rejection of the others, and the first will stand, even if all the others were shown to be wrong. The translation is accompanied by valuable notes and commentaries which greatly contribute to making the publication one of the best if not the best on the subject. We would like, however, to see the various documents with their substrata and interpolations, presented graphically to the reader, e. g. by means of different types. If we want to succeed in making the public realize the importance of controlling assertions by a personal examination of the sources, we must render the task as easy as possible for them. The history of an idea and its evolution through the book of Enoch cannot be accurately given unless we take into account the chronological order of the documents; in a publication intended for a public not familiar with the methods of criticism, nothing better could have been done than to give those documents already separated and ready for use.

The undertaking of Abbé Martin is worthy of all encouragement and support. The great danger of the present day, as pointed out by him, lies in the fact that too often we seek the justification of our own views in the literature of the past, when we should primarily endeavor to grasp the true meaning of the documents, regardless of any preconceived theory. Real progress will be made only when "*avec la disparition des préjugés, tous les prêtres appelés à l'enseignement de l'exégèse devront passer par les grandes écoles normales du clergé que sont nos Instituts Catholiques*" (p. viii), read "*Catholic University*." Then, we hope by the diffusion of more accurate methods, true scientific results may be more and more appreciated by both clergy and people; then, by a deeper realization that an impartial examination of facts and texts must precede any theory or synthesis, slow and patient research will replace superficial, easy-going and therefore often intolerant generalizations; then finally, by a development of intellectual honesty, the one thing that God expects from us, truth, will stand higher than party systems and personal preferences.

R. BUTIN, S.M.

A Modern Pilgrim's Progress, with an introduction by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London: Burns and Oates; New York: Benziger Bros., 1906.

This is the personal account of a woman's long, circuitous journey, extending over many years, whose precise number we are left to conjecture, from the Protestantism of her birth to the Catholic Church.

Born in England, she went at the age of fifteen to a British colony, where she resided for a considerable time, and then returned to London. Her extensive physical travel, however, bears but a slender proportion to her spiritual wanderings which led her from pole to pole, out of English Protestantism, towards Unitarianism, then to the verge of atheism, through the cheerless deserts of nineteenth-century agnosticism back again, for a short and uneasy stay, not of peace but of restless enquiry, in English Protestantism, and finally to the City of Peace. The writer does not profess to give a logical analysis of her beliefs, but a psychological history of them. Yet, she presents with great force some of the most effective and fundamental arguments for Theism and Catholicism. Her independent turn of mind, and disinclination to take her convictions from authority, was the trait to which, she owed both her departure from Protestantism and her protracted stay outside of the Catholic Church long after it had begun to exercise on her a mysterious attraction. Thrown into contact with clergymen of Low Church and High Church, she soon perceived that if the Bible were the exclusive rule of faith it would, nevertheless, be useless without a constituted authoritative interpreter. Her practical conclusion, to which she was assisted by Bishop Colenso was to give up her belief in inspiration; and soon afterwards, through the influence of Unitarian publications, she threw overboard the divinity of Christ. Then she entered upon a desultory study of philosophy as expounded by Kant, Darwinian evolutionists, Spencer, and some of their satellites. But the cravings of her moral nature refused to allow her to rest satisfied in disbelief in a Personal God. It is worthy of note that some of the greatest helps she got towards the Church were given by opponents, contrary to their purpose. An apostate priest arguing against Protestants in favor of Unitarianism, fashionable exponents of free thought and the philosophy of religions proved to be some of her best friends. Another was Dr. Littledale whom she challenged to make good some of his anti-Catholic allegations; and she says: "I think Darwin's teaching helped me to see in the growth and evolution of the Catholic Church a sign that it was formed by the same God who made the material world." After turning away hungry from agnosticism she threshed out ritualism with Mr. Mackonochie, Dr. Pusey, and Dr. Littledale. Then she passed on to Newman, as the goal came into view. The Pilgrim's gifts of self-analysis, sincerity, earnestness and the unusual variety of the phases of doubt and conviction which she has to relate, together with a fine power of expression, combine to make a piece of biography which is at once an interesting psychological study and a striking apologetic.

JAMES J. FOX.

Early Essays and Lectures. By Canon Sheehan, D.D. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906.

The essays of this collection, twelve in number, have been disinterred from various magazines in which they appeared at various dates during the last quarter of a century. Their general subject is literature, education, and philosophic thought, viewed in their bearing upon the interests of religious truth. Whether he discusses the working of the intermediate system of education in Ireland, the character of German universities, the influence of Emerson, works belonging to recent Augustan literature, the poetry of Aubrey de Vere or Matthew Arnold, Dr. Sheehan's message is ever the superiority of the mental over the material, of faith over reason, of the eternal over the temporal. His position as a writer is too widely established by his later works to permit any space here to be devoted to pointing out his merits. In one of these essays he says: "It is a strange and significant fact that Catholic writers cannot catch the fire and the glow that illuminate every page of profane literature." At least we can claim that he himself has done a good deal to take away our reproach. If the thermometer of literary criticism would refuse to record any such high degree of heat as indicates fire in his pages, they are nevertheless everywhere suffused with the warmth of delicate sentiment and the glow of a rich and fervid imagination, and through them pulsates the force generated by earnest purpose and high ideals. Probably, as he says himself, if he were to write on the subjects of these essays, and of the addresses, seven in number, he would treat them in a different manner and in a modified style. It would not, we think, be difficult to find many thoughts, reflections, and opinions in the present volume which are more clearly and concisely expressed in *Luke Delmege*. Yet the diffuseness and iterations of the present volume which render it less attractive to older minds may very well make it the more useful to younger ones, who require to have an idea impressed by repetition and amplification. Were a young man, desirous of cultivating a sound taste for literature and high thinking, to ask for a short list of books that might help him, we should not hesitate to give a place on the file to this volume.

JAMES J. FOX.

Catholicity and Progress in Ireland. By Rev. M. O'Riordan D.Ph., D.D., D.C.L. London: Keegan, Paul, and Trench; St. Louis: B. Herder, 1905.

When Sir Horace Plunkett, the chief promoter of what is commonly called the Irish industrial revival, though birth would be a

more accurate term, published an account of the achievements and aims of that movement, he ventured to point out "certain defects of character not ethically grave, but economically paralyzing," which, in his opinion, have "prevented Irishmen from rising to their opportunities and giving practical evidence of the intellectual qualities with which the race is admittedly gifted." Besides, he stated, with considerable specification, that a contributory cause of these defects lay close to the religious belief of the people, and that the Irish clergy had not, as a body, done all that was in their power to promote the material and social welfare of their people. The high spiritual and moral excellence of the Irish clergy has not killed in them the tendency of human nature to resent unwelcome criticism however kindly and well-meaning may be the spirit in which it is offered. For a Protestant layman, even though he had proved himself a real benefactor to Ireland, to presume to pass strictures upon the Catholic clergy, was somewhat imprudent. The present volume contains the most systematic, extensive and able reply that was directed against him.

It takes up the charges of Sir Horace—defects in Irish character; the prevalence of extravagant church building; the failure of the clergy to do all that they might to promote habits of temperance and industry among their flocks; their undue activity in politics; their responsibility for the emigration evil by repressing innocent amusements among the young; the excessive multiplication of unproductive religious communities.

The author has greatly enhanced the permanent value of his book by extending its scope so as to embody instructive historical studies of the vicissitudes and development of Irish education, manufactures, agriculture, and commerce. He also makes an eloquent defense of the principle of asceticism. From a review of the industrial progress of Belgium he draws an argument against the commonplace charge that Catholicism is hostile to economic progress: and he shows that the University of Louvain is a standing proof that, even to-day, contrary to the frequently repeated assertion, a Catholic university can be a first-rate seat of learning.

The sympathetic public before whose bar Dr. O'Riordan impeached Sir Horace could not fail to give an enthusiastically unanimous verdict in his favor. A coldly impartial scrutiny of the pleading will note that the reply might have faced with more directness many of the criticisms which it challenged. For example, all the first encomiums which the Doctor passes on Irish character are perfectly consistent with the existence of the ethically negligible but econom-

ically important minor defects upon which Sir Horace insists. Again, to say that the Irish clergy have not done all that they might in the cause of temperance is not to say that they have done nothing. If Sir Horace were asked for instance in support of his complaint that meanings were attached to his words which he never intended them to bear, he would probably point out that when he asserted there is a survival of superstition in backward districts he had no idea of attacking the Catholic dogma of the Real Presence. One of the most pleasing features in the volume is the array of facts brought forward to show the beneficent activity displayed by the nuns in the promotion of small industries among the working classes—a fact to which Sir Horace Plunkett seems to have hardly paid due attention.

Dr. O'Riordan expresses his high estimate of the character of Sir Horace, and of the services rendered by him to the people of Ireland. We have not the slightest doubt but that if these two gentlemen were to meet face to face for the discussion of the topics that have brought them into conflict in print, misunderstandings would be cleared up, and then they would find that the residuum of disagreement separating them would be very small indeed.

JAMES J. FOX.

Free Will and Four English Philosophers (Hobbes, Locke, Hume and Mill). By the Reverend Joseph Rickaby, S.J. London: Burns and Oates; New York: Benziger Bros., 1906.

Although it is not a systematic presentation of the argument for, and a refutation of those against, free-will, this volume touches upon pretty nearly everything that can be urged on either side of the question, from the purely philosophic point of view. The plan it pursues is to quote a passage from the author under discussion, another to criticize it. The commentary is usually of ample length. A favorite method of criticism of the statement attacked is to construct a hypothetical case of action or choice, and, applying the view in question to explain the behavior of the agent, to show that the result will not bear the judgment of good sense. This method Father Rickaby uses with conspicuous success, especially in discussing the utilitarian theory of punishment as taught by John Stuart Mill, to whose talents, honesty and sincerity Father Rickaby pays a handsome tribute. The student who would read the above philosophers at first hand—and, with all respect for our numerous text-books, there is no other road to a proper understanding of their doctrines—will find Father Rickaby a very helpful guide. He is, perhaps, here and there, unnecessarily diffuse; but, in compensation, he relieves the strain of metaphysical reasoning

with reflections of a religious character. His chief original contribution to the discussion of the problem is his view of the psychological character of the act of free-will.—“To will at all, our will must be struck by a motive which raises in us what I have called a ‘spontaneous complacency.’ As the four philosophers under review all agree, and I agree with them, this complacency is a fact of physical sequence, a necessity under the circumstances. But it is not yet a volition until it is hugged, embraced, enhanced, under advertence by the conscious self. This process takes time,—I do not mean so many seconds measured by the watch, for thought time goes on other wheels than motion time—but still it takes time. Free will turns upon the absence of any need of your making up your mind at once to accept the particular complacency presented to your soul; observe, you cannot here and now, accept any other; you cannot here and now accept what is not offered. You cannot just at present fling yourself on the absent. Thus time is gained for rival motions to come up, according to the ordinary laws of association, perception, or personal intercourse: each of these motives excites its own necessary complacency, till at last some present complacency is accepted and endorsed by the person and that is an act of free-will.” This explanation is not open to some of the criticisms that may be directed against the scholastic which raises the crux of the relation of the *ultimum judicium practicum* to the will.

JAMES J. FOX.

The Life of Christ. By Mgr. É. Le Camus, Bishop of La Rochelle. Translated by Rev. W. A. Hickey. The Catholic Library Association, 1906.

The late Bishop Le Camus' work on the Life of Christ is, probably, the most important contribution to the literature of that august subject from a Catholic pen that has appeared since Sepp's great effort against Strauss. The bishop made this book his life-work in a literal sense. He paid several visits to Palestine; he concentrated upon his theme a wide reading that extended through many years of laborious research; and he mastered the principles and method of criticism, all toward the end of producing a life of our Lord which should at once be a consolation to the piety of the faithful and a defence against the attacks of the unbeliever. The several editions through which the work has passed in France bear witness to the success of his design. That English readers are now, through the correct, idiomatic, translation of Father Hickey, to share the good which the work has accomplished in Europe is reason for rejoicing. With us, too, this picture of the Master, which learning and piety have combined to paint, will

help to inspire spiritual vigor, and, one may hope, to stimulate some minds to devote themselves to a study of the momentous problems which attend the origin and transmission of the Gospel history.

JAMES J. FOX.

L'Authenticité Mosaïque du Pentateuque. Par Eug. Mangenot, Prof. d'Ecriture Sainte à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907. Pp. 334.

On June 27, the Biblical Commission issued a decision concerning the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch; Abbé Mangenot's work, although written before the decision, has been remodeled so as to justify it in the eyes of those whom it might have surprised. The author aims at fighting the critics on their own ground. He tells us that he intends to indicate their objections fairly without minimizing or distorting them in any way. To act as an ostrich which does not fear the enemy because it does not see it any longer, is to him supremely ridiculous (p. 12). The work is divided into four parts, in which the author gives successively an historical sketch of the various modern views, pp. 15-202; the arguments in favor of the traditional opinion, pp. 204-265; his judgment on the theological certitude to be assigned to the thesis of the mosaic origin, pp. 267-310, and finally a few considerations on the nature of the mosaic origin, as allowed by the Biblical Commission, pp. 311-328.

The *exposé* of modern views is clear, agreeable, painstaking; generally accurate, and shows the wide reading of the author; as this first part covers more than half the entire work, the reader will agree that Abbé Mangenot has done the work conscientiously.

In the second part, the author defends his thesis; we say "thesis" because he tells us positively that all the efforts of Catholic criticism should tend to prove the mosaic origin of the Pentateuch and to vindicate it against its adversaries (p. 204). There is some danger in starting an historical investigation with a foregone conclusion; the thesis may be correct in itself, but, unless we are very careful in handling the materials, the mind is greatly exposed to being biased with regard to facts and texts. The positive arguments in favor of the mosaic origin of the Pentateuch are well given and many of them are far from being as weak as they are sometimes represented to be. Attention might have been directed to Condamin's article on Ecclesiastes, *Revue Biblique*, 1900, 31 ff. when the author discusses the argument drawn from the perpetual tradition of the Church, p. 228 ff., as well as when he examines whether the Fathers spoke as witnesses of divine tradition or simply as private Doctors, p. 286 ff.

With reference to the negative proofs or answers to the critics, pp. 246-265, we have serious reservations to make regardless of the question whether the critics be right or wrong. It is unfair to break up a cumulative argument into its various constituent parts, and examine them, as if they were independent of one another. Taken individually they may not be more than probable, but when probabilities are accumulated, all pointing to one direction, they often create moral certitude. The position of the critics, for one who takes into account the difference between the method of investigation and that of presentation, is not based on several arguments, standing by themselves, it is based on one argument made up of discrepancies between various groups of passages with regard to vocabulary, style, history, religious institutions, religious ideas, and many other details. If the argument has to be refuted at all, it must be done in a way that will explain all these differences taken together, for, they all appear and disappear *together*. Let it be noted here that the sources or documents are not classified arbitrarily, as Mangenot seems to assert, p. 263; the classification may be wrong, it is not arbitrary. What is needed then, is not a piecemeal refutation of individual assertions, but a system that will harmonize better than, or at least as well as, the one of the critics, the difficulties of the case. To give but one example: on p. 248, the author says that repetitions are due to the literary method of Moses who takes up an interrupted narrative, sketches it again before continuing it, etc. This is not impossible in itself, and might suffice if there was nothing else; but such is not the contention of the critics; if it is the same author who gives us both parallel narratives, why does he *at the same time* use different vocabulary and style? why does he adopt a different point of view with regard to the above peculiarities? In the same way, the answers of Mangenot concerning the unity of sanctuary, sacrifices, feasts, distinction between Priests and Levites, style, taken individually might be possible and even plausible, but as the solidarity of the differences just mentioned is overlooked, these answers fulfill their purpose neither historically nor polemically. We cannot change the position of the critics, we must take them as they are. It is true that Fr. Mangenot does not intend to give a regular refutation of the critics (p. 13) but still condensation should not exclude accurate reproduction of opposite positions.

In this section there are many instances where the author does not seem to have grasped the true import of the assertions which he refutes. In many others, the method, principles and motives of the critics are hardly given fairly. Besides, as it was the author's aim

not only to refute but to expose faithfully the position of the critics, why has he not felt the need of examining the answers of the critics to his own positive arguments? Is, for example, the hypothesis of Scribes so new that it has not yet been considered by critics? If it has, what is the value of the reasons given for its rejection? This is rather important for the thesis of Abbé Mangelot.

In spite of all these imperfections, however, the reader will find in this section, very valuable remarks, and pertinent suggestions. We hope sincerely that this part will be re-written more systematically and more in accordance with the real position of the critics.

The last portion of the work is a commentary on the other *dubia* decided by the Biblical Commission. Abbé Mangelot is very liberal in his admission of additions to the original work of Moses and of subsequent modifications: he mentions several opinions (317 ff.) which he declares to be essentially like that of the ancient Fathers. This assertion would necessitate some explanations; the more so, in view of his hypothesis on the theological value of the testimonies of the Fathers. Some of them knew, of course, the existence of variants, but they never suspected such extensive remodelings as those which he approves of; they would have been as much startled by such a theory as by that of a compilation from preexisting sources, some of them Mosaic. Besides, if pushed a little further, this would lead us into the *Supplement* hypothesis, a very questionable theological advantage.

We have no doubt that the decision of the Biblical Commission has been given after due deliberation, and with the full knowledge of the arguments on both sides, especially so, since the consultors whose views were evidently solicited, were to be found in both camps; but however justified this decision may be, we must confess that the contribution of Abbé Mangelot is too speculative and one-sided, to make converts in the ranks of critics. It lacks in many respects that scientific accuracy and perspective, an essential quality even in a polemical production. He has failed to deal with the modern critical theories as they really are and hence, has also failed in his attempt to fight the critics on their own chosen ground.

R. BUTIN, S.M.

Ecclesia, The Church of Christ. London: Burns and Oates, 1906.

Ecclesia, The Church of Christ, consists of a series of papers written by several well-known English Catholic writers and edited by Arnold Harris Mathews. The work is intended as a guide for those who, persuaded of the foundation of a Church by Christ, are

seeking to know where it is. It treats, therefore, principally of the Notes of the Church. The discussion of the Notes is preceded by a paper on the Church in the Parables, and followed by papers on Infallibility, Salvation outside of the Church, Schism and Ignorance. The work closes with an appendix on England and the Holy See in the Middle Ages. Dom. Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B., is the author of the paper on the Parables. Fr. Benedict Zimmermann, O.D.C., writes on the Visible Unity of the Church. Fr. Benson contributes the paper of the Sanctity of the Church. The paper on Catholicity is treated of by Dom. Chapman, the one on Apostolicity by Dom. Breen, O.S.B. There are two papers on Infallibility, a short one by the editor on the Notion of Infallibility, the other discusses the doctrine by Fr. Finlay, S.J. The editor discusses the question of Salvation outside the Church as well as that on Schism and Ignorance. The author of the Historical paper is the Rev. Spenser Jones, A.M. In a work of this kind one can not expect to find the harmonious treatment of a subject which is met with in a work produced by a single pen. If we judge of the value of the work by the merits of the several papers it can be pronounced excellent. There are no lengthy nor very profound discussions of topics, as neither the space allotted nor the purpose of the editor permits of either. Evidence, however, of the scholarship of the writers is abundant. In their several papers the principal difficulties raised are answered briefly and pointedly. In the opening paper the irenic method adopted favorably disposes the reader for the more dogmatic chapters which follow. The exposition of the parables is interesting, suggesting more than once contemporary conditions. In the paper on Unity the reader will recognize old arguments whose newness of exposition reinforces their efficacy. Fr. Benson, putting aside the bewildering contradiction of statistics, treats of the note of sanctity under the four general heads of (1) Personal Influence, (2) Charity, (3) Love of Suffering, (4) Its Miraculous Effects. He tells us that the evidence of the Church's sanctity more than the arguments of theologians or the fervor of her preachers has been the motive drawing towards her borders those who at last receive the gift of faith. Distinguishing between holiness and morality, he says that the first, like a sacramental character, may endure even in communities and countries where morality may have sunk to a low ebb. Under the head of suffering he defends the ascetic system of the Church. Dom. Chapman insists on the inseparability of miracles from the world-wide preaching, as the fulfilment of a promise. The name of Catholic and the right use and abuse of the term Roman Catholic are explained. He also makes good use of

Harnack's distinction between the Bishop and the Church of Rome. Dom. Breen writes interestingly of Anglican Orders. Fr. Finlay's paper is chiefly a refutation of difficulties raised against Infallibility by the late Dr. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. The remaining papers set forth clearly and impressively the teachings of theologians on these subjects, while the facts adduced in the historical appendix exclude any doubt as to England's attitude to Rome during the Middle Ages. The book will afford profitable reading for Catholics and will serve to suggest to those for whom it was written "that kind of thought which leads to action."

M. J. HOGAN.

Lexicon Scholasticum Philosophico-Theologicum in quo continentur Termini, Definitiones, Distinctiones et Effata a B. Joanne Duns Scoto Doctore Subtili atque Mariano O.F.M. . . . opere et studio R.P. Mariani Fernandez Garcia O.F.M. Distributio Prima, Quaracchi, 1906. Pp. 192.

The Franciscan Fathers of Quaracchi near Florence did good service to the cause of Catholic scholarship by their accurate and painstaking edition of the works of St. Bonaventure, which they brought to a successful termination a few years ago. They are, we understand, about to undertake a critical edition of the works of Roger Bacon, and it is the hope of all genuine admirers of the Subtle Doctor that the same learned editors will soon see their way to replace Vives' uncritical reprint of Wadding's edition of Scotus by a more scholarly edition of the Subtle Doctor's writings. Meantime, they have given us a valuable aid to the study of Scotus. They have just published the first instalment of a Scotistic *Lexicon* of philosophy and theology. The work, as planned, will contain about fifteen hundred pages in quarto, to be published every six months in instalments of 192 pages each. It will comprise the *Grammatica Speculativa*, so important for the study of Scotus' logic, a list of scholastic terms with Scotus' definitions thereof, and, finally, a collection of Scotistic *effata*. The author of the work is Father Mariano Fernandez Garcia, General Secretary of the Franciscan Order. He has chosen to give us in a very orderly arrangement the words of the Subtle Doctor himself, and herein lies the chief merit of the work. The *Lexicon* has for the ordinary student the value of an original source, besides being much more accessible than Wadding's edition and more convenient for ready reference. It will, we are sure, find a place in every library of theology and philosophy beside the *Scotus Academicus* and Fra Girolamo da Montefortino's *Summa Theologica*. The first instalment

contains the whole of the *Grammatica Speculativa* and the alphabetical list of scholastic terms with Scotus' definitions, as far as the term *Culpa*.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Quellen u. Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, herausgegeben von Ludwig Traube. Bd. I, Erstes Heft, **Sedulius Scottus**, von S. Hellmann, München, 1906. Pp. 203; Zweites Heft, **Johannes Scottus**, von Edward Kennard Rand, München, 1906. Pp. 106.

This series of publications of early medieval Latin texts is prefaced by an introductory note from the pen of the learned editor, whose work on the texts of the Carolingian Poets as well as his share in the publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* entitle him to speak with authority. He calls attention to the bearing which early medieval Latin texts have not only on classical, on German and on Romance, philology, but also on general history, on the history of paleography, and on the history of metrical and rhetorical composition. It may be added that some, if not all, of the texts in question promise to be of interest also to the student of medieval philosophy and theology.

The first instalment of the first volume includes a critical text of Sedulius' *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, Sedulius' *Collectaneum* and a critical dissertation on the relation of Sedulius to Pelagius in the domain of biblical exegesis. The work *De Rectoribus Christianis*, written by the Irishman Sedulius, probably at Liège, about the year 855, should receive more attention than it does in the history of Christian Ethics. It is in reality the first systematic contribution of the Middle Ages to the science of political government, and should rank in importance with St. Thomas' *De Regimine Principis*, Giles of Colonna's *De Regimine Principum* and Dante's *De Monarchia*. Moreover, it is, as Dr. Hellman remarks, drawn, if not from Irish sources exclusively, at least from sources which were held in the highest esteem by Irish writers of the Carolingian Age. Indeed, this Celtic conception of the responsibilities of a Christian ruler is of very special interest to the student of medieval political theories. Its sources are Christian and classical, its immediate purpose is the guidance of a Frankish ruler (probably Lothair II), the mind that planned it is Celtic—and here one has at the outset of medieval speculation a rare combination of the forces and interests which went to make up the medieval polity. From this point of view, the treatise will interest many besides the professed student of philology and philosophy. Needless to say, the text, as published by Dr. Hellmann, is fully provided with all the incidental aids necessary for a detailed study.

The second instalment, edited by Dr. Rand, Assistant Professor of Latin at Harvard University, contains two Commentaries on the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius, the first of which the editor ascribes to John Scotus Eriugena, and the second to Remi of Auxerre. Only the limited few who have seen and deciphered the original marginal glosses now published in so convenient form by Dr. Rand can appreciate the minute care and inexhaustible patience required in a task such as that which he has so successfully accomplished. Ninth and tenth century manuscripts, as a rule, are easy to read; but with the marginal notes it is different. They are written, generally, in a minute hand which, even under the magnifying glass, is not easy to decipher. Now that we possess those notes in accessible form, we are in a position to arrive at a correct judgment of the condition of speculation at the beginning of the medieval period. One thing, for instance, which was heretofore a matter of conjecture merely, is now capable of being verified by positive evidence, namely that in the dialectical discussions of the ninth century there was no Realism or Nominalism in the later sense of those terms, and that the whole scholastic movement *did not* originate from the famous dispute about Universals. The commentaries on Boethius' *Opuscula Sacra* show that general philosophical as well as special logical questions engaged the attention of the first schoolmen. Dr. Rand, it seems to us, is perfectly justified in ascribing to Eriugena, or, as his contemporaries called him, Johannes Scottus, these Commentaries which occur in a great number of ninth and tenth century manuscripts without any indication as to who their author was. They were written after the *De Divisione Naturae* was completed, and, indeed, not only supplement, but in many points correct, the doctrine contained in John's *magnum opus*. If, as Dr. Rand further contends, the year 867 is the earliest possible date of the Commentaries, we have here at least one more item to add to our too meagre knowledge of the life and literary activity of the greatest of the early medieval Irish philosophers. John the Scot was fated to be obscure in more senses than one; for that reason any additional light on his career as a writer and teacher is appreciated by those who have learned how little trace, after all, he left in the records of his times. Remi's Commentaries show the continuation of the influence of Eriugena in the school of Auxerre; which is not so strange when we remember the presence at Laon of the Irish teachers Elias, Daoch and Israel. Indeed, the more one studies the manuscript materials of the ninth and tenth centuries the more one is inclined to ascribe to Eriugena a far larger influence on his immediate posterity than is generally credited to him in histories of phi-

losophy. Dr. Rand's publication of these texts is a welcome and an important addition to the materials for the study of the beginnings of philosophical speculation in the Middle Ages.

WILLIAM TURNER.

An Indexed Synopsis of the "Grammar of Assent." By John J. Toohey, S.J. New York and London: Longmans, 1906. Pp. vi + 220.

This is not exactly an aid to the study of the "Grammar of Assent." It is rather a ready-reference volume by which passages, historical and topical allusions, points of doctrine and statements of fact in the Grammar may be quickly and easily found. The student, for instance, who wishes to know what Newman has to say about "Doubt" will find references to five different places in the Grammar, with cross-references to the word "Proposition." Now that Newman's treatise is receiving more attention in the philosophical training given in our Catholic Colleges—it has long been part of the prescribed reading for the Honors Course in Logic for the B.A. degree in the Royal University of Ireland—this little book is especially opportune. It ought to receive a welcome both from students and teachers.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Catholic Educational Association: Report of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Third Annual Meeting, Cleveland, O., July 9, 10, 11, 12, 1906. Published by the Association, Secretary's Office, Columbus, O. Pp. 294.

One has but to compare this volume of almost three hundred pages with the Reports of the two previous Meetings of the Association to see how much progress this organization has made in the few years which have elapsed since it was founded. It is true, the representatives of our various Catholic institutions from parochial school to university, assembled at their Annual Meeting, have no legislative powers conferred on them whereby the results of their deliberations may be issued in the form of legal enactments. Still, their discussions and the mutual enlightenment resulting therefrom have had an excellent effect on the entire system of Catholic education in this country. In educational matters Catholics are, so to speak, the "citizens of no mean city." The President of the Association gave this as an excellent reason why Catholics should meet for the purpose of studying their own system of education. "We of the Catholic Church are an old institution. We have educated the world. We have formed Europe. We have systems of our own, systems that have been proved

and tried by experience, and, therefore, we need go to no man's house to borrow" (p. 23). Another reason for coöperation in educational matters is set forth in the introduction to the *Report*. "The interests of higher education are of vital importance in an educational system. It is only the fortunate few that are able to avail themselves of the advantages of this higher education, but the quality of the higher education dominates and gives character to all other parts of the system." Organization, however, should have in view not only the coördination of studies in the different institutions, but coöperation as well. This point is very clearly put by Reverend Dr. Burns in the paper which he read before the General Meeting. "Education," he says, "is a vital process, and educational unity must be of the vital order. . . . There must be coördination among the various classes of our educational institutions if we are to avoid waste and inefficiency; and there must be hearty coöperation among Catholic educators . . . if we are to achieve results commensurate with the efforts we are making, the sacrifices that are being made, and the opportunities that are within our grasp" (p. 43). To understand our own system of education, to bring its various departments, university, seminary, college and parochial school, into harmonious adjustment, and to work out a scheme of practical coöperation—these are the aims towards which the Association is directing its efforts. Those who wish to see for themselves how these aims are being realized have but to read the various papers and discussions contained in the *Report*. Copies of the *Report* are to be had from the Reverend F. W. Howard, Secretary General, Columbus, O.

Questions D'Histoire et D'Archéologie Chrétienne. Par Jean Guiraud. Paris: Lecoffre, 1906. 12°, pp. 304. Price, Frs. 3.50.

This book of the eminent professor of the University of Besançon is a collection of eight articles on various historical subjects: (1) The Repression of Heresy in the Middle Ages; (2) The Moral Principles of the Albigenses; (3) The "Consolamentum" or Catharist Initiation-Rite; (4) Did St. Dominic copy St. Francis? (5) John Baptist de Rossi (1822-94); (6) The Coming of St. Peter to Rome; (7) Roman Relics in the IXth Century; (8) The Spirit of the Catholic Liturgy.

In his treatment of the repression of heresy, the author places himself on strictly historical ground, without considering the abstract theological question of right. He first mentions the explanations advanced by Catholic writers in answer to the oft-repeated charge, that the tyranny of the Roman Church cruelly suppressed the ever-renewed

attempts of the human soul to free itself from the enslaving bonds of dogmatism. Some have utterly denied the commission of acts of violence; others have claimed for the Church the right of physical repression; some, like Lacordaire, have maintained that the Church used only moral suasion, and, when this means had failed, merely let severe secular justice take its course; some, finally, have thought that the ecclesiastical tribunal did not inflict any penalties, but solely pronounced, as a committee of experts, on the orthodoxy of the accused. Guiraud proves that the Church claimed and exercised the right to use physical force against heretics. But the severe penalties inflicted, should, according to him, be considered in connection with the spirit of the age and the civil punishment of other offenses. Our surprise at medieval harshness will grow proportionately with the leniency introduced into our penal legislation. Even anti-Catholic historians admit that the Inquisitorial procedure marked a real progress on that of the civil courts. The Church generally exercised her severity against men who not only denied some particular dogma, but whose principles were subversive of all social order. The action of the Church is termed cruel, but was, in reality, a benefit conferred on society. The consideration of "the moral tenets of the Albigenses" illustrates and partly demonstrates the truth of this assertion. Suicide (*Endura*), under certain circumstances, was approved by them, while marriage, capital punishment and war were absolutely condemned. The very doctrine of the transmigration of souls formed part of their teaching. In his study on the "*Consolamentum*" or Catharist Initiation-Rite, the author points out its great resemblance to some Christian ceremonies. For the Catharists or Albigenses, the "*consolamentum*" took, to some extent, the place of several of our sacraments (Baptism, Penance, Order, Sacraments of the dying); hence a comparison is instituted between them and exhibits at times striking similarity. The fact that the mutual affinity is closer, when we turn to the consideration of the rites of the ancient Catholic Church, throws some light on the still obscure question of the origin of the Catharists. It is an additional reason justifying the appellation "*Neo-Manicheans*," applied to these heretics.

The fourth paper brings a refutation of Mr. Paul Sabatier's contention, that the Founder of the Friars-Preachers borrowed the idea of Monastic poverty, which he inserted in his rule, from St. Francis. Guiraud adduces facts tending to prove that the Order of St. Dominic did not become a mendicant order only after 1218, the year St. Dominic is alleged to have come under Franciscan influence, but practised poverty before that time.

We may be brief on John Baptist de Rossi, as, over ten years ago, the Very Rev. Dr. T. J. Shahan already wrote, in his usual attractive and reliable manner, a biographical sketch of the great Catholic archæologist (*Am. Cath. Quart. Rev.*, XX, 1895, 1-37, also separately, Washington, 1895). Quite recently a shorter article also concerning De Rossi and signed Epsilon, appeared in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," Aug., 1906, 144-56. De Rossi's great knowledge of classical antiquity, his chief work as the founder of Christian archæology, the extension of his studies to the Middle Ages, all these, combined with profound religious conviction, are reviewed in the book under consideration and make a Catholic heart feel proud of such a celebrated personage.

There are two distinct paragraphs in the "Coming of St. Peter to Rome." The first speaks of his twenty-five years' pontificate in the capital of the world and is too incomplete to satisfy the reader. For the writings of Lactantius, the *Vienna Corpus* (Vol. XXVII, ed. Brandt and Laubmann, 1897) should have been quoted and not Migne. The second paragraph treats of the fact of St. Peter's presence in Rome, without specifying the duration of his sojourn. No new proofs are given, but the traditional ones are presented in a clear and cogent manner that will convince the fair-minded reader.

The essay on Roman Relics is a very interesting contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the IXth century. We see how the ardent but not very judicious desire of the populations of eastern France and western Germany, to possess relics of Saints, was cleverly taken advantage of by wily Romans. Not only were individual relic-venders to be found in Rome, but an association existed whose object was the trade in relics.

The book concludes with a study on the "Spirit of the Catholic Liturgy." The title of this essay but vaguely expresses its contents. The author, after making mention of some of the writers who have recently aroused new interest in the subject, treats, by interspersing his remarks with frequent liturgical citations, of the sources of the Catholic Liturgy and its universal character both as regards time and object. His considerations will promote the better understanding and livelier appreciation of the Liturgy.

Some of these subjects have been frequently studied and written about; others are less known. In both classes, Mr. Guiraud's treatment is such as will hold and repay the attention of the reader. The book ought to prove very useful and instructive, not only to the clergy, but also to the cultured laity. Without having to wade through a multitude of details and notes, they will find in it a scientific presenta-

tion of the various topics treated. The book was written by a competent authority, two of whose previous works, "L'Eglise et Les Origines de La Renaissance" and "Saint Dominique," were crowned by the French Academy.

N. A. WEBER, S.M.

Hrabanus Maurus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Exegese. Von Joh. Bapt. Hablitzel. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1906. Pp. vi + 105. Price, \$0.70.

Das Alte Testament in der Mishna. Von Georg Aicher. Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1906. Pp. xvii + 181. Price, \$1.25.

Ezechias und Senacherib. Exegetische Studie. Von M. Theresia Breime, Ursulinerin. Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1906. Pp. xii + 133. Price, \$0.85.

The three preceding monographs form part of Vol. XI of the *Biblische Studien*, edited by O. Bardenhewer. Their admission into such a well known collection is sufficient guarantee of their scientific value.

1. According to Hablitzel, we should not look in the works of Hrabanus Maurus for any original or historical interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. He was not acquainted with Hebrew and probably not with Greek. In accordance with the prevalent preoccupation of his day, his exegesis consists mainly in quoting from previous authors especially from the Church Fathers. The sources which he utilized in his Commentary on S. Matthew, are given here in detail, pp. 32-70. In one respect, the mediæval method, so defective in itself, has served a good purpose: it has preserved for us many fragments of works now lost. All these features are well brought out by the author. In the present work the reader will find a great deal to learn. It is only by means of such exhaustive monographs that a complete and reliable history of exegesis can be prepared. We are too impatient of syntheses, but in spite of a great show of erudition, the foundations on which we build are often very insecure. The student of mediæval exegesis cannot overlook Hablitzel's contribution.

2. The study of Aicher on the Old Testament in the Mishnah, deserves also great credit. For us, Christians, it is important to know the methods and views of the Jews who witnessed the origin and growth of the New Testament. Many difficult passages disappear, when viewed in the light of contemporaneous Jewish thought. As illustrating the methods followed in New Testament times, the Mishnah and the pre-Talmudic Halachah are more reliable than the Gemarah. Aicher has, therefore, limited his study to the Mishnah.

The reader will find original views with regard to the formation of the Canon, pp. 6-34, and will be glad to see that every assertion is justified by good reasons and sound critical interpretation. The author comes to the following conclusions: Promiscuous collections preceded canonical collections; out of these general collections some books were eventually considered as sacred, but the norm followed to make the distinction was primarily the use that the Synagogue made of some of them for religious instruction and edification; although the dogma or theory of a Canon is rather old, the canonization of individual books was gradual; the close of the Jewish canon is comparatively late; still it must be placed before the year 70, A. D.; some sporadic doubts with regard to the inspiration of some books may have existed even after this date. The expression that "Scripture defiles the hands," on which so much depends, is well explained, pp. 21 ff.

To the question whether the ancient Jews made a distinction in their appreciation of the Bible, the author answers that the Pentateuch, in Mishnic times, was considered more directly divine, and hence, more valuable than the other books; these latter were conceived as a supplement to the Torah and as an authentic explanation of it, pp. 34 ff.

The Mishnah treats the Bible with the greatest respect and attributes to it perfect inerrancy, pp. 47-53.

The reader will find very good remarks on the origin of the Halachah and Haggadah, and on their external relations to the Sacred Scriptures, pp. 53-67. Most instructive is the investigation by the author of the use that the Mishnic Rabbis made of the Bible, pp. 67-107. With them, Scripture was not studied for its own sake, but as a means of justifying or supporting ideas entertained at that time; interpretation practically meant to read into the Bible one's own thought. This is true to a certain extent; we may smile at such an arbitrary method and ridicule the Jews for having had recourse to it; the truth is that the Jews were not worse than many of us. We, too, find in the Bible, not what the Sacred writer has put in it, but what we ourselves have introduced into it surreptitiously, before beginning our interpretation. Then comes an exposition of the rules of interpretation followed by the Rabbis; these rules, Aicher pronounces objectionable in many points, and justly so, if logic and scholarship is the norm by which we have to judge them; before throwing stones, however, it might be well to examine what kind of system most of our preachers follow in their exegesis of the Bible. Aicher does well to note that most of the objectionable features were later

accretions to the more sober rules of the early Tannaites. Machum of Gimzo and especially Aquiba, so exaggerated the idea of divine inspiration that every particle or letter must have been placed by God for a special purpose and hence conveyed a special hint to some hidden meaning.

The work of Aicher is very thorough, richly documented; the bibliography is well chosen. His treatment of the subject is scholarly, and nobody will read the present volume without deriving much profit from it.

3. The Third monograph under consideration is the work of an Ursuline Nun, and deals with the war between Ezechias and Sennacherib (4 K. XVIII, 13—XIX, 37; Isaias, XXXVI—XXXVII; 2 Chron. XXXII). It opens with a brief survey of the political conditions of the East, at the time of the war. Then, the author devotes four chapters to her chosen subject. I. Sources: Biblical, Assyrian, Greek. II. Critical examination of the contents of the various sources. III. Comparison of the sources and determination of what should be considered as historical, out of the conflicting testimonies. IV. History of the campaign of Sennacherib, according to the data reached in the preceding chapters. What will strike the reader, even in this short analysis, is the strictly scientific method adhered to by the author. Nothing is assumed; she feels the ground on which she is going to step very carefully, and it is only when she finds her footing secure that she goes further, only to do the same thing as she progresses with the investigation. The work is scientific throughout, and does great honor both to the author and to the collection into which it has been incorporated. Some will disagree with her in some rather important details, as, *v. g.*, in her arrangement and interpretation of the sources of the 4th Book of Kings, and hence, will not consider the final result beyond dispute, but of the soundness of her method there can be no question. The bibliography is extensive, well chosen and up-to-date, which is not always the case in many of our so-called Biblical apologies. The result is conservative, but of that sound conservatism which does not ignore, misrepresent or minimize opposite opinions. We recommend this work to our readers as a model to be followed in all such historical investigations.

R. BUTIN, S.M.

Les Idées de Mr. Loisy sur le Quatrième Evangile. Par Constantin Chauvin. Paris: Beauchesne, 1906. Pp. 293. Fr. 3.50.

Abbé C. Chauvin is well known to our readers through various very creditable publications, *v. g.*, on Biblical Introduction and In-

spiration. In the present volume he undertakes the refutation of Loisy's ideas on the fourth Gospel. Chauvin follows his opponent step by step, in seven successive chapters, and deals with the following problems: I, External Testimonies; II, Internal Testimonies; III, Literary Origin; IV, Is the Fourth Gospel a Mystical Contemplation, or, V, a Theological Meditation? VI, Allegory in the Fourth Gospel, and VII, Examples of Loisy's Wrong Appeals to Allegory. Loisy's views are given in his own words, and we may be satisfied that they have been accurately reproduced; the weak points of his argumentation are brought forward and corrected. The book is admirably clear, and systematic. To prevent any misapprehension, each chapter is followed by a summary of the various points refuted and of the various positions defended. Still in spite of such fine qualities one will ask himself, after having closed the volume, has Loisy really been refuted? For our part, we cannot help feeling some uneasiness about the success of Abbé Chauvin's undertaking. Is it because the problem of the fourth Gospel has been too much dissociated from the Synoptists and from the early Christian literature, with which, in Loisy's mind, it is closely allied? Is it because, in his attempt at refuting Loisy, he has taken a position too negative to be of much service, and has contented himself rather with excerpts from the ideas of Loisy than with a fundamental discussion of his system? It is very questionable whether, even in such a polemical work, it suffices to show that an author may be or is wrong in many particulars, in order to refute him. Such a method may be a prerequisite but we should not be satisfied with that. The present work of Chauvin calls for another; it needs to be supplemented by a constructive study in which a complete survey of the field shall be given, difficulties adjusted and a system proposed that can be opposed successfully to that of Loisy.

We regret also that in a work that claims to be scientific, the author should have had recourse to remarks and hints that have nothing to do with this aspect of the case. What is the purpose of emphasizing so often—more than twenty times explicitly, and many more implicitly—the fact that Loisy agrees with Rationalist or Protestant writers? The reasons given are what they are, and it matters little who originated them or who gives them. Again, why should the priestly character of Loisy be brought against him for holding the views that he holds (*v. g.*, p. 122)? Is not a priest bound to tell what he considers to be true just as he sees it? Is it lawful for anybody and in particular for a priest to palliate truth, simply to avoid speaking like a Rationalist? We may and should refute Loisy, if we think

that he is wrong, but it was elementary honesty for Loisy himself, if he chose to speak, not to misrepresent his thought. All such foreign arguments give a wrong impression that one is trying to refute, not to examine impartially, and that the real reason for holding the Johanneine authorship is a theological not an historical one. However, we repeat, a great deal can be derived from the study of the present volume; and we recommend it to all the students of the fourth Gospel.

R. BUTIN, S.M.

Christian Education. By Very Rev. C. J. O'Connell. New York: Benziger Bros, 1906. Pp. 192.

That there are a great many people outside of the Church who are dissatisfied with the present divorce of religion and education in our public school system, has been made evident of late in a number of ways, notably by the utterances of prominent Protestant ministers, by the organization and work of the Religious Educational Association, and by occasional papers and discussions at the meetings of the National Educational Association. It would probably be found that the number of patrons of the public schools who would like to see their children receive more religious instruction than they are now getting is much larger than is commonly supposed. The insufficiency of Sunday-school instruction is widely recognized, and it is only the apparently insurmountable difficulty of securing more and more a thorough religious instruction for their children without disturbing the public school system, which produces a sort of passive contentment with the present system, even where a feeling of dissatisfaction exists. It is encouraging for Catholics to note this drift of thought in the non-Catholic mind, since its effects, in the long run, cannot but be favorable to Catholic educational interests, whatever be its practical outcome, if it have any such outcome at all.

The plea for the union of religion and education which is put forth in the series of addresses or essays which make up this little volume on "Christian Education," is admirably adapted to further the development of this movement among non-Catholics, while affording to Catholics, at the same time, fresh and solid assurance of the soundness and wisdom of the position which the Church has consistently maintained on the vexed "school question." The author's treatment of the subject is broad enough to attract the sympathetic interest of those outside the Church, although he distinctly champions the cause of the Catholic school, which combines with the teaching of the secular branches not only moral training and formal religious instruction, but also those more subtle and perhaps more effective religious influ-

ences which go to make up the atmosphere of the Catholic school. After a preliminary chapter on the nature and scope of religion in general, he considers the subject of education in a number of its more important aspects and functions, such as the home, the obligations of citizenship, the teacher, the child, the school, and the methods of the school, and from each of these standpoints, there is pointed out the necessity of combining religious with secular instruction, if the training that is given is to measure up to the definition of education as "the development of all the powers of the child's being, the mind, the heart, the conscience."

Although it is the static rather than the dynamic view of education which we have presented to us in this volume, this is, on the whole, not to be regarded as a fault. There is urgent need of a work which shall present the argument for the Christian school from the standpoint of modern psychology, if the plea for the union of religion and education is ever to find acceptance with the great body of teachers and educators with whom the facts and principles of modern psychology form the indispensable basis of any work of a constructive kind in the field of pedagogy. But it is not to this class that the author of "Christian Education" has primarily addressed himself. He speaks rather to the general public, to that great body of citizens who, while having a vital interest in education, look to experience and authority for guidance in matters educational, and not to principles of pedagogy. It is to experience and authority that the author of this little book appeals, and in doing so he has, happily, been able to draw upon a large fund of practical educational wisdom, representing the personal fruit of his own work as an educator, and has presented, in a scholarly and effective form, the great lessons of educational experience which have come down to us from the past.

JAMES A. BURNS, C.S.C.

JAMES BARRY, PAINTER, AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

John D. Crimmins, Esq., of New York, has recently presented to this University an engraving of rare historic interest. It now hangs in McMahon Hall in a lecture room of the Department of American History. Copies of this picture appear to be exceedingly scarce. A few years ago the original was obtained in London by the distinguished American interviewer and well-known war correspondent, Mr. James Creelman. This picture, by James Barry, the celebrated Irish painter, shows Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, exhibiting to Lycurgus the patent of 1649 granting to Maryland colonists religious and civil liberty. The Spartan lawgiver is examining carefully that famous document. Well in the foreground is Alfred the Great, whose right hand is resting lightly upon the shoulder of Calvert, while in the left is held a scroll inscribed *dom bec.*¹ Behind Calvert, the central figure in the piece, stands William Penn, holding in his hand a document, probably his Frame of Government of April, 1682. The date in the picture is scarcely legible, and may refer to the charter to Penn, of March 4, 1681.

Into his picture the artist has crowded many other figures, among them, grasping "The Case of Ireland," is William Molyneux, a famous leader of public opinion in that country. In another group are seen the fur cap and the familiar face of Franklin. The American Nestor is surrounded by other distinguished lawmakers, among them a doctor, a pontiff, other prelates and statesmen; the two with beards of formal cut were doubtless intended for Puritans. Over the head of Calvert Fame is holding the laurel crown.

In a corner of the picture is found the following explanation of its origin:

"In the Elysium—one of the series of Pictures on Human Culture in the Great Room of the Society for the encouragement of Arts &c, at the Adelphi, a mistake was committed owing to the delusion which has been so generally spread of considering Wm. Penn as the first colonizer who established equal laws of Religious and Civil Liberty:

¹ In Hodgkin's Political History of England, from the earliest times to 1066, the student of legal history will find an interesting examination of Alfred's Book of Dooms; also of similar legislation by his kinsman Ine and of the dooms of Ethelbert.

this design is therefore added to the series in order to rectify the mistake in the groupe of Legislators by making Lycurgus looking at those exemplary laws as placed in the hands of Cecilius Calvert Baron of Baltimore who was the original establisher of them in his Colony of Maryland many years before W^m. Penn & his Colony arrived in America to copy the worthy example.

“Designed Engraved & published by James Barry. R. A. Professor of Painting to the Royal Academy, Feb^r 28, 1793, L. D.”

The series of pictures on human culture mentioned in this inscription was to have been prepared by several eminent artists, but it was finally undertaken by Barry alone, who completed it in seven years.

This picture is interesting not only because it is the work of a great artist but for the reason that it marks an early attempt to give to Cecil Calvert that place among the benefactors of the human race which the muse of history will no doubt eventually assign him. Indeed even now Calvert's fame is securely established.

James Barry, the painter who thus endeavored to correct an error of his own, was born in Cork during the year 1741. As a school boy he was regarded as a prodigy, developed a considerable talent for painting, and at the age of twenty-one years had on exhibition in London a picture which established his reputation in his art and gained for him the acquaintance and the patronage of Burke. From that great man Barry was finally somewhat estranged. It has been suggested that jealousy of Sir Joshua Reynolds was not unconnected with this decay of friendship.

On the continent Barry studied his art in all the famous capitals; soon after his return to England he was chosen a member of the Royal Academy, and in 1782 was appointed a professor of painting in that institution. Those who are competent critics in such matters tell us that though splendid in conception, he was deficient in execution. Among English-speaking artists, however, Barry must be accorded high rank.

CHAS. H. MCCARTHY.

ANNUAL LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE THE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE, BALTIMORE, MD.,
November 6, 1906.

REV. DEAR SIR:

I take pleasure in bringing to your attention the excellent condition of the Catholic University of America shown in the Rector's report for the current year. As an evidence of careful administration, this statement is both creditable and encouraging; and I have noted with special gratification the favorable impression it produced throughout the country.

In addition I am happy to state with a great feeling of gratitude that the amount of the collection for 1905-1906 was \$100,489.45. As the University is now free from debt, this sum has been employed, partly in meeting current expenses and partly in increasing the endowment fund which at present amounts to \$431,290.46 and which is invested in the best securities.

By their loyal support our hierarchy and faithful people have enabled the University to discharge fully all its financial obligations and to continue its work during a most critical period without closing a department or releasing a single professor. They have moreover by their prompt sympathy filled us all with fresh confidence and hope and have infused new vigor into the academic life of the University itself.

In considering the prosperous situation of the University, I cannot but feel that Almighty God has set the seal of His blessing upon our work. I appreciate most highly the good-will of all our generous benefactors and especially of those who replied to my personal appeal. I am repaid by their hearty coöperation for many an anxious care suffered during the past few years in order to place the University on a sound financial basis. With all my heart I thank you, your clergy, and the devoted people of your diocese for the aid and encouragement given me in these trying circumstances and I shall remember it gratefully as long as I live.

Now that the great trials of the University are over, it remains for us to push on by common endeavor, the development of this great work, having in mind the needs of our schools and colleges and the educational wants of all our people. In this hope and aspiration I

most respectfully commend to your paternal care the collection for the coming year. Not only are the hearts of all our people turned towards our beloved institution, but our Holy Father himself, as I personally know, is following its growing development day by day with loving care. As you will remember the collection recommended by him for the University is to be taken up on the First Sunday of Advent, or if that day should be inconvenient the nearest day thereafter that you should approve.

With sentiments of profound respect I remain,

Your obedient servant,

J. CARD. GIBBONS,
Chancellor.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Dr. Joseph Dunn.—During the Christmas Recess Dr. Joseph Dunn, our Professor of the Celtic Language and Literature, read a paper on “The Irish Version of the Old-French *chanson de geste*, *Fierabras*,” at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America at Yale University. The following is a synopsis: The name *Fierabras*; The Irish not an original composition; Relation of the several Irish to the Romance and English versions; Latin loan-words and proper names in the Irish version; Anglo-Saxon words; In some respects, the Irish is closer to the Provençal than to the Old-French versions; The original of the Irish was none of the known Old-French versions; Probability of a Latin original.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees.—The semi-annual meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at Caldwell Hall, November 27 and 28. The following appointments were made. Rev. John Thomas Creagh, S.T.L., J.C.D., J.V.D.; Associate Professor of Canon Law, was appointed Professor of Canon Law; Rev. John Damen Maguire, S.T.L., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Latin Language and Literature was appointed Professor of Latin Language and Literature; Rev. Charles Francis Aiken, S.T.D., Associate Professor of Apologetics, was appointed Professor of Apologetics; Rev. William Joseph Kerby, S.T.L., Docteur en Sciences Politiques et Sociales, Associate Professor of Sociology, was appointed Professor of Sociology, and George Melville Bolling, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Greek Language and Literature was appointed Professor of Greek Language and Literature and Comparative Philology and Sanskrit.

Rev. Dr. Kennedy, President of the Dominican College of The Immaculate Conception, was invited to deliver a course of lectures on the treatise “De Sacramentis.”

The Building heretofore known as “The Dormitory” was made a University College, under the title of “Albert Hall.” It was so named in honor of Captain Albert F. Ryan, of Norfolk, Va., through whose generosity it was erected.

Treasurer's Report.—The financial report submitted to the Board of Trustees at their meeting November 27th and 28th, 1906, showed that all the debts of the University were paid, that there were no obligations to be met except current expenses, and that the permanent investments of the University at that date amounted to \$431,290.46.

The Cardinal's Fund.—During the six months ending September 30, 1906, the sum of \$5,381.20 was added to the Cardinal's Fund, making a grand total of \$144,768.13 contributed to this fund during the past two years.

Third Annual Collection.—The total amount of the Third Annual Collection up to date is \$100,489.45.

Father Walburg's Donation.—During the last six months the Rev. Anthony H. Walburg, of Cincinnati, O., increased his donation for the German Chair by \$15,000, making a total of \$30,000, which he has contributed for that purpose.

Patronal Feast of the University.—The Patronal Feast of the University was celebrated on Saturday, December 8, by a solemn Pontifical Mass, at which the celebrant was Rt. Rev. A. A. Curtis, V.G., of Baltimore. An eloquent and impressive sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Mgr. Lavelle, V.G., Rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.
GENERAL BALANCE SHEET, SEPTEMBER 30, 1906, AND MARCH 31, 1906, AND COMPARISON.

ASSETS.	Sept. 30, 1906.		March 31, 1906.		INCREASE	DECREASE.
LANDS AND BUILDING:						
University Grounds and Farm	\$ 39,899.90		\$ 39,899.90			
Caldwell Hall	888,242.78		888,242.78			
McMahon Hall	310,982.33		310,982.33			
Keene Hall	59,444.08		59,444.08			
St. Thomas' College	1,000.00		1,000.00			
Observatory	4,654.51		4,654.51			
Cottages	7,876.38		7,876.38			
Tenant House	644.43		644.43			
Farm Buildings and Equipment	8,468.90		8,468.90			\$ 1,560.10
Long Branch	29,500.00		29,500.00			2,500.00
Total Lands and Buildings	\$ 786,681.25		\$ 790,781.35			\$ 4,000.10
FURNITURE, APPARATUS, ETC.:						
Caldwell Hall	\$ 23,851.64		\$ 23,846.14		\$ 5.50	
McMahon	7,473.79		7,440.24		33.55	
Keene Hall	2,977.85		2,977.85			
Chapel	4,500.00		4,500.00			
Divinity Library	21,183.11		21,071.15		91.96	
Bonquillon Library	5,001.00		5,000.00			
Other Departments	44,864.08		43,684.95		679.13	
Total Furniture, Apparatus, Etc.	\$ 109,883.47		\$ 106,690.33		\$ 813.14	
ENDOWMENT PROPERTY:						
Real Estate—Chicago, Ill.	\$ 13,900.00		\$ 8,600.00		\$ 4,400.00	
Real Estate—Omaha, Neb.	13,271.36		13,271.36			
Total Endowment Property	\$ 26,271.36		\$ 21,871.36		\$ 4,400.00	
INVESTMENTS:						
Bonds and Stocks—Schedule attached	\$ 424,047.81		\$ 381,148.15		\$ 62,899.66	
Real Estate Loans	808,686.46		816,607.21			\$ 8,071.75
Ground Rents—Baltimore, Md.	5,442.65		5,442.65			
Magruder Farm Mortgage	1,800.00		1,800.00			
Total Investments	\$1,239,925.92		\$1,184,998.01		\$ 54,927.91	
CURRENT ASSETS:						
Cash on Hand and in Banks	\$ 22,430.06		\$ 84,841.83		\$ 11,911.57	
Bills Receivable	8,646.00		4,500.00		\$ 4,146.00	
Uncollected Subscriptions to Bishops' Guaranty Fund	12,400.00		12,600.00			200.00
Uncollected Subscriptions to Guaranty Fund for General Expenses	5,071.00		5,071.00			
Total Current Assets	\$ 48,546.06		\$ 86,512.63			\$ 7,566.57
DEFERRED ASSETS:						
Uncollected Endowment	\$ 10,000.00		\$ 10,000.00			
Keene Hall Advances	1,589.81		1,184.82		\$ 200.99	
Premiums for Perpetual Insurance	875.00		875.00			
Total Deferred Assets	\$ 12,464.81		\$ 12,069.82		\$ 200.99	
TOTAL ASSETS	\$3,222,923.87		\$3,174,697.00			\$ 48,226.87

LIABILITIES.		Sept. 30, 1904.	March 31, 1905.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.
DONATIONS—GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS:					
University Grounds and Farm		\$ 29,892.90	\$ 29,892.90		
Caldwell Hall		220,100.10	220,100.10		
McMahon Hall		231,436.60	231,436.60		
Total Donations—Grounds and Buildings		\$ 471,429.60	\$ 471,429.60		
ENDOWMENT RESERVES:					
Chair—Caldwell Hall:					
Fully Endowed		\$ 360,000.00	\$ 360,000.00		
Partially Endowed		4,750.00	4,750.00		
Chair—McMahon Hall:					
Fully Endowed		\$ 425,000.00	\$ 425,000.00		
Partially Endowed		62,123.07	69,182.46		
Archbishop Kenrick's Chair—Partially Endowed		11,783.00	11,783.00		\$ 2,997.51
Archbishop Williams' Chair—Partially Endowed		7,940.00	7,940.00		
Fellowships—Caldwell Hall		15,000.00	15,000.00		
Fellowships—McMahon Hall		10,000.00	10,000.00		
Scholarships—Caldwell Hall		128,107.62	128,107.62		
Scholarships—McMahon Hall		19,575.55	19,575.55		
General Endowment		11,485.00	11,485.00		
Bouquillon Library Endowment		2,385.00	2,385.00		
Total Endowment Reserves		\$1,048,253.14	\$1,045,253.63	\$ 2,997.51	
ESTATE OF A. P. RYAN					
CAPITAL		\$ 105,427.55	\$ 105,427.55		
SURPLUS		499,458.37	482,552.68	\$17,002.49	
		93,246.71	70,021.84	29,235.87	
TOTAL LIABILITIES		\$2,222,922.37	\$2,174,697.00	\$48,225.37	

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XIII.

April, 1907.

No. 2.

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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Vol. XIII.

April, 1907.

No. 2.

THE RELIGIOUS CRISIS IN FRANCE.¹

The numerous expressions of sympathy which the Church of France has received from the representatives of the Catholic Church in America have profoundly affected public opinion among French Catholics. We are yet facing the unknown, uncertain of what the morrow may bring forth. By what title shall we hold our churches? Shall we be nothing more than occupants merely tolerated by the state, without any legal title? Shall we be tenants for a term of eighteen years? At the present moment (February 21) it is impossible to say. Nothing is decided, and the future is shrouded in uncertainty. The most that we can hope for, the brightest outlook, is an eighteen years' lease to be granted by the mayor of each commune to the representative of the Church.

Our churches were built by the generous gifts of the French Catholic people. From time immemorial the latter

¹ (Editorial Note.) M. Georges Goyau, the author of this article, is well known as a foremost Catholic publicist of France. He was born in 1870, entered the École Normale Supérieure in 1888 and in 1891 graduated as agrégé in History, with the highest distinction. Subsequently he was a member of the French School of History and Archæology at Rome, and for some time the Roman correspondent of the *Journal des Débats*. He is widely known in Europe as the author of several sociological works tending to establish closer relations between Catholicism and the people of France. Among them "L'École d'aujourd'hui" enjoys widespread favor. He is at present associate editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Among the remarkable national studies of modern times we may count his "Allemagne religieuse" (Paris, 1902) a description of modern Germany, Protestant and Catholic, from the standpoint of religion. He is also the author of "Le Vatican" (Paris, 1899), an excellent summary of the influence of the popes on civilization. M. Goyau will contribute occasional articles to the BULLETIN.

looked upon the House of God as their own house. In the country districts the cemetery often surrounds the village church. It is there, under the shadow of the sanctuary, that repose our beloved dead. This site is sacred above all others, consecrated as it is from generation to generation by the liturgical life of our religion and by the immemorial prayers of the faithful. Now the civil authority has intervened, has confiscated our sacred edifices. The best that we can now hope for is a respite of eighteen years, the recognition of God and the people as temporary tenants of those edifices which through so many centuries have been the property of God and the people.

Would that in their hour of trial the Catholics of France could quickly develop a new temper of mind (*une mentalité nouvelle*)! We ought not to be satisfied with those energetic acts by which the Church, as is her right, usually replies to her persecutors. We ought to profit by the liberty that we have reconquered at a very great price; in its shadow we ought to develop a policy of positive action, and renew thereby, more closely than ever, the ties of union between the Church and the common people. We are free, indeed, but we are completely stripped. We are free as the poor are free but with only that measure of freedom which the poor can enjoy. We have lost eighty million dollars worth of ecclesiastical property. We are deprived of our theological seminaries and of our ecclesiastical colleges. Our bishops have lost their episcopal residences. Our communes are forbidden to grant to our priests the free use of the parochial houses. This is what it has cost the Church in France to free herself from State control. She has hitherto looked with suspicion on all forms of legal compromise. Though proposed in the name of the law, these enactments are at best but precarious makeshifts, pretexts whereby in the future hostile men and malevolent politicians might claim the right to interfere with her purely internal and domestic life. The Church of France has preferred to be free.

But another peril now confronts her. It is necessary that she *remain* free, even more independent than ever, particularly as regards her very benefactors, i. e., those Catholics belonging

to the higher classes of our society, on whom she will depend for her material existence. Her generous self-devotion to the social order, her efforts to keep in touch with the times and with the plain people, cannot, must not, be thwarted by the timid misgivings, or even by the opposition, of those who will perhaps refuse to lend to the Church material aid except on condition that she continue to represent antiquated conservatism in a country now eager for social progress. The Church of France has become free as regards her enemies; she must also remain free from any restrictions which her friends would impose.

The Church of France looks with confidence to the Catholic Church in America, that model of all Churches in the use of its freedom. She looks with confidence to the generous Catholics of America, always solicitous for the preaching of the Word of God, always careful to prevent it from falling into bondage. Like the Church in America, the Church in France will know how to refuse gifts that would be in reality only badges of slavery. We appeal to the Catholics of America to show us by their example what spirit of disinterested generosity, what singleminded love of apostolic truth should inflame the Catholics of France in the support of their clergy. We hope to acquire from them the true spirit of the remarkable generosity that has always animated them. This holy alms of their example, we know, will be dictated by the pure love of God's kingdom upon earth; when the Catholics of France put their hand to the organization of the pecuniary support of their Church, it will surely be this spiritual purpose of their American brethren, the upbuilding of the "Kingdom of God," that will be most admired and imitated.

The Church in France desires no private form of worship. She does not intend to be shut up in private chapels, open only at the bidding of some rich manufacturer or noble owner of a château. The plain people would avoid such edifices, they would never set foot in them. The Catholic clergy of France must not become the private chaplains of any class of persons. In the last twenty-five years nothing has been more harmful to Catholicism in France than the widespread insinuation that it was the close ally of certain political factions, the servile

friend of a certain social set. Any system of private worship would put in the hands of our enemies another pretext for circulating similar calumnies. Our Church must be mistress in her own house. Should the day ever come that she was everywhere known as the guest of the rich, the poor would no longer dare to approach her; there would be an end to the great miracle by which Jesus made himself known to John the Baptist as the long hoped for Messiah. It was not enough for John to know that the blind saw, the lame walked, the deaf were restored to hearing; the divine certainty that the Messiah had come dawned fully upon him only when he heard that the poor had the gospel preached to them. That was the acme of miracles. The Church of France desires to remain entirely free to devote herself to the preaching of the gospel to the poor. May democratic America come to her assistance, and enable her to perpetuate this miraculous token of the true gospel of Jesus!

GEORGES GOYAU.

PARIS, FRANCE.

CATHOLIC COLONIAL SCHOOLS IN THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS.

NEW ORLEANS.

The city of New Orleans, which was founded in the year 1718, was described by Charlevoix, who visited it on his journey down the Mississippi, four years later, as follows:

“A hundred barracks, placed in no very good order; a large warehouse, built of timber; two or three houses, which would be no ornament to a village in France; one-half of a sorry warehouse formerly set apart for divine service, and was scarce appropriated for that purpose, when it was removed to a tent. . . . What pleasure, on the other hand, must it give to see this future capital of an immense and beautiful country increasing insensibly, and to be able to say that this wild and desert place, at present almost entirely covered over with canes and trees, shall one day, and perhaps that day is not very far off, become the capital of a large and rich colony.”¹

The place in its moral aspect was even more uninviting. The inhabitants were largely drawn from the outcast and criminal classes in France.² The number of negro slaves was greater than the number of whites. Yet there were some colonists of the better class, and the colony possessed in Bienville, the Governor and Founder of the City, a man who united administrative ability with the highest ideals of moral and intellectual life.

Bienville saw clearly from the first that the only hope of the colony lay in education. If the criminal classes were to be elevated socially and morally, if the better class of inhabitants was to be kept in the colony and added to, it would be necessary to provide for the teaching and Christian bringing up of the children. One of his first acts, after the founding of the city, was to arrange for the bringing over of Capuchin Friars, to take charge of the parish and to teach. Two Capuchins

¹ *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, V, II, p. 276.

² Gayarre, *Hist. of Louisiana*, I, p. 248.

came from France in 1722,³ and one of them, Father Cecil, opened a parish school for boys.⁴ The school was, no doubt, very small, for the town, which had just been made the capital of New France, contained no more than 300 souls.⁵

Bienville was exceedingly anxious to get the Jesuits to come to New Orleans to found a school for the education of the boys of the more well-to-do colonists. The Jesuits established a missionary station there, but saw no means whereby they could establish and support a college. Bienville petitioned the King for this purpose, setting forth that it was essential to the colony that there be established a college "for the study of the classics, of geometry, geography, biology, etc., and where the youth of the colony would be taught the knowledge of religion, which is the basis of morality."⁶ But the colony was regarded by the King as too unimportant for the financial outlay required.

A description of the character and occupation of the boys of New Orleans which has come down to us, makes it easy to understand the anxiety of Bienville to get the Jesuits. Writing about 1740, an officer of the garrison in New Orleans says:

"The youth here are employed in hunting, fishing and pleasuring; very few learn the necessary sciences, or, at best, it is what is least attended to. The children, even of the best sort, know how to fire a musket or shoot an arrow, catch fish, draw a bow, handle an oar, swim, run, dance, play at cards, and understand Paper Notes, before they know their letters or their God."⁷

But though he could not succeed in getting the Jesuits, he was able at an early date, thanks to the good offices of the Jesuits, to get a band of trained teachers belonging to the foremost teaching sisterhood in France, to come over to take charge of the education of girls. This event, so notable in the history of American education, took place in the year 1727. On February 22, of that year, ten Ursuline Sisters, drawn from various convents of the Order in France, set sail at l'Orient, in a

³ *Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines*, p. 115.

⁴ *Records Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, I, p. 219 seq.

⁵ Gayarre, *Hist. of La.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 522; Fay, *Hist. of Ed. in La.*, p. 11.

⁷ *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, p. 29.

ship called the *Gironde*, accompanied by several Jesuits. The following is the list of the sisters composing this little band, who probably have the honor of being the first professional elementary school teachers to set foot upon the soil of the United States:

Mere Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, of Rouen.

Soeur Marguerite Judde de St. Jean l'Evangeliste, professed, of the Community of Rouen.

Soeur Marianne Boulanger de St. Angelique, of Rouen.

Soeur Magdeleine de Mahieu de St. Francis Xavier, professed of the Community of Havre.

Soeur Renée Guiquel de Ste. Marie, professed, of Vannes.

Soeur Marguerite de Salaou de Ste. Therese, of Ploermel.

Soeur Cecile Cavalier de St. Joseph, professed, of the Community of Elbouf.

Soeur Marianne Daiu de Ste. Marthe, professed, of the Community of Hennebon.

Soeur Marie Hachard de St. Stanislas, novice.

Soeur Claude Maffy, a secular choir sister.

Soeur Anne, a secular *converse* sister.⁸

The superior of the Sisters was Mother Tranchepain, a woman of scholarly attainments, and a convert to the faith. All the sisters had offered themselves voluntarily for the work of teaching in the far off colony of New Orleans, though this involved so many hardships and a life-long exile from home. Among them was a young novice, Sister Stanislaus, known in the world as Madeleine Hachard, who has left us, in a series of letters to her tenderly loved parents, a fascinating narrative of the voyage and of their early life in New Orleans.⁹ Madeleine Hachard was a Norman by birth, and was eager to imitate, even in a humble way, the heroic exploits of her great compatriot La Salle. Her narrative breathes a love of adventure encountered in the service of the Cross, together with that quiet, cheerful humor which is characteristic of convent life. Her account of the voyage reads in these days like a romance. And in truth, the voyage was romantic enough.

⁸ Fay, Hist. of Ed. in La., p. 124.

⁹ Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines. Sister Stanislaus continued to teach in New Orleans until her death there August 9, 1760.

The ship encountered terrible tempests, and several times seemed on the point of going down. Once she struck upon a rock. Corsairs got on their track again and again, and on one of these occasions, when capture seemed to be inevitable, the sisters were stowed away in the captain's cabin. To add to their sufferings, the captain treated them at times with brutal harshness.¹⁰ Five months were thus consumed, and everybody both at home and in the colony had given them up for lost. Finally, reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, the *Gironde* stuck fast in the mud, and the sisters were forced to make their way up the river as best they could in small boats and dug-outs, going ashore at night and sleeping in the forest. After two weeks of this rough canoe life, they reached New Orleans on August 7, 1727. "The city is very beautiful," naïvely writes Sister Stanislaus, "but it has not all the beauty the songs attribute to it. I find a difference between it and Paris; the songs may persuade those who have never seen the capital of France, but I have seen it, and they fail to persuade me."

The Sisters were joyfully welcomed, and installed in the best house in the city, which had been used by the Governor. Here these brave and noble women established a convent and Sisters' school, the first within the present limits of the United States. A hospital was also started, and later an orphan-asylum. There were plenty of pupils—rich and poor alike sent their daughters, and on Sundays and in the evenings even negro and Indian women, along with their children, came to be instructed in the catechism. The sisters did not teach boys. Part of the house was set apart for a boarding-school and academy for the education of the children of the better classes. All the inhabitants who could not afford to send their children to the academy, were invited to send them to the day-school, in which the teaching was free of charge. They began with 24 boarders and 40 day scholars.¹¹

Before proceeding to give an account of the matter and methods of the teaching in this venerable Catholic parochial school, it will be useful to consider the ideal of teaching pro-

¹⁰ Relation, Circular Letter on the death of Mother Tranchepain, p. 58.

¹¹ Relation des Dames Religieuses, p. 115.

posed by the Ursuline Order, which still occupies an important place among the teaching orders in the United States. This will help the reader to understand the teaching ideal of the Catholic sisterhoods in general engaged in school work, for they are all alike in this respect. It will enable him also to understand the heroism of these first parish-school teachers, abandoning home and country, and meeting a thousand perils on the sea, in order to set up Christian schools in the wilderness of America, and thereby help to win and to hold its youth to Christ.

“The Ursuline Order has been instituted, not only for the salvation and perfection of its members, but also in order that these may help and serve their neighbor by the instruction of young girls, whom they must labor to bring up in the fear and love of God, leading them in the way of salvation, teaching them every social and Christian virtue, and preparing them to be a source of edification to others by the practice of these virtues.

“This vocation is eminent, and it ought to be esteemed by those whom God has called thereto; for in following it, they are doing with advantage the office of the Guardian Angels, an angel being charged to guard a single soul, and that by ways secret and invisible; whereas an Ursuline can direct several souls by ways exterior, sensible and proportionate to their capacity. And this need not astonish us, as God has, since the Incarnation of His Divine Son, raised men above angels, to aid and coöperate in the works of grace.

“The principal end of the Ursulines’ vocation being to give a good and solid education to young persons, according to their condition, all the teaching religious ought to prepare themselves in the sciences and arts, so as to be always capable of meeting the exigencies of the times, and to be thoroughly master of all they may be called on to teach.

“The Sisters will rejoice in the Lord and take a special pleasure in teaching poor girls, honoring therein the mission of our Divine Saviour, sent to evangelize the poor.

“And, as there is a vast difference between engaging in some great employment and applying one’s self to it through a spirit of vocation and grace when one is called by God; so it is very important for Ursulines to know and understand that they have been called by God to instruct young girls, and that they will receive grace to acquit themselves well of the duties of this vocation. Hence they ought to

apply themselves cheerfully to these duties for the sole glory and love of God."¹²

In the Rules for the Ursuline Religious printed at Paris in 1705, a well-thumbed copy of which, brought by the sisters to New Orleans in 1727, is still preserved in the Ursuline Convent there, we have an outline of the course of studies followed in this primitive parish school, as well as a great deal of valuable information regarding the methods of teaching employed by the Ursulines in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The following is the program of studies prescribed in this ancient manual, and immediately after it, for the sake of comparison, is given the program prescribed in the revised rules, edition of 1860. It will be observed that the subjects in the two are substantially the same, as also their order of arrangement, the chief difference being that the sessions in the second are longer and the exercise named manual labor is put first on the list for the afternoon. In the first program, manual labor is given as an alternative exercise to reading, the custom being to permit the more advanced pupils to occupy at least a part of the reading-hour in manual work.

PROGRAM OF STUDIES, 1705.

Morning (1½ hours).

Prayers.

Reading—(manual work).

Arithmetic.

Writing.

Recess.

Afternoon (2½ hours).

Prayers.

Reading—(manual work).

Religious instruction.

Prayer, examen.

Recess.¹³

¹² Constitutions of the Ursuline Order, New Orleans.

¹³ Rules of the Ursuline Religious; Part second, Day School, Paris, 1705.

PROGRAM OF STUDIES, 1860.

Morning.

- 8:30 Prayers, recitation of lessons, correction or preparation of duties.
- 9:30 Reading.
- 10:00 Lesson in arithmetic.
- 10:45 Lesson in writing.
- 11:30 Recess.

Afternoon.

- 1:30 Lesson in manual work, during which there is recitation of beads and spiritual reading.
- 3:15 Lesson in grammar, exercises in orthography, or other exercises.
- 4:15 Religious instruction.
- 4:45 Prayer, examen.
- 5:00 Recess.¹⁴

The school-day was very short in the early period—only four hours. But so was the vacation period, which covered only three weeks. However, there were many feast-days, and Saturday afternoon was free.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with catechism and industrial training, made up the simple but substantial program. Of the first three, reading was regarded as of the most importance. It was taught both morning and afternoon, and all other secular instruction centered about it. The more advanced pupils read first, and then, while the others were being heard, they practiced writing and “casting accounts.” In teaching reading, the teacher read the lesson first aloud, slowly and distinctly, the pupils following in a low tone. The pupils were then called upon, one after the other, to repeat parts of what had been read, the teacher correcting the mistakes. Spelling was taught in connection with the reading-lesson.

Comparatively little attention was given to arithmetic. For writing, there was a long table, provided with quill-pens and inkstands, together with written models which the pupils set themselves to copy.

¹⁴ Revised Rules of the Ursuline Religious, appendix, 1860.

But the exercise which was regarded always as of first and most fundamental importance was religious instruction. This included prayers, daily examination of conscience, preparation for the sacraments at stated times, and the daily study of the catechism. It was for this chiefly that the school existed, and at her first entrance to school, the pupil was to be taught that the principal purpose for which she was received was "to learn to know, love, and serve God, in order by this means to become one day blessed."¹⁵ It was sought to fix in the mind of the pupil the view that this life is destined to be but a preparation for a higher and more blessed life to come, and that the chief business of education, consequently, was to enable one so to live and work in this world as to attain most securely and most perfectly to the possession of life in the world to come. This idea lies at the root of all Catholic educational work, and constitutes to-day a mark of fundamental difference between the Catholic school system and the system of public schools.

Sister Madeleine Mahien was the first to have charge of the day school in New Orleans. She was a talented teacher who, as soon as the news of the founding of New Orleans reached France, ten years before, had offered herself for the work of teaching there. She made the teaching of the poor children who flocked to the school her delight. Nothing made her more happy than to see their number increase, and the more ignorant they were the more she attached herself to them.¹⁶ Most of them were densely ignorant. By the rules of the Order, pupils were supposed to be at least six years of age, and to know the alphabet before being admitted to school;¹⁷ but this requirement could not be exacted in New Orleans. There were some pupils fifteen years old who had never been to confession nor to mass, and some had never even heard tell of God. "When we tell them the most common things," wrote Sister Stanislaus, "they take them for oracles which fall from our lips."¹⁸ The pupils were docile and eager

¹⁵ Rules, 1705 edition.

¹⁶ Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursuline, p. 43.

¹⁷ Rules, Paris, 1705.

¹⁸ Relation du Voyage des Premieres Ursulines, p. 99.

to learn. They loved the sisters who had come so far to teach them, and their love for them was shared by all the people of the town. Good Sister Madeleine, sad to say, lived only a year after the opening of school. She fell a victim of the swamp fever and to the lack of suitable medical attention. Three other sisters also died within a few years, among whom was the Superioress, Mother Tranchepain. All of them suffered much from sickness during the first years of their residence in New Orleans.

Some features of the Ursuline system of teaching were surprisingly modern, and throw a new light upon the educational ideas and methods of the period. One of these features was the employment of pupil-teachers, called in the Rules "*dizainieres*." They were selected from among the brightest and best behaved girls, and their office was to assist the teachers in class-work and in the maintenance of discipline. They were to be changed every three or four months. Each *dizainiere* had her group of ten or so to look after. She admonished them of their faults, of which she was not, however, to inform the teacher, except it became necessary for their correction. Among other duties, she distributed the text-books to her charges at the beginning of class, and locked the books up again carefully just before school was dismissed. Text-books were free, although they were precious things in those day, and hard to replace. She taught the prayers to beginners and often helped during the recitations, standing near the teacher, and interrogating the members of her band. The system was in many respects like the system of pupil-teaching which Lancaster almost a century later introduced into the United States.¹⁹

Another interesting feature of the Ursuline method of teaching was specialization. The "teacher of writing" devoted her time chiefly to that particular branch, and went from class-room to class-room to supervise the work of the pupils in learning to write. There were special teachers also for arithmetic and industrial training.²⁰ It is probable, how-

¹⁹ Cf. Gordy, *Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea*, p. 23.

²⁰ *Rules of the Ursulines*, edition of 1705.

ever, that some time elapsed before the principle of specialization was put in practice in New Orleans, on account of the scarcity of teachers.

It will be noticed that a great deal of time was devoted to industrial work. This was a feature of the Ursuline school everywhere. The pupils began by learning to knit and to stitch, and were taught gradually how to mend and make their own garments, as well as various articles of utility in the household. From work of this kind, which it was considered necessary in those days for every good housewife to know, they passed on, in the course of time, to ornamental work, such as embroidery in muslin and silk, crocheting, the making of artificial flowers, etc. While the pupils were engaged in this work, the sister in charge, or one of the pupils, often read some interesting and instructive sketch or story. Three times a year there was a public exhibition of the work of the pupils, with distribution of prizes to those who excelled. Industrial training of this kind must have had a great social value in a primitive community such as New Orleans was in those days. Taken in connection with the refining religious influence created by the noble lives of the good nuns, it enables one to realize how, as we are told, emigrant girls taken from the streets or correctional houses of the great cities of France, became in New Orleans good wives and devoted mothers, and how their descendants, a generation or two after, came to form the most sturdy element in the moral make-up of the city.²¹

From the beginning, the Ursulines were treated with the greatest kindness by the mother country. The expenses of the voyage were paid for them, and they were given a fixed salary until the institution became self-supporting. In 1740, they figure in the budget of the colony for 12,000 livres, for the support of twelve sisters and the orphans.²² The Government encouraged education, and aimed to provide full educational opportunities for both sexes, and for all classes of the population. The school for boys in charge of the Capuchins

²¹ Gayarre, V. I, p. 390.

²² The Ursulines in Louisiana, p. 18. Publications of the Louisiana Hist. Soc., V. II, part 4, appendix.

seems to have been continued right along, and in course of time other schools also were opened.

The Spanish Government, when it assumed control of Louisiana in 1769, continued the same policy of encouraging education. Gov. Miro, in 1788, reported six schools in the city—a Spanish school, four French private schools with 400 pupils, and the school and academy of the Ursulines. The Spanish school was intended for a high-grade classical college. The Government sent out several fine professors, chosen from the universities of Spain, but the institution does not appear to have ever advanced beyond the rank of an elementary school. Nobody came to study Latin, and the number of pupils never exceeded 30.²³ The reason of this lay, very likely, not so much in lack of interest in higher studies, as in dislike of the Spanish. New Orleans is reported as having a population at this time of about 12,000, including the colored race, but this estimate seems too high.

The Spanish authorities were greatly chagrined at seeing the ill support of the Government school, while the French private schools and the schools of the Ursulines were in such a flourishing condition. Bishop Penalvert, of Havana, visited New Orleans in 1795, and found the Spanish school still continuing. In view of the French Revolution, he was naturally solicitous for the faith of the children who were being educated in the private schools. Referring to them, he says: "As I was ignorant of the faith professed by the teachers and of their morality, I have prescribed for them such regulations as are in conformity with the provisions of our legislation."²⁴ The Bishop praised the schools of the Ursulines, in which, he said, "a good many girls" were educated. The sisters also had been made to feel the effects of the persistent efforts made to replace French by Spanish as the language of the colony. The bishop complains that the nuns are too French, that they refuse to admit Spanish postulants, unless they adopted the French language and customs, and that they shed many tears at being obliged to use Spanish books in their spiritual exer-

²³ Fay, *Hist. of Ed. in La.*, p. 15.

²⁴ Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

cises, as the authorities made them do.²⁵ Spanish text-books were no doubt prescribed for the schools.

From the reports of the Governor and bishop, it is evident that very considerable opportunities for education, both elementary and higher, existed in New Orleans during the second half of the eighteenth century. It may indeed be questioned if any such opportunities existed in the English-speaking colonies at that time for the education of girls, as was afforded by the free school and the academy of the Ursulines in New Orleans.

Notwithstanding the petty persecution to which they were subjected by the Spanish authorities, in common with the other French schools, the Ursulines in New Orleans prospered and by degrees became contented with the new conditions. The Government encouraged their work, and a number of Spanish postulants were received. So great, in fact, was the change effected in their attitude, that it was a terrible blow to them when, in 1803, Spain restored Louisiana to France. The horrors of the French Revolution were fresh in the minds of the nuns. Many of them felt that the doom of the convent was sealed, and resolved to take refuge, before it was too late, in one of the neighboring Spanish colonies. In spite of all efforts to keep them, the prioress, with fifteen other sisters, embarked for Havana, where they soon were enabled to establish a convent of their order. The nine sisters who remained behind in New Orleans endeavored bravely to continue the work of the schools. Efforts were made to get sisters to come to their assistance from Canada and France, and they were successful. But in the meantime, Napoleon had sold Louisiana to the United States, after keeping possession of it for only twenty days. The sisters knew little of the character and spirit of the new government, and the French Revolution had filled their minds with a profound distrust for republics. They feared confiscation or exile. The air was full of alarming rumors. Friends assured them that the best they could expect was leave to remain in their convent undisturbed until death, when the convent, together with their lands in the city

²⁵ Ibid.

and suburbs, would be seized by the Government. Under these circumstances, the Mother Superior, in 1804, wrote to President Jefferson, appealing to him for protection, and received from him in reply the following letter:

"The President of the United States to Soeur Therese de St. Xavier Farjou, Superieure, and the Nuns, etc.

"I have received, Holy Sisters, the letters you have written to me, wherein you express anxiety for the property vested in your institution by the former Government of Louisiana. The principles of the Government and Constitution of the United States are a sure guarantee to you that it will be preserved to you sacred and inviolate, and that your institution will be permitted to govern itself according to its own voluntary rules, without interference from the civil authority. Whatever diversity of shade may appear in the religious opinions of our fellow-citizens, the charitable objects of your institution cannot be indifferent to any; and its furtherance of the wholesome purposes of society by training up its young members in the way they should go, cannot fail to insure it the patronage of the Government it is under. Be assured it will meet with all the protection my office can give it.

"I salute you, Holy Sisters, with friendship and respect."^a

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

The first American Governor, Claiborne, treated the sisters with equal respect. Nuns came from France and Canada to replace those who had departed, and soon the convent schools were again in a flourishing condition.

At the Battle of New Orleans, the class-rooms of this venerable institution were turned into infirmaries for the sick and wounded soldiers, and the sisters devoted themselves to nursing them. Andrew Jackson, in the midst of the ovation accorded him by the city after his great victory, graciously acknowledged the patriotic charity of the sisters by paying a visit to the convent, and thanking them for what they had done for him and his soldiers by their prayers and kindly ministrations. In after years, when he returned to New Orleans as President of the United States, he did not fail to revisit this historic sanctuary of religion and learning and

^a The Ursulines in Louisiana, p. 32. Education in New Orleans in Spanish Colonial Days, *Amer. Cath. Quart. Rev.*, XII, p. 267.

give expression anew to the esteem in which he held the good sisters and their work.²⁷

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTH.

Outside of New Orleans, there were several schools in existence during the eighteenth century in various parts of the French possessions. As a rule, wherever there was a French settlement with a resident priest, a school was established for the education of the children of the settlement in the common branches, the parish priest being most often the first teacher. The education given, however, was only of the most elementary kind, and the existence of these schools was not always continuous. The priest was often absent for long periods, and years elapsed at times without there being anything like a regular school. In a general way it may be said that educational conditions in the province of Louisiana during the eighteenth century, outside the city of New Orleans, approximated the educational conditions which had existed in the English colonies a century before.

In the country round about New Orleans there were no schools properly so-called, beyond those already mentioned. The country was but sparsely settled, and it was very difficult to get teachers of any sort. Planters who could afford it picked up anyone happening to come along who was able to teach, and gave him lodging, board, and a trifling wage, to instruct their children at home.²⁸ The Ursuline Sisters did not attempt any new establishments until towards the middle of the nineteenth century, and these were made in Texas.

St. Louis had a resident priest soon after its foundation in 1764, and also St. Genevieve, nearby. In both places, schools were soon established in which children were taught reading,

²⁷ The Ursulines in Louisiana, p. 37. The Ursulines in New Orleans have continued to carry on the work of their academy and free school down to the present day. In 1824, they built a magnificent new convent farther out from the city, and here they have developed one of the largest and finest educational institutions for girls in the South. The free school is now known as St. Angela's Free School, and in 1905 it numbered 30 pupils. The old convent and school on Chartres Street, which they had occupied for ninety years, became, in 1824, the residence of the Bishop, part of it being used temporarily for a boys' school.

²⁸ Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

writing and arithmetic. At St. Louis, the first permanent school was taught by the widow Rigauche, and was probably begun as early as 1779. This school was kept up for many years, the teacher being finally remunerated by a grant of land. In 1792, we find a boys' school in operation, the teacher being a Canadian named John Baptiste Trudeau. The first English school was opened early in 1808. At the time of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, St. Louis counted no more than 180 houses, and from 1500 to 2000 inhabitants. Sons of the more wealthy families were often sent to Canada to be educated. Some were sent even to the universities of Europe.²⁹

At Kaskaskia (Ill.), and Mackinaw Straits (Mich.), schools were also established at an early date by the Jesuits. Charlevoix, who visited Kaskaskia in 1721, found four Jesuits there, in charge of a thriving French settlement and two Indian villages.³⁰ The French settlement had probably a school of its own. At both Kaskaskia and Mackinaw, there were schools for the Indians, in which the boys were taught to read, write, sing, and work at some trade; and the girls, besides learning to read and write, were taught to sew, knit, and embroider.³¹ The importance attached to industrial training by the Jesuits, in their efforts to educate and civilize the Indians, is worthy of notice. Some historians have asserted the existence, during this period, of a college in the modern sense at Kaskaskia, but this assertion is without good ground. The records do indeed state that there was a "college" of the Jesuits there, but the term "college" was evidently used in its mediæval sense, and meant simply a residence.

There is evidence that Detroit had a school dating almost from the foundation of the city. Writing from there in 1703, about the time of the first settlement of the place, Cadillac, the founder said:

"Permit me to insist upon the great necessity there is for the

²⁹ Report of the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Founding of St. Louis, Feb. 15, 1847, p. 12 seq.; Carr, Missouri, Amer. Commonwealth Series, p. 47; Address on the Centenary of the Cathedral Church of St. Louis, Aug. 27, 1876.

³⁰ Charlevoix, Journal, Oct. 1721, Vol. VI, p. 139.

³¹ Wisconsin Hist. Collections, V, p. 327.

establishment of a Seminary at this place for the instruction of the children of the savages with others of the French, instructing them in piety, and, at the same time, teaching them our language."³²

The school was undoubtedly established. In the course of time, there were probably two schools in Detroit, one for the whites and another for the Indians, for in 1755 we find a mention of the "Director of the Christian Schools." The school-house was built "just outside the fort on the West."³³ The Franciscans and Jesuits successively had charge of the parish there during many years, and both orders were noted for their zeal for education. The priests themselves sometimes had to do the teaching in the school. A visitor to Detroit in 1729, described the pastor as a man who was fond of study, and says that he had taught some of the inhabitants.³⁴

Vincennes had a school in 1786, and probably for many years before. In a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, the famous Father Peter Gibault, then pastor at Vincennes, writes that he taught the children there not only the Christian doctrine, but also "to read and write."³⁵

Among the Indians of Maine, a school or seminary was established about 1640, by French Capuchins who were laboring in that region. Of special interest in connection with this institution is the fact that Cardinal Richelieu took an active interest in its foundation and maintenance, and transferred to the Capuchin Fathers certain property rights, in order to secure its permanent endowment.³⁶

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³² Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 720.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

³⁵ Shea, *Hist. Cath. Church in the U. S.*, II, p. 471.

³⁶ Shea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

By establishing the University of France, in 1806, Napoleon gave to the state the monopoly of the educational system in all its departments, from higher education in the various faculties of the University, through secondary education in lyceums and colleges, down to primary education in the elementary schools. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Catholics of France bent every effort to reconquer freedom of education. The years 1833 and 1850 mark the first two stages of their success. In the former, freedom of primary education was regained, in the latter, freedom of secondary education.

While these gains were considerable, they were not deemed enough. The Catholic party continued their campaign, and after twenty-five years their efforts were crowned with success. On July 12, 1875, the National Assembly passed the bill which gave to France the freedom of higher education. By the terms of this bill, Catholics gained the right to organize free universities with professors having the title of Doctor. The union of three such officially sanctioned faculties sufficed to constitute a University. While these free universities were not granted the power to confer degrees, they had the right of representation on the state boards which conferred degrees. Matriculation in any of them was recognized by the state, and it was hoped that before long they would be granted a charter. This freedom, it is thus seen, was doled out with a reluctant hand, but it provided an opening for many a man willing to make the best of it. Presently, however, the State discovered that the freedom it had granted was excessive and, in consequence, it withdrew¹ from the free universities the right to representation on the mixed boards of examiners. To-day, the free faculties enjoy nothing more than their titles and the right to matriculate students.

¹ March 18, 1880.

As soon as the freedom of higher education was recognized by the State, Catholics hastened to make the most of the opportunity offered. Even long before 1875, a determined effort had been made to organize advanced Schools of Letters and Sciences, one of which, established at Paris, in 1845, under the name of *École des Carmes*, by Msgr. Affre, had become very favorably known. Moreover, the State had recognized, in connection with its own faculties, departments of Catholic Theology, the professors and students of which furnished many men of note. But these State-controlled faculties of Theology were eyed askance by the Bishops, and the Pope would never consent to grant them a canonical institution. In these circumstances, all that had been hitherto done in the direction of higher education had to be swept aside and the work of organization had to be started as if nothing of the kind had been previously attempted.

In a few years—one might truthfully say in a few months—the Bishops had obtained the necessary capital, and had decreed the foundation of five distinct universities, located one each at Paris, Lille, Angers, Lyons, and Toulouse. The bill granting freedom of higher education had been passed July 12, 1875, and on January 1, 1877, the five free Universities were in full operation. The start had been truly wonderful, and the history of the Church in France does not record an event which shows, with more convincing force, the vitality of the Catholic faith in France.

I shall now attempt to set forth the actual status of our free Universities. While differing from one another in many points, they still have many features in common, and these I shall point out in the first place. Next I shall detail the distinctive organization of each, and lastly, I shall try to show the main achievements of thirty years of free education.

I. GENERAL REMARKS.

The free Universities were founded by the Bishops and, therefore, remain under their direct jurisdiction. In the minutes of a preliminary meeting of the Bishops, held at Paris, August 11, 1875, we read as follows: "The University shall be the work of the Hierarchy. It will, of course, be

necessary to entrust a part of the management and of the responsibility before the law to laymen chosen by the Bishops, but the directing and supreme authority in all that concerns instruction, discipline, the appointment and removal of professors, shall remain in the hands of the Bishops.”¹

The Bishops exercise their authority in two ways. At a yearly meeting of the entire body, they vote the necessary appropriations, and adjudicate, as a final court, all difficulties relating to instruction, discipline, and the teaching body of the Universities. Whenever the circumstances make it necessary, the archbishops of each University region, who form a permanent council, hold a meeting at which all difficulties that call for immediate settlement are provisionally adjusted, and the program for the next plenary meeting of the Hierarchy is arranged.

As the Bishops exercise absolute authority over the Catholic Universities they provide nearly all the funds required. They started a subscription in 1875 which has remained open ever since; and to guard against any unforeseen contingency, they bound themselves to contribute a fixed yearly sum, for which they rely on private gifts and on the proceeds of a collection taken up in all the churches of France on Pentecost Sunday. This yearly contribution of the Bishops forms the principal revenue of the Catholic Institutes. They have, of course, other resources besides, such as the income of the balance of the original contributions of 1875, left over after defraying the expenses of first equipment; bequests and scholarships; matriculation and tuition fees in the Institutes in which tuition is not free. The proceeds of all these sources of revenue, however, fall far below the sums provided annually by the Bishops.

Article IV of the law of July 12, 1875, requires that “the free establishments of higher education shall be governed by at least three persons.” In compliance with this ruling, the Bishops have arranged that the administrative council of each university shall consist of a Rector, a Vice-Rector, and a num-

¹ Quoted by Magr. Péchenard: *L'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris, 1900, p. 22.

ber of laymen. This council is the legal representative of the University; it also looks after the real estate and the invested funds, and exercises a general supervision over the material equipment.

The governing body in actual charge of each University consists of the Chancellor, the Rector, the Vice-Rector, the General Secretary, the Rectorial Council, the Deans, and the various Faculty Boards. The Chancellor of each University is the local Bishop; "*auctoritate et nomine Summi Pontificis Facultatibus praeest, utpote Episcopus Instituti fundatores repraesentans.*"¹ The Rector must always be an ecclesiastic. He is appointed by the Bishops at a plenary meeting, and is removable at their pleasure. His appointment is subject to the approval of the Sovereign Pontiff. He is the acting Head of his University and is responsible for its maintenance and progress. All current business concerning studies, discipline, and personnel are referred to him and his council. It is the duty of the Vice-Rector to replace the Rector in the latter's absence and otherwise assist him in the discharge of his office. Not all the Catholic Institutes have a Vice-Rector. It is the duty of the General Secretary to keep the registers, the account books, and, in general, all documentary matter; to dispatch all business relating to the general service of the University; superintend the purchase of supplies and to supervise all persons employed in domestic service.

The Rector's Council, which consists of ex-officio and elected members, forms, under the presidency of the Rector, an advisory board, which is consulted on all matters concerning the proper management of the University. Each faculty has a board of its own, of which the Dean of the Faculty is the presiding officer, and all the other professors, the members. Its proper function is the supervision of studies. All its decisions must be laid before the Rector's Council for approval. The Deans of Faculties have a real authority over all that concerns the course of instruction in their respective departments. They are selected from among the professors, and serve for a term of three years. In some places they are ap-

¹ Statuts de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Quoted by Magr. Péchenard.

pointed by the Bishops on the advice of the Rector, and in others, by their colleagues with the consent of the Bishops.

The Institutes are subject to the supreme authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. The Faculties of Theology, of Canon Law, and of Philosophy, having been canonically instituted, and the statutes of the other Faculties having been approved by the Holy See, no important change can be made in our Universities without the consent of the Pope, and of the Sacred Congregation of Studies.

The professors of the Catholic University are chosen from among the graduates who were noted for their proficiency whilst they attended their University and have since given evidence of eminent scholarship. The selection is not subject to any competitive test. The names of eligible men are presented by the Rector's Council at a plenary meeting of the Bishops, and these pass upon them without appeal. As a rule, in the case of the chairs of Law, Theology, Letters, and Sciences, the candidate must have received the doctorate. Fellowship is not required, and, as a matter of fact, only a few of the professors in our free universities are fellows. The degree of licentiate will qualify for instructor or assistant, and even, after a probationary period, for full professorship, especially in the Schools of Letters and Sciences. After appointment by the Council of Bishops, professors cannot be removed except by the same Council, and then only after having been given a hearing before the Rector's Council. If, however, in consequence of old age or of ill-health, a professor should become incapacitated he may be asked to provide a substitute and then to resign.

The salary of professors varies as between different universities. The cost of living being higher in Paris and in Lille than in Toulouse and in Angers, the salaries paid in the latter cities are lower than in the former. Again, a layman who has a family to support, has to meet more expenses than an ecclesiastic, and his salary is therefore proportionately higher. After making all allowances, however, it will be seen that a professional career in any of the free universities is one that calls for a great deal of devotedness and self-sacrifice. It may, perhaps, surprise foreigners to learn that some pro-

fessors, who have lodgings and board in their university are satisfied with a salary of one thousand francs. It is quite true to say that the average salary of an ecclesiastical professor in a Catholic Institute is three thousand francs a year, and the average salary of a lay professor, between four and five thousand francs. We owe it to the spirit of poverty shown by our teaching body that free higher education, in the flourishing condition in which we now see it, is possible in France.

The student body of the Catholic Institutes is composed of clerics and laymen. The clerics are young men in minor orders, or already ordained, selected from among the best students of the Seminaries. The selection is made either at the end of the theological course, or earlier, and the young men are sent up by their bishop either to complete their theological studies or to qualify for the degree of licentiate in Letters or in Sciences. The Catholic Institutes receive no other clerical students than those thus sent up by the bishop. Among these students, only a few are able to pay their board and lodging and tuition; the others are admitted free of charge into the Universities which are maintained by the dioceses. Residence is obligatory, except in rare cases, for all clerical students, even for those already ordained. The seminaries attached to the Universities are modelled on the diocesan seminaries, but the discipline is conceived in a broader spirit and the rules are much more elastic. Until quite recently, the disciplinary supervision and the sacerdotal training were entrusted either to the Sulpitian Fathers or to the Lazarists.

The lay students are granted a larger liberty than the clerical students. At the request of their parents they may be allowed to board in the city. As a rule, however, they must take lodgings in one of the dormitories founded by the Catholic Institutes and directed by priests. In Lille, Angers, and Lyons, these dormitories are fully organized. Paris, however, is not so well provided for. As Toulouse has no lay students, it does not need any such dormitory. A dormitory has many advantages which time has made evident; it is an efficient means for safeguarding the moral and intellectual life of the students; it furnishes many healthful pastimes, and

valuable educational opportunities of its own; and for many students it means a real saving of money.

The instruction given at the Catholic Universities is distinctly scientific and Catholic. After the first tentative beginnings, the Institutes found little difficulty in securing Faculties of recognized ability, not only in the department of the Sacred Sciences, on which the name of Duchesne sheds lustre, but even in the departments of profane sciences, in which the names of Branly and Lapparent are recognized authorities. No one, at this day, dares dispute the scientific character of free instruction. At the same time, this instruction is intensely Catholic, which means that, in all things, it defers to the supreme teaching authority of the Church. While Rome has had reason to complain of the spirit which prevailed in the former Faculties of Theology which were subsidized by the State, the new Universities have never given her similar cause of alarm. Heated discussions have occurred within their walls, and men have gone forth from them whose orthodoxy seemed anything but sound; but refutation has always kept abreast of error, and the governing bodies have always confined instruction within the limits of the strictest orthodoxy.

The teaching of the profane sciences is designed to meet the requirements of the official State programs of study. As these programs are drawn up by competent hands, the free Universities do not think that, by adopting them, they are giving up their own freedom. But, while adhering to these official curricula, they refuse to be bound by them to the point of sacrificing the permanent worth of humanizing culture to the present advantage of securing diplomas. And experience has shown that this policy is best adapted to secure the coveted diplomas themselves. It is estimated that sixty per cent. of the candidates who go up for degrees from the Catholic Universities are admitted on first trial. This number is far greater than that furnished by the State schools.

The Catholic Universities do not look upon the State Universities as rivals. Whatever tendency to do so there may have been in the past is fast disappearing. The Catholic Universities were founded under a law granting freedom of instruction, and they are designed to meet the demands of a

large body of the people who desire an essentially Catholic education. There has been rather marked rivalry in one or two instances in times now past; everywhere else the best understanding has been maintained. At Paris, for instance, the State, for a long time, allowed the professors of its University to lecture in the halls of the local Catholic Institute.

All the Catholic Universities, especially of late years, have shown a tendency to enlarge their sphere of work beyond that of preparing young men to go up for degrees, by offering opportunities for self-improvement to the public at large, and thus becoming foci of culture. In all of them, public lectures in history, literature, and apologetics are given, and these lectures are numerous attended. First at Paris, and then at Toulouse, a department for the education of young women was organized, and each year the courses offered in religion, history, literature, and the sciences, are attracting steadily growing classes of young women between the ages of fifteen and twenty. This department has greatly contributed to raise the intellectual level of French women and to improve family life by the strengthening and uplifting force of sound and accurate thinking.

There is another direction in which this work of University extension has been led. Several Bishops requested the authorities of the Institutes to inspect their seminaries, and the free colleges located in their dioceses in the hope that this inspection would in each case, act as a stimulus to both faculty and student body. These visits, which are becoming more and more frequent, are doing all that was hoped for by their originators; they serve to stimulate masters and pupils, and they have effected a most salutary reform by forcing the adoption of modern scientific methods in places where lifeless routine had spread like a plague. At the same time, these inspections bring secondary education and, consequently, primary education in touch with higher education, and thus make for a union of forces among the various departments of the Catholic educational system.

The following statement briefly summarizes the actual status of our Catholic Institutes.

There are in France, all told, five free Universities, located respectively in Paris, Lille, Lyons, Angers, and Toulouse. They comprise all together five canonically established Faculties of Theology, four Faculties of Letters, three Faculties of Law, three Faculties of Sciences, one Faculty of Medicine, one School of Letters, and two Schools of Sciences,—the Schools differing from the Faculties only in as far as they cannot legally enroll students and do not offer a complete course of studies. The Faculties comprise about two hundred professors, who lecture to a student body both clerical and lay, estimated, in round numbers, at two thousand. The expenses are met by an annual appropriation which varies between one and one half million of francs. These data will suffice for the present. More accurate data will be given in connection with what I now proceed to say of each University in particular.

II. THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTES.

1. The Catholic Institute of Paris comprises three canonical Faculties (Theology, Canon Law, Philosophy), one approved Faculty (Law), and two preparatory schools (Letters, and Sciences). The Faculties were organized at different times: The departments of Law and of Letters date from November, 1875, and the other departments were established between 1875 and 1880. A Faculty of Medicine had been planned from the very start but for lack of funds it has not yet been organized. Meanwhile, until a brighter day dawns, what funds there are go to maintain a hospital, that of St. Joseph, as the starting point of a future Medical Faculty.

The teaching body comprises sixty professors, and the student body, five hundred young men, distributed among the various schools as follows: Two hundred and fifty in the School of Law; one hundred and fifty in the School of Letters, forty in the School of Sciences; and seventy in the School of Theology. The departments of Law, Theology, Canon Law, and Philosophy are complete, and prepare students for all the degrees including that of doctor. The departments of Letters and of Sciences prepare for no higher degree than that of licentiate. These latter departments offer very practical

courses, so much so that many students are drawn to them from the State Universities. The number of degrees won since the foundation of the Institute is quite considerable. The following list is fairly reliable:

	Bachelor.	Certificate.	Licentiate.	Doctor.
Theology	941	—	151	28
Canon Law	425	—	138	10
Philosophy	579	—	27	7
Law	—	43	1,136	175
Letters	—	—	827	—
Sciences	—	245	177	—

Although the departments of Letters and Sciences in the Catholic Institute of Paris are not designed to prepare for the degree of doctor, it may be observed that thirty-nine graduates of these departments have since won the doctor's degree elsewhere, thirty in Letters, and nine in Sciences. Moreover, thirty graduates have been admitted to fellowship in Letters and one to fellowship in Sciences. Three years ago the State arbitrarily refused to admit clergymen to competitive trials for fellowship, and for this reason the numbers just given cannot grow in the future.

Among the public courses offered by the Catholic Institute of Paris, those that attract the largest classes are the courses in literature, history, and religion for young women; the course in apologetics for men (the subjects studied during the year 1905-06 were: Conscience brought face to face with the problems of present-day psychology; liturgical archeology; the function of art in apologetics); the courses in philosophy, social science, legislation, rural economy, etc. These courses, viewed as a whole, testify that the Catholic Institute of Paris has really become a focus of the highest culture.

The professors published the results of their researches in the pages of the various Catholic periodicals, the editors of which welcome them as their most valued contributors. The Institute, moreover, publishes two Reviews of its own, the *Revue de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, and the *Revue de Philosophie*, and a *Bulletin du Denier*. The object of the last named is to solicit financial contributions. M. Boudinhon, Professor of Canon Law, edits the *Canoniste Contemporain*, a

highly valued magazine; and a number of professors of Theology edit the *Revue Pratique d'Apologetique*. The principal works undertaken by the Institute and which are still in course of publication are: The *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, edited by M. Mangenot; the *Bibliothèque de Théologie Positive*, edited by M. Bainvel; the *Patrologia Orientalis*, edited by MM. Graffin and Nau; a series of *Grands Philosophes*, edited by M. Piat; a library of *Philosophie Expérimentale*, edited by M. Peillaube; a library of *Textes et Documents pour l'étude du Christianisme*, edited by MM. Lejay et Hemmer, etc.

I will add to this rapid survey of the work accomplished by the Catholic Institute of Paris, the fact that, to guard against the dangers which threaten the Institute in the actual religious conflict in France, an association, called *Société des Amis de l'Institut Catholique*, has just been organized at Paris for the purpose of increasing its funds and of rallying its friends in its defense against oppressive legislation.¹

2. The Catholic Institute of Lille.

The wealthy and generous Catholics of the north of France planned the Catholic Institute of Lille on a grand scale. No sooner was the law of 1875 passed, than in two dioceses subscription lists were opened, which netted millions of francs. Magnificent buildings were erected without delay and so completely fitted out that the Catholic Institute of Lille is admitted by all to be a model University in point of equipment and organization.

Year after year the sums subscribed and donated keep on growing, and the work of embellishing and perfecting the Institute goes on uninterruptedly to such a point that the prefect of the Department of the Nord, in his report to the Minister of Public Instruction in 1895, was forced to admit that the clergy receive from the Catholics of that section "a financial assistance so substantial that they have been enabled to establish and maintain the greatest number and the best equipped educational institutions in any part of the world."

¹ For exhaustive details concerning the Catholic Institute of Paris and its history, consult *L'Institut Catholique de Paris*, by Msgr. Péchenard; Paris, 1900.

The Catholic Institute of Lille comprises a canonical Faculty of Theology, a Faculty of Law, a Faculty of Letters, a Faculty of Sciences, a Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy, a preparatory Medical School, and an Industrial School of Arts and Trades. It has a very large student body of French and foreign composition. The average attendance in the various schools is as follows: Sixty in the School of Theology; one hundred and fifty in the School of Law; thirty in the School of Letters; one hundred and twenty in the School of Medicine and Pharmacy; seventy in the School of Sciences; and seventy in the Industrial School. Each of these Schools offers a complete course of studies in preparation for the University degrees. The examinations are unusually successful, seventy-five per cent. of the candidates, on the average, obtaining degrees. Since its foundation, more than five thousand graduates have gone forth from its halls, and now occupy positions of trust and distinction in the Church or in the world at large.

What distinguishes the Catholic Institute of Lille among all the Institutes of France is the fact that it alone possesses a Faculty of Medicine. No pains and no expense have been spared to make this Faculty the peer of any in the world. The instructors are authorities in their profession, and the School has, up to date, given to France no less than three hundred sincerely Catholic physicians. In connection with the Faculty of Medicine, the Institute maintains a number of hospitals, dispensaries where forty thousand free consultations are given every year, a maternity, and a Biological Institute, located at Ambletense, a short distance from Lille.

The Institute of Lille, the same as the Institute of Paris, has taken up the work of University Extension. Numerous attended public lectures are given, chiefly on industrial and scientific topics, since these prove more interesting to the strenuous population of northern France. The department of higher education for young women is also in a very flourishing condition.

The professors of Lille edit the following reviews: *The Bulletin des Facultés Catholiques de Lille*; the *Revue de Lille*; the *Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques*; the *Revue des Sciences médicales*. Their names also appear on many works of note,

among which special mention is due to the historical works of M. Salembier, which have won for their author a well-merited reputation.

3. The Catholic Institute of Angers.

The city of Angers does not seem to offer a particularly favorable location for a Catholic University. Msgr. Freppel, however, was one of the most enthusiastic champions of free instruction, and he was most anxious to see an Institute located at the center of his diocese. He set to work with such energy and enthusiasm that he succeeded in organizing a remarkably vigorous University, and one that is unique in several ways.

The Catholic Institute of Angers comprises a Faculty of Theology, a Faculty of Letters, a Faculty of Sciences, a Faculty of Law, and a High School of Agriculture. It employs forty-five professors. The number of its students averages two hundred and fifty, distributed about as follows: There are fifteen students of Theology, one hundred and twenty-five of Law, fifty of Letters, and fifty of Sciences.

The course of studies is complete and prepared for all the university degrees. In the School of Sciences there is a department which prepares students to take the preliminary examination for medical schools, popularly known as the P. C. N. The Faculty of Law has been modified in keeping with the general transformation undergone by the teaching of Law in France, which now emphasizes rather the historical aspect of the science. In consequence, the School of Law has become a real School of Political, Historical and Economic Science. It has achieved notable success in preparing students to take the doctor's degree in political and economic science, a subject which, at present, is proving more than usually attractive to our students. The High School of Agriculture is an institution unique in France. It was organized by a number of prominent farmers of the west of France, and it is subsidized by the *Société des Agriculteurs de France*. It offers a three years' course of studies, covering the same program as the *Institut National Agronomique*. While maintaining as high a standard as the latter, it follows a distinctive plan and method of its own. All topics that have

no direct bearing on the education of a successful farmer have been carefully eliminated, and all those that make for a practical knowledge of farming have been inserted. At the end of the course, the students are examined by a special board, not under State control, and the successful candidates are awarded the degree of agricultural engineer.

The following is a list of the degrees obtained by students of the Catholic Institute of Angers since its foundation.

	Bachelor.	Licentiate.	Doctor.
Theology.....	541	103	8
Law.....	500	475	64
Letters.....	—	291	18
Sciences.....	—	113	9

The works published by the professors since the foundation of the Institute are numerous and highly valued. In May, 1905, the University exhibited, at Angers, more than two hundred volumes on theological, legal, literary, and scientific subjects from the pens of its professors and graduates. During the Exposition of 1900, the commissioners recognized the worth of this collection by a flattering testimonial and a gold medal.

The *Revue des Facultés Catholiques de L'Ouest*, a bi-monthly publication, is the official organ at the University. It is carefully edited and has many readers.

4. The Catholic Institute of Lyons.

In the month of August, 1875, the Bishops of the South of France decreed the foundation of a Catholic University at Lyons. The work made rapid progress, for Lyons is a very Christian and a very wealthy city, and has never, within the last thirty years, shown the least falling off in its first generous support of the University.

The Catholic Institute of Lyons has four free Faculties: A Faculty of Theology, a Faculty of Letters, a Faculty of Law, and a Faculty of Sciences. It employs fifty professors, and its student body averages eight hundred, of whom six hundred are students of Law. The success of its students in the State examinations is truly remarkable, since on an average, eighty per cent. of the candidates obtain degrees.

The Faculty of Law has widened its field in recent years by establishing free evening classes, the only condition of admission to which is enrolment at the beginning of the term. These classes are attended chiefly by young clerks from law offices, and by students from business and industrial schools who are anxious to get an accurate knowledge of the fundamentals of law. The topics treated bear mainly on the duties of notaries, attorneys, and public recorders; on the method of procedure in civil suits; and on commercial law. The number of students enrolled who are regular attendants, has reached twenty-thousand within the last five years. These evening classes are designed to form a two years' course, and the students enrolled, who make application to that effect and who successfully pass two examinations, are given a certificate.

The School of Sciences has developed along very practical lines. Parallel to the department of higher scientific study, offering mainly theoretical work, there has been organized a department of Applied Science, which prepares students for various industrial and commercial careers, so highly prized in this section of France. Outside its own proper sphere, the Faculty of Sciences has been instrumental in organizing various institutions, such as the Astronomical and Physical Observatory of Fourvière; the High School of La Salle, designed to educate young men of the working class for professional and industrial careers, and the High School of Agriculture, planned on a more modest scale than that of Angers, but destined to render equally important service within its own sphere.

The professors of the Institute edit a *Bulletin des Facultés*, and a highly valued review *L'Université Catholique*. Several of its professors are well-known scholars, notably M. Ulysse Chevalier, in the domain of historical criticism, and M. Jacquier, in that of exegesis.

5. The Catholic Institute of Toulouse.

The south of France responded very generously to the idea of establishing a free University at Toulouse. Three Faculties were organized in rapid succession, one of Theology, one of Letters, and one of Law. After the lapse of a few

years, however, the Faculty of Law passed out of existence for lack of students, and the other Faculties lost all their lay students. Since then, in consequence of a steady diminution of the available funds, the Institute has been converted into a strictly ecclesiastical school with no other departments than those required by clerical students. It comprises a Faculty of Theology, a School of Letters, and a School of Sciences. There are six professors of Theology, six of Letters, and four of Sciences. The student body numbers sixty, of whom thirty are in the School of Letters, twenty in the School of Theology and ten in the School of Sciences.

Within its restricted sphere, and by reason of this very restriction, the Institute has been able to develop without hindrance, and to adjust itself to new conditions. As it does not offer any complete courses, it is forced to turn to the State schools for what it lacks. There has thus been formed a sort of alliance between the Institute and the State University, since the clerical students of the former attend the literary and scientific courses of the latter. Those who understand the situation look upon it as offering decided advantages. On the one hand, freedom of instruction is not imperilled thereby, and, on the other, two classes of men who, after all, are citizens of one and the same country, are not wholly educated apart from each other in mutually hostile institutions. This arrangement also offers guarantees for the future, since, when the rising tide of persecutions shall have reached our free institutions, those of smaller scope will have the best chances of escaping destruction.

The small expenditure involved in the departments of Letters and Sciences in the Institute, has allowed greater emphasis to be laid upon the Sacred Sciences. Under the guidance of its actual Rector, the Faculty of Theology of Toulouse has risen to the first rank among those of its class. Positive Theology, the History of Dogma, Church History, and Exegesis are pursued according to the most approved modern methods. As a result, the Faculty of Theology has had a dominant influence in the recent doctrinal crisis, and its position was generally commended by reason both of its scientific correctness and of its orthodoxy. By this action, the Insti-

tute has remained true to the best traditions of the Faculties of Theology, whose proper function it is to encourage every legitimate progress while safeguarding the integrity of the Faith.

Though the department of Letters and Sciences are conducted on a modest scale, the instruction they furnish is eminently practical. This is shown by the fact that the examinations, as a rule, are remarkably successful. Since the foundation of the Institute, two hundred students have obtained the degree of Licentiate of Theology and eighteen the degree of Doctor of Theology; one hundred and sixty the degree of Licentiate of Letters, and thirty the degree of Doctor of Letters; seventy-five the degree of Licentiate of Sciences, and four the degree of Doctor of Sciences. One graduate obtained a high rank in competition for a Fellowship of Sciences, and another, for a Fellowship in Letters.

The public courses attract large audiences, and the department for the higher education of young women is especially well attended.

The professors of the Institute are active contributors to various Catholic reviews and publications, notably to the *Revue du Clergé Français*, the *Revue Biblique*, the *Correspondant*, the *Univers*, the *Litterarische Rundschau*, and the *Revue d'Histoire* of Louvain. Msgr. Batiffol, who has become an authority in the Higher Criticism, is managing editor of a Library for the study of Church History, and also of a Library for Biblical Studies. The *Bulletin de Litterature Ecclesiastique*, published by the Institute, occupies a distinguished place among religious publications of a scientific character.

III. RESULTS AND CONCLUSION.

It is now thirty years since the Catholic Institutes of France, founded upon the generosity of the Catholic laity and the devotedness of the Hierarchy, began their beneficent careers. What they have accomplished within this short period is simply wonderful. Although the degrees obtained by their students are but one item in their achievement, we think it proper to give their number as accurately as we are able, if for no other reason than to give due credit to the

earnest work of the student body. The number of degrees obtained between the years 1875 and 1905 by students from all the Catholic Institutes is as follows.

	Licentiate.	Doctor.	Fellow.
Theology.....	869	100	—
Letters.....	1,680	140	40
Sciences.....	660	40	2
Law.....	2,200	500	—
Medicine.....	—	270	—

The grand total is 6,500 degrees in the course of thirty years.

The majority of the graduates have accepted positions as instructors in preparatory seminaries, in colleges, or in diocesan seminaries. As a result of this, the standard of scholarship in all these institutions has been greatly raised, and the methods of teaching greatly improved. Any man, in the forties or fifties, who returns to the institution in which he was educated, may well be surprised to observe the marked improvement that has taken place in every department.

In no particular, however, has the influence of the Universities accomplished such happy results as in the kind and tone of Catholic publications. A complete renovation has taken place all along the line the last twenty years. The classical library of former times contained books, ill arranged for consultation and endlessly reproducing the same obsolete treatment of their subject matter; the library of today is filled with the texts which are accurate and well annotated, and with a series of manuals, handy in form, whose subject matter is presented interestingly and to the point. A scientific theological library did not formerly exist: this void has been well filled. The old-time books in which rhetoric took the place of science, no longer find any purchasers; but the works of the hour, which popularize the achievements of historical criticism and of biblical exegesis, find a multitude of buyers among priests and educated laymen. In Sacred Sciences, France can show a goodly number of recognized masters whose scholarship challenges the attention of the world.

By thus radically transforming Catholic libraries and giving to theological questions a distinctly scientific treatment, the

Catholic Institutes have created a new form of thought. Religious questions are once more to the fore, and are discussed by all classes of men. And this is a great gain for the cause of truth and of Catholic life in France. In view of it, we may well say that a direct outcome of the creation of the Catholic Institutes in France, has been a revival of Catholic thought, and, therefore, in a measure, a renewal of public spirit.

And now, just as the Catholic Universities are reaching the high tide of prosperity and all fair-minded thinkers are forced to do homage to their achievements, they find themselves threatened by the tendency of recent legislation. The law of separation of Church and State, by forcing the Catholic laity to take over the expenses of public worship, strikes a blow at the revenues by which free education has been hitherto maintained. The wealth of the French Catholics is limited, and we may well fear that the obligation of providing for the most pressing needs of divine service will make them view the Catholic Institutes as luxuries that may well be spared. And we also know that the Jacobin party, which is now in power, is committed to the same policy of making education, in every form, a State monopoly, as was Napoleon I.

Whatever the future may unfold, it is more than likely that our free Universities, instead of planning new developments and extensions of their work, will be forced, in the very near future, to curtail their activities for reasons of economy. The problem is forced upon our attention by the fact that it was discussed in a recent number of a young Catholic review, *Demain* (June-July, 1906). This discussion plainly showed that the Hierarchy and the more influential Catholic laymen have decided views on the actual needs of the Universities. All are agreed that the Universities must be maintained in spite of the threatening aspect of the financial situation. This agreement is an assurance that they will live. All are agreed, also, that the essentially organic part of the free Universities is the Faculty of Theology, or, to speak more exactly, the Department of Sacred Sciences. Hence, if there must be curtailment, it must bear on the Department of Letters, Sciences, Law, and Medicine. It may even become necessary to merge two or more Universities in one. French Catholics may judge

it better to have within their borders one real "Universitas studiorum" than five Universities, completely equipped but eking out a bare existence. Whatever will be done, will be the work of the Bishops who have founded the Institutes, and who will know what must be done to preserve them.

J. CALVET,

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THE HOME OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS.¹

For something over a decade the English-speaking public has seemed indifferent to a controversy which, under the caption of "the Home of the Aryans," had in the years preceding occupied a much larger share of its attention. In the meantime the work has progressed in Germany, slowly (for the workers in the field are few) but steadily, until the present year has witnessed the appearance of a work, *Die Indogermanen*, by Herman Hirt, Professor in the University of Leipsic, which will mark an era in the history of this controversy. Under these circumstances the time seems suited for a new presentation of the question, which is one that should never fail to command the attention of thoughtful men, because it is a question relating to the beginnings of the dominant peoples of the world—the location of the earliest known phase of our own civilization. In spite of this fact, however, it would probably prove difficult to name any scientific generalization of equal importance and extent with the doctrine of the unity of the Indo-European family of languages, that is at the present time so ill-apprehended and poorly assimilated by persons of general cultivation. For this reason it seems best to begin with a statement of what is meant by this doctrine and with the history of its discovery.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century—but one hundred and fifty years ago—the history of Europe began with Homer. A little later a stream of half-mythical traditions of the origin of Rome came to join the current of Greek history, while the knowledge of the peoples of the rest of Europe was confined to the period after their coming within the sphere of Greco-Roman civilization. Who these peoples were, how they were related, whence they had come was unknown. Indispensable evidence upon this subject is their language, and that was a sealed mystery. After millenniums of practical use and centuries of theoretical study men were

¹ A lecture delivered before the National Geographic Society, April, 1906.

still unable to classify correctly the most important languages of the world. Incredible as it may seem, not even the relation of Italian, French, Spanish, and Portugese to Latin was clearly understood, though History alone should have made this plain. The delusion that Hebrew was the primitive language of mankind from which all other languages must be derived had persisted for centuries; and even when Leibnitz had triumphed over this error, there was at first nothing better to put in its place than childish speculations about the language spoken in the garden of Eden—the products generally of national pride and animosity. Thus the Persians had held that Adam and Eve spoke Persian, Gabriel Turkish, and the serpent Arabic; similarly, Andre Kempe had claimed that God spoke in Swedish, Adam answered in Danish, and the serpent tempted Eve in French. John van Gorp had undertaken to prove that paradise had been in the Netherlands, and that the language spoken in it was Flemish; while the Metropolitan Chapter of Pampeluna affirmed that it was impossible to bring forward any serious or rational objection against a similar claim for a language spoken in isolated parts of the Pyrenees and called Basque.

However, towards the middle of the latter half of the eighteenth century began an event of an importance for the culture of Europe, for which no parallel can be found, unless we go back to the period of the renascence of culture brought about by the discovery of Greek literature. This event was the discovery of Sanskrit. Of its influence upon the literature of Europe, of the sciences of comparative jurisprudence, comparative mythology, comparative religion to which the new knowledge gave birth, there is at present no occasion to speak—nor even of the wider aspects of linguistic science, the foundation of which was the discovery of Sanskrit. The effect that concerns us, is the influence it exerted upon the classification of languages; and with regard to this it is to be noted that even a slight knowledge of Sanskrit enabled the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sir Wm. Henry Jones to write in 1786 as follows: “No philologist could examine the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin without believing them to have sprung from the same source, which perhaps no longer exists. There is a simi-

lar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic had the same origin with the Sanskrit. The old Persian may be added to the same family." In these memorable words are contained the germ of the idea which is now known as the unity of the Indo-European family of languages, by which is meant that all the languages of Europe, without an important exception, and languages of a large part of Asia extending as far east as India, so closely resemble one another in every part of their structure, that it is impossible to consider them anything else than developments from a single language of which no record has survived.

The scientific demonstration of the truth, however, lingered for thirty years until the appearance in 1816 of a small treatise on the conjugation system of most of the languages of the family by a German scholar, Franz Bopp, who thus became at the early age of twenty-five years, the founder of a new science—the science of Comparative Grammar. Among the merits of his work, which culminated in the appearance about twenty years later of his Comparative Grammar, the greatest perhaps is the substantial accuracy with which he drew the outlines of the family. For this reason it is unnecessary to dwell upon the different steps by which our knowledge was perfected, but we may at once turn to the enumeration of the Indo-European peoples as they exist at present.

Eight well defined subdivisions or branches of the family have their modern representatives. Of these the first is the Aryan or Indo-Iranian branch, the geographical location of which is already roughly indicated by the second of its names, as well as the fact that the branch is compound in its character. Under the Indian subdivision are included by far the most important part of the vernaculars of that vast peninsula. Besides these, there are the older stages of the languages, the Prakrit and the Pali dialects (the languages of the great religious movements of the Jains and of Buddhism), the classic Sanskrit, and the still earlier language of the Vedas. Thanks largely to Buddhism, the influence of these languages has permeated far to the east, to Thibet, China and Japan, Further India, Burma and Siam, Ceylon, the Malay Archipelago, and even to the Philippines. The Iranian group is represented at

present chiefly by modern Persian, but also by numerous dialects in Pamir, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, Turkish Kurdistan, and extending over into the Caucasus as far north as $43^{\circ} 20'$, the district of which the chief city is Mosdok. The oldest documents are the Avesta the bible and prayer-book of the Zoroastrian religion, and the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius, Xerxes, and their successors. Apart from the literary and religious importance of this branch, its evidence is most valuable in all linguistic questions, because its records surpass in age those of all other branches of the family. Two thousand years before Christ is a conservative estimate of the age of the Rig-Veda and recent discoveries tend to place it still earlier.

The second branch is represented at present only by the Armenian, a language which is so overloaded with words borrowed at a late period from the Persian, that it was for a long time classed erroneously as an Iranian language. Its records do not go back beyond the fifth century of our era. Crossing over into Europe, first we have in Greece and in the islands of the Aegean, the third, the Hellenic, branch of our family. In Albania is the modern Albanian which was generally considered the sole representative of the ancient Illyrian branch though the most recent tendency is to class it as Thracian-Phrygian. The difficulty of deciding is largely due to the fact that borrowed words from Romance, Slavic, Turkish, and modern Greek sources have permeated it to such an extent that out of 5,000 words, only about 400 are of the original stock. Next we find that the Italic branch has undergone a vast expansion. One portion of it, the Latin, has not only crushed out its kindred, the Oscan-Umbrian dialects, but has also spread its descendants, the Romance languages, over Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, southern Belgium, the west and south of Switzerland, and also over Roumania and the eastern part of Hungary.

A large part of this territory has been gained at the expense of the Celtic branch whose modern representatives are making an heroic struggle for existence in Ireland, Wales, and the northwestern parts of Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Brittany. The seventh branch of the family is the Teutonic, which in its

various subdivisions, extends over the remainder of the British Isles, northern Belgium, the Netherlands, the greater portion of Germany, parts of Switzerland and Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland. The last branch of the family, the Balto-Slavic, like the first, is of a double nature. The modern representatives of the first division, the Lithuanian and Lettic extend partly in Germany, partly in Russia along the Baltic coast from Tilsit to Dorpat. To the east and to the south are the Slavic languages, comprising the Slavonian spoken in the Eastern Alps, the Servo-Croatian group spoken in Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Servia and Southern Hungary, and certain neighboring parts of Turkey, the Bulgarian in Bulgaria and Macedonia, the Russian, the Polish, the language of the Sorbs and the Wends, and the Czech.

This leaves as non-Indo-European languages in Europe, only certain languages of the Finnic family—viz., those of the Lapps in northern Sweden, of the Finns in northern Russia and on the Volga, and of the Magyars in Hungary—and besides these the languages of the Turks, and of the Basques. It may be added that of these only the language of the Magyars has apparently good prospects of living.

The commanding position of these peoples in the history of the world, what they have done for the development and spread of civilization, attaches an unusual importance to the history of their beginnings. The unpresaged fact that their languages are all developed from a common stock threw a flood of light upon the early history of Europe which, when contrasted with previous ignorance, is no less than dazzling and renders easily intelligible the enthusiasm with which Hegel pronounced it equivalent to the discovery of a new world.

In returning to the question of the region in which the parent language of this family was last spoken, we would do well to profit by the lapse of time and rid ourselves once for all of certain bad habits of thought and terminology that have contributed their share to the difficulties of the controversy. In the first place the term Aryan should be discarded in favor of Indo-European. The use of the former term to designate the whole family—a use popularized among English peoples by the works of the late professor Max Mueller—was a hasty

generalization. The Indo-Europeans who invaded India and Iran called themselves with pride Aryans in contradistinction to the non-Aryan aborigenes by whom they were surrounded. They also employed this honorific term as the first element in some of their proper names. A similar custom was in vogue among the Celts (cf. Ariomanus, and Ariovistus) and it is even possible that Irish, *aire*, *airech* 'princeps' and the ancient name for Ireland, *Erin*, are all cognate with the Indo-Iranian words for Aryan. This is far, however, from proving that the Celts styled themselves Aryans, and is of course no evidence whatsoever for the other branches of the family. Our warrant for calling the Indo-Iranians the Aryan branch of the family is our knowledge that these peoples both called themselves Aryans. For the whole family no such warrant exists. The extension of the term from one subdivision to the whole family is not only confusing, but in the light of our present knowledge as objectionable as it would be to call the family the Hellenic or Italic family. Of the other names that have been suggested only two have ever had any real vitality—Indo-Germanic and Indo-European. The first was an attempt to give the eastern and western limits of the family at a time when the relationship of the Celtic was unknown. The prominence thus given to the Germanic branch is a valid objection to the term, and has proved such except in Germany and among writers of germanized English. Objection has also been made to the term Indo-European, because the members of the compound—a country and a continent—are not coördinate. The term in this merely does justice to the unequal distribution of the family. The languages of Europe are without significant exception Indo-European. Of Asia this is not true, and as there is no common term for all the Asiatic members of the family, the name of the easternmost language is well selected to suggest the limit of the family.

In the next place the distinction between a race and a people should be kept clearly in mind. By a race is meant a number of individuals bound together by ties of common physical ancestry, while a people is composed of individuals who feel themselves bound together by a community of certain

institutions (among which language is the most important) and a community of political fate. That community of language does not necessitate community of blood, that identity of race does not follow from membership in the same people, should be self-evident. The full-blooded negro in this country is racially an African, although a member of the American people. Yet this truth has been persistently overlooked. The man who has done most to rouse interest in the Indo-Europeans, Max Mueller, has contributed his share to this confusion, e. g., by such picturesque statements as that the same blood flows in the veins of the Bengalese and the Englishman. With no less picturesqueness has he denounced the same error in others. "To me," he writes, "an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar."

A former consequence of the confusion of these ideas was the practise of looking upon the development of the Indo-Europeans into the nations of to-day as essentially the result of the expansion of a people by processes of natural physical increase over a practically unpopulated territory. It is now known that Europe has been inhabited ever since the time "when man," to quote Taylor, "was the contemporary of the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, and other extinct pachyderms, —when the Somme flowed three hundred feet above its present level, and England was still united to the continent." Such a period lies countless years before the earliest date that linguistic science can reach. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that, in a large part of the territory now occupied by them, the Indo-Europeans came in the course of their expansion upon an earlier population. Extermination was rarely the fate of the vanquished; and so we must recognize that one of the chief factors in the spread and increase of the Indo-Europeans has been the Indo-Europeanization of alien peoples, and one of the chief causes of the present differences between the Indo-European peoples in physique, in civilization, and in language, is that they are in this way the result of the amalgamation of different elements.

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From another point of view the distinction between race and people has its bearing upon our problem. Comparative Grammar has established the fact that all the languages previously enumerated as Indo-European are developments of a single language. This parent language (called the Indo-European language), although known to us from no records, had none the less a real existence, and its existence implies the existence of a people by whom it was spoken. The linguistic historical problem (our only concern) is the ascertainment of the territory within which this language was last spoken before the separation from this community of any people whose dialect afterwards resulted in the development of one of the known Indo-European languages. The date of the period with which we are dealing is capable of only the roughest approximation. Hirt, with excessive conservatism, suggests the beginning of the second millennium before Christ, but the beginning of the fifth millennium would probably not be further towards the opposite extreme. But this people, of whom we predicate that they spoke the same language, need not have been a single race; in fact, it is almost certain that they were not. To separate the races of which this people were composed, to determine which race was the main stock upon which the others were grafted (supposing such to have been the case) and to determine the place at which that race originated, are problems for anthropology. The difference between the problems must be kept clearly in view. The home in the latter sense is separated from the home as previously defined by countless years, and may be similarly separated in space. One may believe with Penka that the chief element in the Indo-European people was a tall, blond, dolichocephalic race, that originated in middle Europe in the last glacial period, and followed the reindeer to Scandinavia as the ice receded, and also, without the slightest inconsistency, hold that the Indo-European people last lived together in linguistic communication, as Max Mueller finally put it, "somewhere in Asia."

In the earlier period of the controversy the question most frequently shaped itself into the antithesis, "Europe or Asia?" At first the advocates of an Asiatic home held com-

plete possession of the field. The theory was originally accepted as a matter of course, and what arguments were brought, were intended not to prove the theory, but to lend confirmation to a conviction that needed no proof. The bible was supposed to render it necessary to derive the whole human race from Asia at a period no more remote than 4004 B. C. Hence there was talk of an irresistible impulse driving men towards the west, of civilization coming, like the light of the sun, from the east, and the pointing out of the facts in history where great movements of peoples from east to west had occurred. Appeal was made also to certain geographical statements of the Avesta, as pointing to a tradition of an early home on the Oxus and Jaxartes; a fact that might be allowed some weight for the Iranians themselves, but which should have been pronounced an unwarranted generalization, as soon as it was extended to the other Indo-European peoples.

In addition, one sound principle was invoked, but wrongly applied. The language that has changed least in form—it was contended correctly—has probably changed least its location. But when the argument continued that Sanskrit was the language that had changed least in form, its users had fallen into two errors. In the first place they believed that Sanskrit best reflected the vocalism of the parent language, whereas in reality Sanskrit is not as faithful in this point as some of the European languages; and secondly, they had also fallen into the much more serious error of comparing a language as it existed at least 2,000 years before Christ with one known only from the sixteenth century of our era without making any allowances for the changes due to this difference of some 4,000 years. The principle is correct, the conclusion to be drawn from it is, as we shall see later, very different.

The various parts of Asia that were suggested under the influence of these views do not possess in the light of our present knowledge more than a historical interest. The erroneous view that Sanskrit was the parent language—an error abandoned by Bopp even before the appearance of his first work—led F. v. Schlegel (1808) to locate the home of the family in India. Similar views of the priority of the Persian language caused Link (1821–2) to advance the same

claim for Media, Armenia, and Georgia, to which opinion Anquetil Duperron, Herder, and Heeren among others assented. But a truer insight into the relation of these languages led Rohde (1820) to place the home of the whole family in the region in which the home of the Indo-Iranians has, up to the present, been generally located, in the plateaus of the mountains at the source of the Oxus and Jaxartes. A. W. v. Schlegel, F. A. Pott, and Ch. Lassen adopted similar views, but extended the limits of the home to the Caspian sea on the one hand, and to the mountains of Central Asia, or the Himalayas on the other. By 1848, J. Grimm was able to declare, that the belief in the Asiatic origin of the family was practically without opposition. The culmination of this tendency was found in the work of A. Pictet (1859), in which the author locates the Indo-European home between the Hindu-Kush, the Belurtag, the Oxus, and the Caspian sea. This conclusion he reached by essentially the same considerations as his predecessors, but the new element that he introduced was the attempt to give for the first time confirmatory evidence, by ascertaining from the vocabulary of the parent language the geographical and climatic conditions under which the Indo-Europeans lived, the flora and fauna by which they were surrounded, and the state of their civilization, and then showing that the facts, thus ascertained, were all best adapted to the hypothesis of a Bactrian home. The most distinguished workers in the field, Schleicher, Mistelli, Max Mueller and Muir accepted in the main Pictet's conclusions, and at the moment it seemed as if the question were closed.

So strongly, indeed, were the advocates of the Asiatic home intrenched that they were for a time able to cry down, or to ridicule the opposition that began to make itself felt in the next decade. Their ridicule may be seen at its height where in the preface to the third edition of his great work, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, Victor Hehn derides the views of Latham, Benfey, and Cuno. From 1870 to 1890 the struggle over the question was most intense, but it would now be profitless to follow it in detail. A noteworthy fact, that foreshadows the outcome of the struggle, is that the advocates of the Asiatic home were for the most part content with the

reiteration of the old arguments. The only noteworthy attempt to strengthen their position during this period is to be found in a series of endeavors to establish such a connection between the Indo-Europeans and the Semites as would render impossible the supposition of these peoples starting from widely separated homes. For this purpose Delitzsch endeavored (1873) to demonstrate scientifically the often alleged relationship between these two families of languages. After the failure of this attempt Hommel tried to show at least a considerable borrowing of words in prehistoric times by the Indo-Europeans from the Semites. The attempt was again a failure, and finally in 1890 Johannes Schmidt endeavored most ingeniously to show, that the original decimal system of the Indo-Europeans had been crossed in prehistoric times by the Babylonian sexagesimal system, and that, consequently, the home of the Indo-Europeans must have been in Asia within the sphere of Babylon's influence. The evidence for the sexagesimal system proved, however, to be by no means so clear as Schmidt would have it appear; and, as he claimed that this system made its way on the one hand to the Finnic Syrians in the north of Europe and Asia, and on the other to the Chinese, the alleged influence might be conceded, and it would still be impossible to see why the Indo-Europeans might not have felt this influence, either in a European home, or separately in the territory occupied by them in historic times. With this attempt the history of the hypothesis of an Asiatic home comes to a close; for sixteen years it has been without an important advocate, and the general opinion at present of those competent to judge might be expressed by reversing the final conclusion of Max Mueller and saying: "Somewhere in Europe."

The credit of being the first to suggest the possibility of a European home belongs to R. G. Latham, and the effectiveness of the idea may be dated from the appearance of his *Elements of Comparative Philology*, London, 1862, though the idea itself is contained in his earlier works of 1851 and 1854. His argument, which did not aim to go beyond the establishment of a presumption in favor of Europe, is in brief as follows. There are two sections of Indo-Europeans, one in

Europe more numerous and comprising several species, the other in Asia less numerous and uniform. It is more logical to derive the species from the area of the genus than to derive the genus from the area of the species. Applying this principle to our problem, the more natural supposition is that the Indo-Iranians, came from Europe, rather than that the Celtic, Teutonic, Balto-Slavic, Italic, Hellenic, Illyrian, and Thracian-Phrygian peoples have all come from Asia. The consequence of this consideration is to shift at once the burden of proof; there is no longer any obligation to prove that the Indo-Europeans originated in Europe, where the bulk of them are, but on the contrary, any one who would advance another theory is compelled to show beforehand that Europe was not their home.

The question, however, was not left to be decided by such considerations of general probabilities. The method inaugurated by Kuhn and Pictet was also brought to bear upon its solution. Curiously enough, however, the results thus reached did not prove as strong arguments in favor of a European home as did the results of a work by Johannes Schmidt, the last defender of the Asiatic hypothesis. Down to the time of the appearance of Schmidt's work, *Die Verwantschaftsverhaeltnisse der idg. Sprachen*, Weimar, 1872, the general working hypothesis of scholars had been that the dispersion of the family had taken place by a series of bifurcations—a process capable of adequate representation by a genealogical tree. In spite of repeated efforts it had, however, proved impossible to construct any tree that would do justice to all the interrelations of the various members of the family. Schmidt attacked the hypothesis upon which the method was based, and showed that the normal process of linguistic differentiation is essentially different. Each change in a language is a separate phenomenon, originating at different points within the territory over which the language is spoken, and spreading like waves in different directions and to different distances. As these waves cross and recross various dialects are formed, all interlinked within one another in various ways. Then, in consequence of the interruption of the continuity of intercourse, whether by the absorption of connecting dialects, the intrusion of foreign peoples, or the migration of the speakers

of one dialect, more marked linguistic frontiers are formed, and we have separate languages in the place of a series of dialects shading off into one another. Or, as Schmidt expressed it metaphorically, what was an inclined plane becomes broken into a staircase.

The correctness of this view is now generally admitted, though further study has shown that to explain the dispersion of our family it is necessary to combine the two hypotheses, and furthermore, to take into consideration the varied results produced by the amalgamation of the Indo-European dialects with different pre-Indo-European languages. The application of this "wave-theory" to the Indo-European family showed, that the languages, which we now recognize as different branches of the family, are continuations of dialects of the parent language, that originally held, on the whole, the same relative position to one another, which we find held in historical times by the languages that are their successors. The impossibility of believing that these peoples could have been moved from Asia into Europe, like chessmen from one board to another, without disturbing their relative position was, on the whole, the argument that contributed most to the abandonment of the belief in an Asiatic home.

Furthermore, correcter use of the principle already alluded to, that the language that has changed least in location, as being freest from contamination with foreign languages, has probably changed least in form, led to the same conclusion. The fallacy of comparing a language with another at a stage some 4,000 years earlier of its development was detected, and the question was put in the form: If we take all the branches of the family at the same time—say the present—which is closest to the parent language. To the question thus put, in the light of a fuller knowledge of Comparative Grammar, the answer is not doubtful. Of all Indo-European languages still spoken, Lithuanian is the one that has changed least. In fact its archaic nature is truly surprising. The inflection of its noun is still in some respects more archaic than the Greek of Homer, while differences in the accent of Lithuanian words as now spoken are reflected by differences between the Greek acute and circumflex accent, by peculiarities of Vedic metre,

and by different treatment of final vowels in the Germanic languages, and are thus proved to be prehistoric. Such conservatism deserves, and has received its weight in the decision of the question of the Indo-European home.

Another principle, which when once pointed out is obviously apparent, was applied to the question only in recent years. It is, that in seeking the home of the Indo-Europeans we must begin by setting aside those lands which we know were taken by the Indo-Europeans from other peoples. That the Indo-Europeans are late arrivals in the peninsula of India is clear from the earliest monuments of their literature. Equally certain is the fact that Iran is also a late acquisition of the Iranians. The Hindoos entered India either from the north-west through the passes of the Hindu-Kush or farther to the north from the vale of Cashmere. The place of the common development of these two peoples has generally been located in the country to the east of the Sea of Aral, the region drained by the Oxus and Jaxartes. Most recently, however, Hirt has suggested the attractive idea that their entrance into Asia was, not around the north of the Sea of Aral, but through the Caucasus. In either case, however, the result for the present question is the same, as we are led ultimately to trace these peoples farther to the west to the middle course of the Don.

Equally clear are the facts for Asia Minor. Kretschmer has most brilliantly shown that this peninsula was once occupied by a family of languages distinct both from the Semitic and Indo-European. Upon the speakers of these languages the Indo-Europeans have precipitated themselves from Europe. In the case of the Greek colonies the process took place in the full light of history. Of the Armenians Herodotus says that they are colonists of the Phrygians, and that the latter had formerly lived in Europe near the Macedonians. Recent linguistic studies have not only confirmed this statement by showing the relationship of the Armenian and Phrygian to the Thracian, but have also proved that the possibly Indo-European elements in the languages of Lycia, Lydia, and Mysia are to be traced to the same source. Thus there is left no doubt of the European origin of all the Indo-Europeans in Asia Minor.

In Greece also we find a pre-Indo-European population. The family of languages discovered by Kretschmer in Asia Minor once extended over the islands of the Aegean, and at least the lower portion of the Balkan peninsula. That Epirus was the immediate base of the Hellenic migration into Greece is rendered most probable by the traces of Greek civilization in that country, notably the most ancient shrine of the people, that of Zeus at Dodona. As linguistic evidence shows that the Greeks were once close neighbors of the Italiots and Celts, we shall have to retrace their course farther to the north and west, finding the converging points for these three peoples on the Danube, in the neighborhood of Vienna. Later the connection was broken by the intrusion of the Illyrians between the Italiots and the Greeks. The latter were forced to abandon to the Illyrians Epirus, from which the Illyrians extended to the mouth of the Po, sending over also into the Appenine peninsula detached portions of their peoples, the Veneti and Messapians.

In Italy both the Etruscans and Ligurians are clearly pre-Indo-European. The natural entrance to the peninsula is from the northeast, and there is no doubt that this is the route by which the Italiots came. In southwestern Europe the evidence for a non-Indo-European population increases. The Iberians held the whole of the Spanish peninsula, and stretched up into France as far as the Loire, and along the southern coast until they joined the Ligurians. Finally, in the Picts we have an alien people driven by the Celtic invaders into the remotest part of the British isles.

In northern Europe, however, conditions are very different; here we find a solid Indo-European population and the problem is to determine the boundaries between the different branches of the family. It is clear that the Celts once held the country between the Loire and the Weser, and also the southern part of Germany between the lake of Constance and the Maine, extending east through Bohemia to the Carpathians. The names of rivers between the Weser and Elbe also afford evidence for a still earlier Celtic occupation of this territory. Accordingly, for the Germans about the middle of the first millennium before Christ, we have the country between the Elbe and the Oder; viz., Mecklenburg with part of Pomerania, and

and Brandenburg, to which are to be added Schleswig-Holstein, Jutland, Denmark with its isles, and the southern part of Sweden. The earliest home of the Slavs was on the middle and upper course of the Dneiper, extending westward toward the Carpathians, and the Vistula. Between them and the sea were the Baltic peoples. The boundary to the north was formed by the Finns, while to the south and west the Slavs came in contact with the Thracians and their kindred, the Dacians and Getae. Finally between the Slavs and the Indo-Iranians extended the Sarmatians and the Scythians. The leaders of the latter bore Iranian names, and on the whole it seems best to class them as an Iranian people.

The territory, within which the original home must be sought, is thus reduced to a long narrow strip of land, running from the north of France through Europe into Asia. Further than this certain scholars, of whom Kretschmer, and Brugmann are the most prominent, believe that it is impossible to go. Not that they believe, as Cuno did, that this extension over a vast territory represents the original conditions under which the Indo-European language developed. On the contrary, they too posit an earlier period of still greater linguistic unity in a much smaller territory, but deny that we have any means for locating its boundaries. To discuss the reasons for this scepticism would require too long a digression into the general question of the validity of the methods of linguistic-historical investigation. The scepticism has served a good end in pointing out certain undeniable defects in earlier methods. It is, however, possible to avoid these and still reach conclusions safer, if not so definite as those of earlier investigators. When such conclusions are rejected, because they do not tell all we would wish to know, the scepticism becomes exaggerated into the position of those who will take no bread, unless the whole loaf be given.

An attempt at a more definite answer may be begun by raising the question of whether the Indo-Europeans were or were not acquainted with the sea. The Latin word for "sea" *mare* has close equivalents in Old Irish *muir*, Gothic *marei*, Old Church Slavonic *morje*, and Lithuanian *mārės*; there are also derivatives from the same element in Greek *βρύχιος*, Eng-

lish *brack*, and Low German *brakig*. The word is wanting, however, in the Indo-Iranian, Albanian and Armenian languages. The absence of a word from these two last branches of the family is never significant, because each has replaced a large portion of its vocabulary with borrowed words. But, that a word does not occur in the Indo-Iranian branch is a fact that must be taken into consideration. As the difficulty is a typical one, it is well to notice the three possible explanations. (1) The word was once common to all of the Indo-Europeans, and has been lost by the Indo-Iranians. In support may be urged that these peoples lived for a long time at a distance from the sea, and that even in the time of the Rig Veda a word for sea is wanting. (2) The word may have belonged to the parent language but extended over only a portion of its territory; either because part of the people were unacquainted with the sea, or because they had for it in their dialect another designation. (3) The Indo-Europeans were unacquainted with the sea, but at a later time in the course of their dispersion one of the peoples (probably the Celts) reached the shore of the sea, and gave it its name. This word then passed as a loan-word into the other languages, but did not extend to the Indo-Iranians.

In the present case we are able to reject quite confidently the third alternative, because the word (a neuter *i*-stem) is of an extremely old formation that had ceased to be a productive type before the separation of the various languages. A decision between the two first hypotheses (of which the first seems preferable) is unnecessary, as in either case the territory must border upon the sea. Within the territory already described as the possible limits of the home are but two seas to claim consideration, the Baltic and the Black. Each of these locations has at present its advocates, of whom the most prominent are Hirt for the Baltic, and Schrader for the Black Sea.

A number of indications, each slight in itself, point with more or less certainty towards the shores of the Baltic. In the first place, the eel is not found in the rivers that flow into the Black Sea. Apparently cognate designations of the eel are Latin *anguilla*, Greek *ἰχθυόλος*, Lithuanian *unguriys*, Old

Prussian *angurgis*, and Russian *ugorĭ*. Unfortunately it may be contended, though for the Greek with the greatest improbability, that these are all diminutives formed independently from the common word for snake (Latin *anguis* and its kindred), and thus no proof that the Indo-Europeans before their separation were acquainted with the eel. That the Indo-Europeans were acquainted with the bear is indisputable. Compare Sanskrit *rkṣa*, Avestan *areša*, Greek *ἄρκτος*, Latin *ursus*, Armenian *arj*, and the doubtful etymons Albanian *ari*, and Middle Irish *art*. That the word did not survive in the Teutonic, Baltic, and Slavic languages is probably to be connected with superstitious ideas about the demoniacal nature of the beast, and the consequent inadvisability of mentioning its real name. The habitat of the bear is not narrowly limited. Travellers report its presence even in the wood islands of the steppes. So, while the knowledge of the bear seems most natural in the woods of northern Europe, it does not enable us to reject absolutely the theory of a home in southern Russia. With equal certainty we may assert that the Indo-European possessed boats, for words cognate with Latin *navis* are found in every branch of the family except the Balto-Slavic. There are also prehistoric words for oar and row but not for sail and mast. Most probably then the Indo-European boats were dugouts propelled by oars. As such boats require for their construction the trunks of large trees, it seems most natural to place the home of the Indo-Europeans within a wooded country. The cogency of the conclusion may be avoided by pointing to savage tribes that import canoes, cf. Buecher, *Industrial Evolution*, p. 64. Words for winter, summer, and spring also seem to be prehistoric. At first sight this triple division of the year appears better suited to northern Europe than to the climate of the steppes. Schrader's attempt to show that the earliest division of the year was into two seasons may be pronounced a failure; but it is possible to point with Kretschmer to the fact that in southern Russia also there is a transition season from winter to summer, though from his description it is open to doubt whether it is sufficiently marked to induce a primitive people to give it a name.

The question on which the decision finally turns is a broader one. The steppes of southern Russia are adapted to the life of cattle raising nomads; the woodlands and fields of northern Europe could support only an agricultural people. The decision of the question whether the Indo-Europeans were an agricultural or nomadic people will consequently furnish a criterion for locating their home in the one or the other of these territories. The linguistic evidence, however, is open to a double interpretation as in the case of the word for sea. A large number of agricultural terms, such as field, plough, ploughshare, harrow, sow, seed, grain, mow, sickle and others, besides designations of certain varieties of grain, are common to the languages of Europe, but are not shared by the Indo-Iranian languages. The opinion of scholars is still divided as to whether these are words lost by the Indo-Iranians in consequence of their later adoption of a nomadic life, or whether they represent an acquisition made by the Europeans in common after their separation from the Indo-Iranians. Considerations of space prevent any but the briefest statement of the reasons for my accepting the first alternative, because (1) Of the archaic form of some of the words. (2) Of the archæological evidence for the practise of agriculture in Europe from the stone-period on. (3) Ethnological studies have shown that the Aristotelian belief, that agriculture develops from a nomadic life, is a reversal of the normal process of development. (4) The wagon, which is undoubtedly Indo-European, was originally an agricultural implement. (5) The organization of the family in Indo-European times implies an agricultural form of life. Finally, on the opposite hypothesis, traces of this period of common development should be found in the languages of Europe, and this is admittedly not the case.

Etymologies for names of trees show on the whole similar conditions. Here, however, some correspondences extend also to the Indo-Iranians, thus strengthening the belief that in the main we are dealing with a loss on the part of the Indo-Iranians of names for things that no longer entered familiarly into their life. A cognate name for the beech is found in

Germanic, Latin, and Greek (here in the sense of oak), and may be considered prehistoric. As the tree is not found to the east of a line drawn from Königsburg to the Crimea, the original home must have been in part to the west of that line, while the absence of the word from the eastern branches of the family may be due to the fact that these branches were originally located farther to the east.

The result then, is that the home of the Indo-Europeans is to be sought on the shores of the Baltic, on both sides of the line which marks the eastern limit of the beech. To the south a natural boundary is furnished by the Carpathians, while it is impossible to fix limits to their extension towards the east and west. This is the region within which the most conservative of the Indo-European languages is located, and is also the location from which the dispersion of the family can best be explained.

In conclusion, the prospects for further progress may be considered. In the past, progress has come largely from the help given to linguistic science by prehistoric archæology and by ethnology. It would be presumptuous for one not a worker in those fields to attempt to predict what light they may still afford. It should, however, be remarked that Much has recently endeavored to show that the neo-lithic civilization of Europe originated on the coasts and islands of the west Baltic. His claim that this land is also the home of the Indo-Europeans involves the perilous assumption that the limits of material culture and ethnic limits coincide. The objection to be urged against this view is the great change undergone at an early time by the Indo-European language there located, but further study may show that his results are not incompatible with the location of the Indo-European home on the eastern Baltic. Meanwhile, the approximation of conclusions reached by such different paths is noteworthy. In linguistic work the great thing to be desired is the determination of the relative chronology of linguistic changes that took place in prehistoric times. If this were accomplished, many of the facts known about prehistoric things could be put in the proper perspective, and difficulties of the types already men-

tioned would disappear. For this, it must be confessed the prospects are not bright. On the other hand, the question of the relation of the Indo-Europeans and Finns seems almost on the verge of solution. When it is solved, it will probably afford another factor for the determination of the home of the Indo-Europeans.

GEORGE M. BOLLING.

TWO CATHOLIC MEDIEVAL EDUCATORS.

II. GUARINO DA VERONA.

1. *Early Life and Studies.*

The early Renaissance produced another famous Italian schoolmaster, Guarino da Verona. His name has frequently occurred in the preceding pages. A renowned humanist and successful teacher he brought a distinction to Ferrara like that enjoyed by Mantua during the residence of Vittorino.

Guarino was born of respectable parents at Verona, in 1374. His father, Bartolomeo, was, for a time at least, in the military service of the Lord of Verona. At his death in 1386 he was a prisoner of war with many of his countrymen in Padua.¹

Guarino received his elementary education in Verona, going later for higher studies to Venice. His colleagues afterwards wrote of his exceptional talents, his quick perception, strong memory, powers of expression, and great industry noticeable even in these early years.

In Venice we note that he formed an intimate friendship with Paolo Zane, a nobleman, who became his great admirer and benefactor.

For his university course in letters he resorted to the school of Ravenna in Padua. Besides encountering Vittorino in that training school of famous literary men, he enjoyed the distinguished company of the embryo humanists Girolamo Donati, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Gemistos Polenton and others.²

Sabbadini maintains that Conversino's school was not humanistic; yet this Ravenna is believed to be the famulus of Petrarch; and the one who, in the number of disciples and literary men he developed, so closely resembled Vittorino. Other writers imply that he was humanistic in spirit, and

¹ R. Sabbadini, *Giornale Ligustico*, 1891, no. 1; Monnier, I, 176; Symonds, II, 299; Tiraboschi, VI, 968; Ginguéné, III, 280; Fabricius, II, 112.

² Monnier, *ibid.*; Sabbadini, *ibid.*

Padua did not wait until the arrival of Barzizza to feel the impulse of the literary revival.³

When Guarino left Padua his career as a teacher was begun. Verona, his native city, furnished the scene of his first labors. That he taught with success, seems beyond doubt; but interest in Guarino, at this period, is centered rather in the development of the humanist, than of the teacher. Perhaps this is due to the fact that real definite information concerning his school is wanting, or perhaps to the interest of those who have studied his movements, who were more concerned with his character as a humanist than as a teacher.

Guarino participated in the literary life of Verona, but his tastes were different from those of his associates. The choicest in the vernacular or the modern Latin could not satisfy his growing desire for the ancient writers. Although he labored in Verona with all the zeal of his youth, his mind reverted frequently to that new and unexpected activity which had carried the Florentines back into another world. Since 1397, when Florence induced Emmanuel Chrysoloras, ambassador from Constantinople to Venice, to become their instructor in Greek, and the first enthusiasm among Italians for classic learning appeared, Guarino longed to behold this re-opening to the western world of a long hidden literary treasure.

He could not leave Verona at that time. In 1400 Chrysoloras had transferred his school to Pavia. Guarino probably corresponded with him. The Greek's success despite his experience with Niccolo Niccoli had been remarked everywhere.⁴ There was no fear that he would leave Italy, so wide and promising a field for his teaching. Perhaps Guarino entertained the hope of being able later to become his pupil. When it became known, however, that Chrysoloras intended to accompany his emperor to Constantinople, and not to return, Guarino repaired to Venice, and arranged with Chrysoloras to accompany the royal party to the Orient.⁵

³ Rosmini, 150; Woodward, 3; Sabbadini, 4.

⁴ Tiraboschi, VI, 985.

⁵ Sabbadini, 20; Ginguéné, III, 281; Symonds, II, 299; Perrens, I, 233.

Paolo Zane, admiring the determination of the young humanist, for Guarino was then about twenty-nine years of age, bore the expenses of the journey. In Constantinople Guarino was received into the household of Chrysoloras, where his services as a domestic were to compensate for the lodging and the instruction he received. Emmanuel Chrysoloras and his nephew John were his teachers. Naturally Guarino, with his passion for the new tongue, was constantly studying to master it in speaking and in writing. Much of his time was passed among the domestics of the family, and Greek was the only language he could use. This experience was invaluable.

2. *Illustrious career as a humanist.*

After five years in Constantinople Guarino returned to Italy, unquestionably the best Greek scholar of his day. He had temporary engagements at Verona and Bologna, but his illustrious career as a humanist teacher really began at Florence in 1410.⁶ His advent caused almost as great a commotion in the republic as that of Chrysoloras, the first great professor of Greek in the west.⁷ His reception was indeed most flattering. He entered immediately into the distinguished society of humanists which then included Niccolo Niccoli, Carlo Marzupini, Poggio, Leonardo Bruni, Filelfo, and Ambrogio Traversari.

Guarino resided in Florence only four years, but he left there a lasting memory. He was a notable figure in the literary history of the republic. Writers mention him as one of three most brilliant professors of the Studio. With Aurispa and Filelfo, who like himself had studied in Greece, he gave a new impulse to the pursuit of the humanities.⁸

While rejoicing in his success and the fame which accompanied it, Guarino encountered at Florence, after a time, a lively opposition. He had renewed old friendships, had formed many new ones, but he had also found some bitter

⁶ Tiraboschi, VI, 969.

⁷ Rashdall, II, p. I, 49, mentions Leontius Pilatus professor of Homer, at Florence, in 1360.

⁸ Monnier, I, 153.

enemies. These latter repeatedly harassed him, and undoubtedly hastened his departure from the city.⁹

In Venice Guarino entered upon that portion of his career in which we are mostly interested. He labored there more as a schoolmaster than as a professor. If his reception at Florence was flattering, his entrance into Venice was triumphant. All the Venetians knew him, either by acquaintance or by reputation. Some remembered him as a youth in their city, later as the eager student about to journey to Greece. Others were included among Guarino's most intimate correspondents. Guarino felt like one returning home. The reception gratified him immensely. His prospects in school work appeared most encouraging, for although Venice had sat under famous teachers like Barzizza, or Chrysoloras, she had never enjoyed a permanent school under a humanist.

We may pause for a little in this review of Guarino's life to glance at the type of school which he managed in Venice. It is characteristic of those which he established later at Verona and Ferrara. His method of teaching will be discussed later, when we arrive at his most famous school in Ferrara.

We have already examined this same type in Padua and in Mantua. It was not original with Guarino, nor with Vittorino. Other scholars had conducted such institutions for their students, but it must be admitted that Guarino improved upon the methods of his predecessors in this undertaking, and transformed what was really a boarding place for students into a school. It is quite probable that Vittorino learned the successful management of his *contubernium* from Guarino, for it was at this time that he studied Greek under the disciple of Chrysoloras.

In this more perfect development of the *camerata*, or student family, attributed to Guarino, we note that the "maestro" has complete charge over the students. He is not merely a prefect of discipline, but a director of the studies and life of his pupils. He is the father of many sons who have all things in common. His office is to guide their activities, develop

⁹ Sabbadini, 42.

their powers, and cultivate in them the highest tastes. Guarino's aim was to produce in them literary men, another generation of humanists, who would be leaders in thought, exemplars of virtue, and, in short, eminent men. We have already seen how successfully this boarding school was directed by the schoolmaster of Mantua; we shall witness an example of Guarino's success in his pedagogical work of Ferrara.

Venice had profited immensely by the five years residence of Guarino. The fame of the city had increased with that of its renowned pedagogue. It came to be regarded as a centre of literary activity. Guarino and his pupils maintained a lively correspondence with some of the greatest writers in Italy. Their works of translation from the Greek into Latin, their orations, various treatises, and collections of manuscripts were accomplishments of great moment among the cultured classes of the cities of northern Italy. Venice, however, made apparently no effort to retain Guarino, when it was rumored that he contemplated the transfer of his school to Verona. The situation there must have been disagreeable, for Guarino had no engagement to draw him to Verona. He entered the latter city in 1419.

In his native city once again, he opened school, with the youths of some of the best families as his pupils. The return to the associations of his youth awakened a spirit much depressed after the disappointments and ill-treatment experienced in his last abode. His letters are more vivacious and cheerful. Bright prospects appear before him. The town council engages him to lecture publicly for a period of five years with a good compensation. He is allowed to conduct his private school also.¹⁰

Inducements come from Florence and even Venice to return, and the *Gonzaghi* at Mantua invite him to become the tutor at their court. He was obliged to refuse all, for during this residence in Verona, Guarino became deeply interested not only in the literary life of the Veronese, but also in their social and political life. He represented his fellow citizens on

¹⁰ Sabbadini, 106.

many notable occasions, delivering addresses of welcome to dignitaries and distinguished guests, and going abroad on missions of public interest. Here more than elsewhere Guarino appears as the man of public affairs engaged in the active service of his fellow citizens. None can accuse him of inability in this respect, after his ten years active residence, for during eight of these years he held some public office.¹¹

3. *His famous school.*

In 1430 Guarino accepted the invitation of Niccolo d'Este Marchese of Ferrara to conduct the education of his son Lionello, then twenty-three years of age. Guarino, now approaching the sixties, undertook the work for which he is as an educator chiefly renowned. In addition to his office as tutor to the young marchese, Guarino still maintained his private school.¹² Lionello had already received his primary education and had spent a few years at a military school. Guarino's aim was, first, to impart to Lionello the culture and learning most becoming a prince of that time; second, with a stable position and income under a noble so favorable to learning, to develop a great academy and make Ferrara, what it was far from being then, a center for classical learning.¹³

In these endeavors he eminently succeeded. Lionello, who was under his tutelage for about five years, became one of the conspicuous figures in the literary world of his day.

"Granting," as Symonds says, "that the reputation for learning was lightly conferred on princes by their literary parasites, it seems certain that Lionello derived more than a mere smattering in culture from his tutor. Amid the pleasures of the chase, to which he was passionately devoted, and the distractions of the gayest courts in Italy, he found time to correspond on topics of scholarship with Poggio, Filelfo, Decembro, and Francesco Barbaro. His conversation turned habitually upon the fashionable themes of antique ethics, and his favorite companions were men of polite education."¹⁴

¹¹ Sabbadini, 143.

¹² Vespasiano, II, 230; Symonds, II, 290; Burckhardt, 215; Tiraboschi, VI, 973.

¹³ Sabbadini, 226.

¹⁴ Symonds, II, 290.

That Lionello did not become a humanist could not be attributed to any defect in Guarino's system of training. The circumstances of his life were not conducive to the development of high literary powers. His prose writings lack originality and any strong personal characteristics, but his Italian poems reach a higher standard than most similar productions of his time. Moreover he manifested through life a laudable ambition for literary fame and as a prince contributed much to the promotion of learning.¹⁵

As for the school conducted by Guarino during these last thirty years of his life, it ranks as the most successful of his undertakings. When Lionello's instruction was finished, Guarino became a professor in the University of Ferrara. His lecture halls were crowded with students from every part of Europe. In his private school were scholars from England, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Greece, who came, eager, as Pius II. says, "per apprenderne la lingua greca e latina."¹⁶

Ferrara responded to his efforts, and Guarino brought the city to the foremost place among the humanistic centers of Italy. As Padua was transformed by the genius of Gasparino Barzizza, and Mantua by the life-work of Vittorino da Feltre, so Ferrara, under the influence of Guarino, first embraced the humanistic doctrine and propagated it with success.¹⁷

4. *Educational method.*

The study of his educational method is rendered difficult by the absence of any written treatise on the subject by Guarino himself. His letters afford us a view of some of his principles. For many others we are indebted to his distinguished son, Battista, whose treatise, "De Ordine Docendi et Studendi," embodies the theory and practice of Guarino on the method of teaching and studying the classical authors.¹⁸

Guarino's school at Verona received the appellation "La Paradisetto." Here again, the name, given perhaps by the

¹⁵ Tiraboschi, VI, 976; Monnier, I, 241.

¹⁶ Tiraboschi, VI, 975; Monnier, I, 241.

¹⁷ Sabbadini, 215; Monnier, I, 177.

¹⁸ Woodward, 161.

pupils, furnishes us with an idea of the surroundings and spirit of Guarino's institution. Like Vittorino he always sought a choice location for his *contubernium*. When possible he acquired a villa removed from the noise of the city, which afforded facilities for games in the open field and excursions into the country.¹⁹

This type of school which represented the theory of Italian educators of the fifteenth century contrasts strongly with some illustrations of English schools of the same period, where in rather cheerless rooms the urchins, while kneeling, recited or listened in painful reverence to the teacher.²⁰

Of next importance in Guarino's scheme of education is his idea of the teacher. The successful master must be a cultured and learned man, capable of imparting sound instruction to young and impressionable minds. Dignified in bearing, he commands the respect due to a parent or guardian. He will not have recourse to the rod as a means of obtaining results in intellectual work, but will adopt punishment only as a last resource. He strives to win the affection and confidence of the pupil by his gentleness and unfailing sympathy.

Such was Guarino, both as a tutor and master. He possessed in a high degree these qualities of mind and heart which he considered necessary in the teacher. Although Burckhardt believes that he lacked that wise self-restraint and kindly sweetness "which graced the character of Vittorino," for, "Guarino was easily betrayed into a violence of temper," still there is no proof that he manifested any such characteristics before his pupils. The outbursts that we know of were quarrels and literary feuds between Guarino and his learned contemporaries, Niccolo Niccoli, Filelfo, Poggio and George of Trebizond. These can be condoned upon a knowledge of the circumstances which provoked them. Such strifes were common occurrences in those days of bitter jealousies.²¹

That he loved his pupil Lionello and was loved in return is evidenced beyond doubt by their letters. The master is solicitous for the pupil in all things, in studies, health, and

¹⁹ Monnier, I, 176.

²⁰ Drane, II, 290.

²¹ Burckhardt, 215.

conduct. The pupil has constant recourse to him for direction and assistance with his work, and even during the vacation seeks his advice upon reading and study.²²

Guarino's correspondence also shows that he established lasting bonds of friendship and affection with his pupils during their sojourn at his school. He was enthusiastic over some of his most successful scholars or rather his sons as he termed them. Even after their departure from the "*famiglia*," he remained their counselor and director. His sympathy was a stimulus to their zeal and his praise sufficient reward for their labors. He never hesitated to commend them in their triumphs, or express to them his satisfaction and pride over their attainments. There was no simulation in his rejoicing when Francesco Barbaro's work, "*De Re Uxoriam*," provoked the universal praise of the humanists, or when Alberto da Sarteano preached a most effective course of lectures at Ferrara during the lent of 1434.

This familiarity between master and pupil Guarino regarded as the first step in his educational process. He then required in the pupil a taste for learning. Where this appeared the beginnings were most favorable; if it were lacking, then it was to be speedily acquired and developed. When the effort to produce it proved unsuccessful, the pupil could no longer remain in the school. His presence would be pernicious to the others, and particularly to the young. But when the appetite was once aroused, and the first pleasure of learning experienced, the pupil could be relied upon, he believed, to seek eagerly for the riches of knowledge which alone are durable and everlasting.

Individual attention to the students was absolutely necessary for this procedure. In the school Guarino constantly sought to give it, and with the humanist, agreed that it was imperatively required for the younger scholars. In higher classes, and particularly in the university, it was not advocated. There the audiences should be large, for greater numbers stimulated the lecturer. But in the school each mind and character should be known at the outset in order to

²² Sabbadini, 235.

give proper direction to its growth and development. For this reason small classes were allotted to a teacher.

There can be no question that in the department of studies greatest importance was attached to letters. Guarino believed this to be the most fundamental and broadest of all studies. (His ambition, too, was to produce literary scholars, another generation of humanists.) While other subjects were subordinated to the classics, and that completeness in training which we behold in Mantua was not attained, it is not just to observe, with Monnier, who institutes a comparison between the two schools, that Ferrara became, after all, only "*un institut d'éloquence*" whereas Mantua was "*un institut de vie.*"²³

Guarino's system was designed to impart a broad and full culture, after his conception of what a complete education should be. Lionello became a no less successful governor because of his cultivation of a literary taste, and no less skilful in arms after his tutelage under the humanist. The contrary, rather, seems true. Guarino guarded against dilettantism and one-sidedness by a systematic endeavor to train his scholars for active work in public life by developing along with the intellect, a vigorous body, and a noble character.

This formation of the intellect has been styled his literary education, for it was chiefly a training in letters. As we have observed, Guarino even from the beginning of his career as a teacher, believed that the study of the ancient authors was the basis of all education. They were his authorities in all that pertained to culture and science. His scholars were to be thoroughly familiar with their thought and modes of expression.

Latin writers took precedence, the language of ancient Rome was now the language of the learned and cultured society in which Guarino's scholars were to live. Furthermore, it was the recognized medium of intercourse of the educated throughout the world, the only tongue in which the works of genius could receive an international audience, and be preserved immortally.²⁴

²³ Monnier, I, 241.

²⁴ Cf. Graf, Ch. XV.

One understands the primary importance given in the curriculum to clear and sustained enunciation in speaking and in reading. Conversation, as well as oratory, had become a fine art. What Burchhardt said of a later period of the Renaissance is true, in a less degree, of this epoch. "In Italy . . . people of every origin, if they had the needful talent and culture, spent their time in conversation and the polished interchange of jest and earnest. . . . If we are to take the writers of dialogues literally, the loftiest problems of human existence were not excluded from the conversation of thinking men, and the production of noble thoughts was not, as was commonly the case in the north, the work of solitude, but of society."²⁵ In social intercourse one who had anything of importance to say, must shape his speech, and clothe his thought in a style that would conform to the canons of good writing.

Exercises in reading aloud prepared for these accomplishments. Guarino urged Lionello to continue his reading during vacation. He should read in a high voice, "voce alta," not mouthing his words. He recommended the practice for a better understanding of his author, and as an aid to digestion.²⁶

The first steps in the mastery of language began with the study of grammar. The elements were scrupulously learned at the outset, and retained by constant drills and examinations. These elements comprised the rules governing the parts of speech. As an aid to the acquisition of these rules the compendium compiled by Guarino was employed. Progress was made by the study of their use in the simple prose of historical writers. Then the frequent oral and written exercises in the technique of grammar gave the intimate acquaintance and firm grasp of a subject considered by the humanist to be the portal to all knowledge.²⁷

As the class was accustomed to speak Latin this result was speedily obtained. The exercises illustrating the rules, were given at an early stage in the course and promoted concurrently the development of a good style. Throughout the

²⁵ Burchhardt, 383.

²⁶ Sabbadini, 235.

²⁷ Pius, II, quoted in Woodward, 144.

process of study one must observe that grammar is preparing for the same superior quality of expression in speaking and in writing.

This two-fold purpose was always kept in view. For oratory there existed a remote and immediate preparation. The practice of reading aloud was intended to acquaint the young scholars with the established forms of oratory employed by the ancients. The student supplied the gestures, suiting the action to the word. Composition after these forms, which continued until the last years, gave completeness and elegance in oratorical style.

The art of delivery remained an important phase in the training of the orator. While we have no striking instances of the younger members of Guarino's school delivering famous public orations, there were notable occasions when his pupils distinguished themselves by remarkable exhibitions of oratorical skill. When Guarino was in Venice, his scholars were often sought by neighboring towns to deliver orations on special festive occasions.

The laws of prosody were diligently studied, not only for a correct understanding and appreciation of the poets, but as a guide to composition in verse and even in prose. Rhythm having been most frequently used by ancient orators, the young humanist should be able to recognize it in their writings and to use it in his own. A compendium served to give a rudimentary knowledge of the rules of quantity and metre, but the desired proficiency only came after diligent study of the poets. One should know Virgil so as to quote him from memory. Battista said that the great Mantuan poet as a subject of deep and regular study must always stand, not first, but alone.²⁸

In Battista's treatise we have a list of the poets and prose writers with appreciations of their respective values. Undoubtedly these were the judgments of Guarino on the relative merits of his favorite authors. Statius, he recommended, should follow Virgil in order. The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid

²⁸ Woodward, 170. The estimation indeed of the entire later Middle Ages. Cf. Comparetti, Virgil in the Middle Ages.

gave an introductory knowledge of mythology. Terence and Juvenal could be an aid in acquiring vocabulary. Plautus was highly estimated for his eloquence and humor; Horace for his delicacy of expression; Persius and Lucan had their peculiar literary virtues and with others were reserved for older pupils.

Among the prose writers some were read for a two-fold purpose. Cicero, for instance, with Quintilian became as in Vittorino's school, the text-book in the class of oratory. History was largely pursued in Valerius Maximus and Justin, and Natural History in the work of Pliny.

The geography of Strabo, translated by Guarino, at the instance of Pope Nicholas V, we may add in passing, seems to have been one of the few real text-books studied more for its contents than for its literary form.²⁹

In "De ordine docendi et studendi," Greek is accorded as high a place as Latin in the rank of studies; but some believe that it did not receive such attention as might be expected in the school of so famous a Greek scholar. It is believed that more was done in Greek at Mantua than in any of Guarino's schools.³⁰ It is beyond doubt that Guarino believed scholarship in Latin to be impossible without a knowledge of Greek. The latter was the older tongue and had given many of its peculiarities in word construction and literary form to the language of the Empire. Cicero, Horace, Cato and Quintilian advocated its study for this reason. The belief of Quintilian that it should be studied before Latin was not deemed a practicable procedure, since Latin was to be the language afterwards used in daily life by the scholars.³¹ Under the present system it is pursued after a thorough mastery of Latin. The ability of Guarino's pupils to translate whole Greek works after one year's study proved the wisdom of his plan.

As with Latin, the beginnings in Greek are made by a long and faithful study of the grammar. After the rudiments are learned, easy authors are read to acquire a vocabulary and an acquaintance with form.

²⁹ Tiraboschi, VI, 977.

³⁰ Woodward, 160, note.

³¹ Quintilian, B. I, C. I.

The treasures of Greek poetry are first discovered for the student in the *Iliad*. His knowledge of the Latin poets enables him to see the beauties of the master from whom they drew their inspiration. The similarities observed will interest him and stimulate his studies. He proceeds then to read the heroic poets and the dramatists. Meanwhile his vocabulary increases, and as an aid to memory he is advised to make notes as he reads. At this point he is prepared to learn the rules of accentuation, and study their application in his authors. Composition in Greek was attempted from the beginning. It gave facility in constructing and translating, and had great influence in the cultivation of an elevated style.

In conjunction with this study of Greek a finer standard in Latin must be attained. The best models of style and especially Cicero, in his letters, must always be at hand to develop a refined expression in speaking and in writing. In short, all the knowledge acquired should be used; for a distinguished style is based on a wide and varied knowledge. "Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons."³²

Other subjects, such as Ethics, Astrology and Roman Law received attention in the school at Ferrara, but the evident aim was the same as for the study of mythology, geography and perhaps history—to enable the pupil to comprehend the thought and appreciate the allusions in the writings of poet, philosopher or historian of ancient Greece and Rome.

Guarino was a professed admirer of the best forms of Italian literature. The writings of his scholars in verse and prose prove sufficiently that the vernacular was not neglected in the curriculum.

Nor can the charge be sustained that Guarino's method of education did not prepare youth for a participation in the active life and movements of the time. He could form the noble to occupy his station with grace and to govern with clemency and justice, and he could take the clever son of a peasant and, making a humanist of him, prepare him for a famous and successful career; for in those times the literati were sought on all sides; in the towns as schoolmasters; in the

³² "Ars Poetica," 309; Woodward, 169.

universities as professors; in the courts as diplomats, secretaries and tutors. De facto, his alumni became eminent in all these capacities, as poets and prose writers, lecturers, translators, lawyers, bishops and priests of the Church.

Guarino endeavored to educate the whole man, to develop all his powers of intellect, body and heart. He adopted physical culture not less enthusiastically than Vittorino, finding sufficient authority for his course in the habits of the ancients. The chase, to which Lionello was so devoted, being recommended by Xenophon, received the approbation and encouragement of Guarino. He pointed out that this sport had its serious side, for in many ways it was a preparation for fighting in war. The skill, courage, and endurance so necessary in a soldier and leader would be exercised in the young hunter.³³

All should learn to swim. How many illustrious persons in antiquity, like Cæsar and Alexander, enjoyed the sport! Ball games, vigorous exercises, and walking were also sanctioned by the examples of the great men of the past. They could not be an unworthy part of the modern school course, for their beneficial effect on the mind was undoubted.

In this department we observe a most pronounced evidence of the return to the Græco-Roman conception of education, and what has been said of Vittorino in this aspect of his training can be repeated for Guarino.³⁴

Many hesitate to attribute to Guarino that same perfection in teaching morality which they willingly concede to Vittorino, the principal reason being that the former was not so intensely religious as the latter, and was more affected by the religious spirit of the revival. The appreciation of Vittorino's character by Symonds is representative of many others. "This incomparable teacher of youth," he says, "undertook the defence of Beccadelli's obscene verses; this anchorite of humanism penned virulent invectives with the worst of his contemporaries."³⁵

Assuredly Guarino does not manifest so deep a religious spirit as Vittorino, but he is far from being pagan in spirit.

³³ Sabbadini, 231; Monnier, I, 239.

³⁴ Quintilian I, C. III.

³⁵ Symonds, II, 301.

A mere cursory review of his life must convince that he remained a Christian and a Catholic even during his most devoted years to classic life and thought. Many of his most intimate friends were dignitaries of the Church, and he allowed one of his sons to enter the priesthood. His appreciation of Beccadelli's poem *l'Ermaphrodito* appeared in the form of a preface to the work. This he later retracted at the instance of a priest, Sarteano, his former pupil. He protested at the time that he had been misunderstood, that his commendation of the verses referred only to their literary worth and not to their moral content.³⁶

It is certain that with his private pupil he insisted on the cultivation of the Christian virtues. He exacted from his students a high standard of morality, despite the accounts sometimes met of abuses discovered in his school. That he often quoted heathen authorities in support of the virtues he inculcated, was not unusual. This was a habit of mind with the humanists. Pius II, for instance, indulged in the same practice in his epistle "De educatione liberorum" addressed to Ladislas, King of Bohemia.

Guarino's manner of life was a strong and constant example in the teaching of morality. For temperance in living and devotion to a high ideal, he ranks among the best teachers of his day. In his private life he was irreproachable. As a husband and father he portrays an admirable and exemplary character.

It is true that he does not manifest the altruistic and retiring spirit of his contemporary in Mantua; but such qualities are scarcely to be looked for in one whose expressed ambition was to win immortal fame in letters, and whose career was so much affected by the stirring intellectual movements of the period.

5. *Influence on scholarship.*

As a teacher it is not easy to exaggerate his influence. Many of the learned men of the succeeding generation prided themselves on having been his pupils.³⁷ To this labor of develop-

³⁶ Sabbadini, 224, 225.

³⁷ Burckhardt, 215.

ing future leaders in thought his great reputation in his own century and those that followed is principally due. He formed a multitude of disciples during his long career. These he inspired with an absorbing love for the study of the classic writings. It was as one of the zealous restorers of this literature, and those studies necessary for its revival, that he merited the grand eulogies expressed of him by the writers of his time.³⁸

Frazius believed that Guarino produced more scholars than all the pedagogues of the period. In his encomium, he says: "Ab hoc uno plures docti et eloquentes viri facti sunt, quam a ceteris omnibus hujus ordinis, ut non immerito quidem de eo dixerit, quod de Isocrate dictum ferunt, plures ex ejus schola viros eruditos quam ex equo Trojano milites prodiisse. Quum ex Leonardo Aretino aliquando quæsitum esset, quemnam nostræ tempestatis doctum virum existimasset, unum sibi Guarinum videri respondit."³⁹

Guarino's teaching career began at Verona about 1400, and lasted until the year of his death, 1460. His was an extremely active old age. Timoteo Maffei marvelled at his incredible memory, and tireless practice of reading. He scarcely ate, slept or went abroad, yet his limbs and faculties retained the vigor of youth.⁴⁰

These sixty years of service to the art of teaching, told very perceptibly in determining the form of education which has come down to our own times almost unchanged. Guarino was foremost among those who "first conceived and framed the education that has now prevailed through Europe for four centuries, molding the youth of nations by one common discipline, and establishing an intellectual concord for all peoples. In spite of differences caused by race and language we have maintained a uniformity of culture through the simultaneous prosecution of classic studies on the lines laid down for teachers by the scholars of the fifteenth century. The system of

³⁸ Ginguéné, III, 284; cf. Fabricius, II, 112 for list of Guarino's writings.

³⁹ Quoted by Tiraboschi, VI, 976. For information concerning the many famous scholars trained by Guarino, see Rosmini—*Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese e de suoi discepoli*, Brescia, 1805-6.

⁴⁰ Symonds, II, 301.

our universities and public schools is in truth no other than that devised by Vittorino and Guarino.”⁴¹

It can be said of him, as of his contemporary, Vittorino, that as a leader and active force in this new and far-reaching movement in the history of education, and indeed of civilization, he deserves to be included among the world's great educators.

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⁴¹ Symonds, II, 536.

THOMAS OF CELANO, THE HISTORIAN OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

Of the early historians of St. Francis, none has been more bitterly abused, or praised more highly than Thomas of Celano. His name alone brings up a smile of scorn on the faces of some students of Franciscan history, while, among others, it evokes a feeling akin to veneration. He is the official historian of the order and this word "official," while it grates on the ears of some—particularly Protestants—for whom it is equivalent to the other word "partial," stands in the eyes of Catholics for a guarantee of historical truth.

Yet all have welcomed the new edition of Thomas of Celano's works on St. Francis by Father Edouard d'Alençon, General Archivist of the Capuchin order. It is this new publication which has suggested the following remarks on Thomas of Celano's life and works, and on his value as an historian of St. Francis.

We have no information about the date of his birth and about his early life. That he received a good education is evident from his writings, for they show not only a perfect command of the Latin language, but also a method and exposition which denote a brilliant and well trained mind.

He tells us that he joined the rising order of St. Francis at St. Mary of the Portiuncula's, and that he was received by the Founder himself with some other young men of letters and of noble descent.¹ St. Francis had just returned from Spain; sickness had forced him back before he could reach Morocco, the goal of his desires, where he expected to reap a martyr's crown. We must place this event between 1213 and 1216, as it is impossible as yet to fix more accurately the date of St. Francis's voyage to Spain.

A few years later, in 1220, Francis was returning from the Holy Land and approaching Bologna, when he heard that

¹ I Cel., 56, 57.

a house had been constructed there, called the "Brothers' House." He immediately changed his route and sent orders to the Brothers to vacate the house at once and never to set foot inside the walls again. All the Brothers left the house, even the sick, and, adds Thomas of Celano, "The Brother that testifies to this and writes this was himself one of the sick Brothers who were ejected from the Bologna house."² However the manner in which the "Vita Secunda" was written and the fact that the same experience is attributed to the author of the "Speculum Perfectionis,"³ bid us not to be too positive in asserting that Thomas of Celano was this sick Brother.

He was present at the chapter of 1221 at St. Mary of the Portiuncula's. The Franciscan missions to foreign countries had not been successful. Jordan of Giano tells us⁴ that the Brothers sent to Germany after the chapter of 1219 had been sorely disappointed. They did not know the language and childishly answered "Ia" to all questions. When asked whether they were heretics and wished to pervert all Germany, they again answered "Ia" and received in exchange bitter treatment. The manners and customs were as strange to them as the language and they were taken for thieves or fools. Some were thrown into jail, others deprived of their garments and exposed in the dancing ring to be an object of amusement for the crowds. From that time Germany had a bad name among the Italian Brothers and to offer one's self to be sent there was, for them, as meritorious as the act of martyrdom. At the chapter of 1221 Francis, always anxious to spread far and wide the Gospel message, pulled by his tunic Brother Elias, then Vicar General and presiding over the chapter, and spoke to him thus: "There is a country called Germany, whence, as you know, devout Christians, with long sticks and leggings, come, singing the praises of God and His Saints, on a pilgrimage to the land of the Saints. As the Brothers sent there on different occasions were ill-treated and had to come back, I do not wish to compel any one to go. But

² II Cel., 58.

³ Cap., 6.

⁴ Anal. Franc., Vol. I, p. 3, n. 5.

if there are some who, inflamed with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, desire to go, I will look upon this as an act of obedience as great and even greater than if they were sent to the other side of the sea. If there are some that wish to go, let them arise." Elias repeated these words to the Brothers and immediately about 90 Brothers arose, offering themselves for the difficult mission. But only 25 of these were accepted and among them was Thomas of Celano. Cæsarius of Spires was appointed Provincial of Germany. The 25 missionaries, including 12 clerics and 13 lay brothers, were distributed through the houses of Lombardy while preparations were being made for the journey. The first attempts had taught them prudence. It was almost three months before Cæsarius of Spires sent them word to start in bands of three or four and meet at Trent in Tyrol. There they were kindly received by the Bishop in his own house. From Trent they directed their steps towards Bozen and then Brixen. Arrived in Sterzing after the breakfast hour, they had to proceed fasting until they reached Mittenwalde. But two scanty morsels and seven turnips were all they could obtain at the end of this day of fast. Hungry, but as happy as ever, they decided to walk down to the river "to fill their empty stomach with water, lest, famished as it was, it might complain too much." The next day, not without difficulty, however, for they were weakened by the long fast, they reached the town of Matrey, where they feasted on the turnips which they begged from door to door.

With various fortune, they continued their way until they reached Augsburg. It is there that in the year 1221, about the Feast of St. Galbus,⁵ Cæsarius of Spires held the first chapter of Germany and assigned the Brothers to the different missions of the new Province.

To which of these missions Thomas of Celano was assigned, the Chronicles do not state; but in 1224 we see him appointed Custos of Mainz, Worms, Cologne, and Spires.⁶ There he had among his companions Jordan of Giano, an-

⁵ 16 Oct.

⁶ *Anal. Franc.*, Vol. I, p. 11, n. 30.

other historian of the order, from whose Chronicle most of these details are borrowed.

Soon after, Cæsarius of Spires, inflamed with the desire to see St. Francis again, left for Assisi and appointed Thomas of Celano Vice Minister Provincial during his absence. At the chapter of 1224, Cæsarius of Spires was relieved of his charge and Albert of Pisa was appointed to take his place.

As soon as the new Minister arrived in Germany, he assembled a Provincial chapter at Spires, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. The order received then a regular organization in Germany, and Thomas of Celano who had been so far the only Custos in the province and had acted as Vice Provincial, had evidently a large share in the work.

This is the last mention of his sojourn in Germany. Perhaps he was then recalled to Italy. The province was now on a solid footing and his services may have been required at a more central post of the fast increasing order.

It is certain that he saw Francis before his death which occurred in October, 1226. He tells us that he was a witness of the Saint's stigmata, that he touched them with his own hands, during his very life, a privilege enjoyed by only a few of the Saint's companions.⁷ Rosedale affirms that it is he who received the tunic from Francis, a short time before his death;⁸ but from the reference which he gives, it is clear that the narrative applies to Brother Leo and not to Brother Thomas of Celano.⁹ Nor can we say that he was a constant companion of the Saint during the last two years, as his descriptions of this epoch are rather those of a man who has heard witnesses than of one who has seen with his own eyes. This seems to be confirmed by the prologue which he prefaces to the second part of his "*Vita Prima*," and in which he states that he will describe the last two years of Francis "*prout potuimus recte scire*."¹⁰

Soon after the death of Francis, Elias conceived the idea

⁷ *Tract. de Mir.*, 5.

⁸ "*St. Francis of Assisi*," London, 1904, p. xi.

⁹ *II Cel.*, 50.

¹⁰ *I Cel.*, 88.

of honoring the memory of the founder by the construction at Assisi of a magnificent basilica. Having obtained the necessary authorization from Gregory IX, formerly Cardinal Hugolino, Protector of the order and friend of Francis, the ceremonies of the canonization of the founder and the laying of the corner stone of the basilica were fixed for July 16 and 17, 1228. It was probably then that Thomas of Celano received from the Pontiff the order to write the life of St. Francis. The "*Vita Prima*" was finished six months after these ceremonies and presented to Gregory IX at Perugia on February 25, 1229, less than three years after St. Francis's death.

This became at once the official legend of the order. It had behind it the authority of the Pope as it had been written by his order, "*Jubente domino et glorioso Papa Gregorio,*"¹¹ and was soon after approved by the same Pontiff who "*Hanc recepit, confirmavit, et censuit fore tenendam.*"¹²

The next year we find Thomas of Celano still in Assisi, for he was visited there by Jordan of Giano who had been his companion and friend while in Germany and had now, as Custos of Thuringia, come to confer with the Minister General concerning the interests of his district. It was a happy meeting as they had probably not seen each other since Thomas of Celano had left Germany. The latter gave then to Jordan of Giano some relics of the Blessed Francis: part of his hair and fragments of his garments.

This same year an event took place at Assisi which shows how far the dissensions in the order had gone. The famous translation of the body of St. Francis performed in secret before the day appointed by the Holy Father, the consequent rebuke addressed by the Pope to the Assisians, the interdict declared against the new convent which was the work of Elias, are all mysterious events that the legends and chronicles do not explain or over which they pass rapidly.

With Elias at the helm of the order, the new spirit, the spirit of relaxation, made rapid strides. In 1232 he was

¹¹ I Cel. Prol.

¹² Manuscript of the "*Bibliothèque Nationale*" of Paris, quoted by Sabatier: "*Spec. Perf.*," p. xcvi, and by Goetz: "*Die Quellen zur Gesch. des hl. Franz von Assisi,*" p. 62.

elected General of the order, and, as Brother Peregrinus of Bononia tells us in his Chronicle,¹³ "would have remained in office all his life, if the order had not loudly arisen against him and discharged him with the help of the Lord Pope Gregory IX." This was in 1239. A reaction took place and, with Crescentius who was Minister General from 1244 to 1247, we have a return to the true ideal of St. Francis. Fearing that the precious examples of the founder might be lost to the Brothers and to later generations, at the general chapter of Genoa in 1244, he ordered the companions of the Saint to commit to writing his "deeds and sayings" which had not been recorded yet. The "*Vita Secunda*" of Thomas Celano was an answer to this appeal, as we read in the prologue.

Again the successor of Crescentius, John of Parma, a truly "Spiritual" Brother (1247-1257), called upon him to compile the miracles of the Saint, and the "*Tractatus de Miraculis*" was the outcome.

Thomas of Celano probably spent his last years in the convent of Tagliacozzo, in the custode of the Marches. He had then charge of the spiritual direction of the Sisters of St. Clare in the neighboring monastery of St. John of Varro. He was called from his retreat by Alexander IV who confided to him the task of writing the life of St. Clare, and for that purpose Thomas of Celano returned to Assisi. After his work was accomplished he retraced his steps to Tagliacozzo where he died, at an unknown date. It is said that miracles were wrought on his tomb, and from that time he was worshipped with the title of Blessed.

II.

Besides the two lives of St. Francis, the "*Tractatus de Miraculis*," and the legend of St. Clare, Thomas of Celano wrote a short legend "*ad usum chori*," which probably remained in use for the office until the "*Legenda Minor*" of St. Bonaventure took its place. This work has little historical value as it consists simply of extracts from the "*Vita Prima*." It was edited by Father Leonard Lemmens in

¹³ *Bullettino critico di cose francescane*, 1, p. 45.

1901,¹⁴ and lately by Father Edouard d'Alençon in his edition of Thomas of Celano's works on St. Francis.

Thomas also wrote two sequences on the Blessed Francis. The "Dies irae," and the "Stabat Mater dolorosa" with the corresponding "Stabat Mater speciosa," have also been attributed to him by some critics, while others look upon them as the work of Jacopone of Todi.

Thomas of Celano's works on St. Francis remained buried in oblivion from the time of the decree of the chapter of 1266 until the eighteenth century when the Bollandists published the "Vita Prima" in the "Acta Sanctorum." As this life had been for nearly forty years the official legend of St. Francis, it had spread very rapidly and the Bollandists found several manuscripts of it with very few variations in the text. In the "Acta Sanctorum" was also published Thomas of Celano's legend of St. Clare. But his "Vita Secunda" escaped the editors. Written as it was at a time when controversies ran high, and soon supplanted by the official legend of St. Bonaventure, it disappeared from sight.

It was only in 1806 that Rinaldi published at Rome the "Vita Secunda" from the Assisi manuscript, then the only manuscript of this life known to be in existence. Amoni simply copied this edition¹⁵ without the slightest improvement. Both published also the "Vita Prima."

So far the "Tractatus de Miraculis" had remained undiscovered. It was known to exist by the testimony of the Chronicle of the Twenty-four Generals.¹⁶ A fragment of it was found by P. Sabatier in an Assisi manuscript and published in the "Miscellanea Franciscana."¹⁷ But to the Bollandist Father Van Ortroy was reserved the honor of publishing it in its integrity. It was secured at the sale of the Balthazar Boncompagni library in January, 1898, by Father Louis Anthony Porrentuy, Definitor General of the Capuchins. Father Van Ortroy immediately recognized the long looked-for "Tractatus de Miraculis" of Thomas of Celano

¹⁴ *Excerpta Celanensia*, Quarachi, 1901, pp. 71-90.

¹⁵ *Assisi*, 1879.

¹⁶ *Anal. Franc.*, Vol. III, p. 276.

¹⁷ Vol. IV, pp. 40-43.

and published it with abundant critical notes in the XVIII Vol. of the "Analecta Bollandiana."¹⁸

A complete edition of Thomas of Celano's works on St. Francis was now possible,—the more so as the Boncompagni manuscript besides the "Tractatus de Miraculis" contained another copy of the "Vita Secunda" and a fragment of this same legend had also been discovered in the communal library of Poppi, not far from Mount Alverna in Tuscany. Father Edouard d'Alençon had promised this edition and it was announced some five years ago as almost ready for publication. The delay was much longer than expected and disappointing in the extreme to the Franciscan world, when, to the surprise of all, Rev. H. G. Rosedale, an English Protestant minister, published in London¹⁹ the two legends of Thomas of Celano and his "Tractatus de Miraculis." The work had been prepared and published hurriedly—some say, to forestall the edition announced by Father Edouard d'Alençon. Besides many misprints, the work abounds in other defects; the well-known names of "Vita Prima" and "Vita Secunda" have been changed to those of "Legenda Gregorii" and "Legenda Antiqua," and, to add to the confusion, the Second Life of Thomas of Celano contained in the Boncompagni manuscript has been published under the name of "Tractatus Secundus" as a work different from the "Legenda Antiqua," while it is only another copy of the same work with slight variants and transpositions. There was also talk of foul play concerning the way in which a copy of the Boncompagni manuscript was procured as the latter is in the safe custody of the Capuchins at Marseilles and Father Edouard d'Alençon asserts that Rosedale never saw it. This was the origin of new and bitter attacks against the unfortunate English editor to which the *Saturday Review* opened its columns and in which several prominent writers on Franciscan matters²⁰ took part.

Meanwhile the long expected edition of Father Edouard d'Alençon has come out. In fact its publication was the occasion of the controversy carried on in the *Saturday Review*.

¹⁸ Pp. 81 ss.

¹⁹ St. Francis of Assisi according to Brother Thomas of Celano, 1904.

²⁰ *The Saturday Review*, May 12, 1906, and *passim* in the following issues.

It is decidedly the standard edition of Thomas of Celano's works on St. Francis. Besides the two lives and the "*Tractatus de Miraculis*," it contains the "*Legenda ad usum Chori*" and two sequences in honor of St. Francis.

Before passing a judgment on Thomas of Celano as an historian, a few words may be said of his characteristics as a writer.

One who reads the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" or the legend of the Three Companions, and then the "*Vita Prima*" or the "*Tractatus de Miraculis*" cannot fail to be somewhat disappointed. The popular legends or compilations that cropped up by the side of the official legends, present a simple, child-like, naïve appearance, which introduces us, as it were, into the very spirit of Francis. It seems, when reading them, that we see and hear the Poverello, and we soon feel, like his own disciples, bound by the charm of his words and example. Thomas of Celano is not only an admirer of the Saint, he is a learned rhetorician. He writes not through love alone, but with the consciousness that he has been chosen by the Sovereign Pontiff or by the Minister General to commit to writing the life of his hero. His diction is always pure and elegant. Figures and comparisons abound and the frequent antitheses are a well-known characteristic of his writings. At times indeed he wanders through long declamations. But it was the custom then and we cannot blame him for qualities which were admired and in fact deserved for him the glory of being chosen as the official historian of St. Francis. The misfortune is that at times plain facts are obscured by too florid a style, the words of the Poverello take on an oratorical turn which does not become him, and his simplicity and popular manner lose their charm under these literary ornaments.²¹

III.

In his "*Vie de St. François d'Assise*," Sabatier, reviewing the sources of the history of St. Francis of Assisi, was the first to make an attack on Thomas of Celano, accusing him of lacking one of the first requisites of an historian: impartiality.

²¹ *Bulletino critico di cose francescane*, N. I, p. 9.

Not only, says P. Sabatier,²² does he, in his first life, written while Elias was in power, ignore the most intimate companions of the Saint and praise to the skies Gregory IX and Brother Elias, but, in his second life, written when the Spirituals were at the helm, the other side of the struggle is openly embraced and the Moderate party is often rebuked, either under the garb of events or sayings of Francis, or even directly. Hence, Thomas of Celano would have been more or less of a fickle character, siding with one or the other party, as it happened to be the stronger.

P. Sabatier resumed this thesis in his "*Speculum Perfectionis*,"²³ but with much more virulence. According to him, Brother Leo wrote the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" after having broken the vase destined to receive the money offerings for the basilica to be erected on St. Francis's tomb, and as a direct attack on Elias, the leader of the relaxed party in the order. The "*Speculum Perfectionis*," P. Sabatier continues, was completed on May 11, 1227, and Thomas of Celano's "*Prima Vita*," written immediately after and finished at the latest in February, 1229, was an answer to the "*Speculum Perfectionis*." Gregory IX, in approving the work of Thomas of Celano, by the very fact condemned that of Brother Leo. Thomas was the tool of Elias and his "*Vita Prima*" is nothing but a manifesto in his favor. He has consciously concealed facts that he knew and should have related, but which Elias had an interest to keep out of view, like the institution of chapters and the loss of the rule. So also the relations between Francis and Cardinal Hugolino take a false coloring under his pen and their divergences of view are carefully hidden; on this point Thomas of Celano speaks like a panegyrist rather than like an historian.

The "*Vita Secunda*," according to P. Sabatier, confirms this judgment. When Thomas of Celano wrote this second life, Elias had revolted, had been excommunicated, and had passed over to the cause of Frederick II, the enemy of the Church, while all Europe was scandalized. Then siding again

²² P. lv.

²³ Paris, 1898, pp. xcvi ss.

with the stronger party, he followed a different policy, praised the ideal of Francis, insisted on his poverty and simplicity, explained away the flattering part which he had given to Elias in his first work, and on the whole made as good an apology for the Spirituals as he had for the Moderates in his "Vita Prima."

Dr. Karl Müller, professor of theology at the University of Halle, goes still further and accuses Thomas of Celano of deliberate lies.²⁴

More lately M. Nino Tamassia has come out with a new and even more disparaging theory of Thomas of Celano's work, in his "Francesco d'Assisi e la sua legenda."²⁵ According to him Thomas of Celano would be nothing more than a "plagiarist and an impostor who would have attributed to his hero facts and words borrowed from hagiographers of the preceding centuries" and his work is qualified as the "masterpiece of monastic imposture in the thirteenth century."²⁶

That Thomas of Celano may have used the works of his predecessors in hagiography and sometimes slightly embellished the facts which he narrates, is possible. In fact it is evident that at times he puts in Francis's mouth words that may give us the sense but surely not the literal transcription of what Francis said. But to conclude from this that the whole work is an imposture is to go far beyond the premises.

Probably the worst case that may be brought against Thomas of Celano and to which the Sabatier school has given undue importance, is that taken from the two apparently different accounts, in his first and second lives, of the blessing given by Francis on his death-bed to Elias and his companions.

In his "Vita Prima" Thomas of Celano tells us that Francis, seeing that his last day was fast approaching, wished to bless his brothers before parting from them. Brother Elias and other companions of the Saint were praying around his death-bed. Putting his hand on Elias's head, Francis,

²⁴ Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens, Freiburg I. B., 1885, p. 181.

²⁵ Padua, 1906.

²⁶ *Revue d' Histoire Ecclésiastique*, October, 1906, p. 955.

weak and blind, asked: "On whom do I now hold my right hand?"—"On Brother Elias," they answered.—"Thus do I desire it," he said. "Thee, my son, I now bless in all thy undertakings, and, as the Almighty has, through thy hands, multiplied my brothers and children, so I now on thee and through thee bless them all. May God, the King of all things, bless thee in Heaven and on earth! I bless thee as I can and more than I can, and what I am unable to do for thee, may He do Who can do all things! May God remember thy work and thy efforts, and mayest thou reap the reward of the just! Mayest thou obtain all the blessings thou desirest, and may that which thou askest be realized. . . ." ²⁷

Fifteen years after, when Thomas of Celano wrote what he intended to be the complement of the first life, apparently speaking of the same blessing, he related it in a very different manner: "As all his brethren were sitting around his death-bed, he extended over them his right hand, and beginning by his vicar (Elias), he imposed hands on each of those who were present, through them blessing also his brethren who were in all parts of the world and those who were to come after them, until the end of ages," and Thomas of Celano adds as a special warning to Elias: "Let no one usurp to himself the blessing which he has conferred on the brothers present for the brothers absent; this blessing, as described elsewhere, may appear personal, but it must be understood rather as regarding the office itself." ²⁸ In another passage of his "*Vita Secunda*," Thomas of Celano writes these words which are not less significant: "Who are those who announce themselves as strong with the blessing which they have obtained from the Saint and boast that they have enjoyed his intimate friendship? If—may this never happen!—they have without remorse exhibited in themselves the works of darkness to the peril of others, woe to them, for they deserve eternal damnation!" ²⁹

There is indeed a contrast between these two reports con-

²⁷ I Cel., 108.

²⁸ "Ut alibi scripta est aliquid insonuit speciale, sed potius ad officium detorquendum," II Cel., 216.

²⁹ II Cel., 158.

cerning Brother Elias. But this cannot throw discredit on our historian's truthfulness or general accuracy, though the circumstances may have altered his judgments on the facts that he relates. These circumstances should be well kept in mind if we wish to understand the mental process which took place so naturally in Thomas of Celano's mind between the writing of his first and that of his second life. When he wrote his first life, Elias had not yet given any scandal to the world, and, though his conduct was not always in perfect accordance with the ideals of the founder, he had been a friend of Francis and of the Cardinal Protector and was then the intimate friend of the Pope. Hence it was quite natural for the official historian to praise Elias and relate with more details and more emphasis that which concerned him more closely. It may be that Elias himself informed Thomas of Celano of the circumstances of the blessing and naturally laid stress on what could raise him in the eyes of the order. Yet we could not say that Elias deceived Thomas of Celano or so far imposed on him as to make him relate as true facts what never took place. The number of witnesses was too large to render such an imposition possible, and, probably not the words, but at least the substance of the blessing which Thomas of Celano put on St. Francis's lips must be true.

When Thomas of Celano wrote his second life the fortune of Elias had been completely reversed. Ejected from the order and from the Church, he had become a public scandal, and even his former friends in the Franciscan order mentioned his name only with a feeling of shame. Not only had there been a change of sentiment in the order after Elias's fall, but Thomas of Celano had special reasons for disliking his former protector; the latter in fact was now a refugee in the camp of Frederick II who had burnt the town of Celano and sent its inhabitants into exile. Hence who could blame Thomas of Celano for extenuating in his second life the praises which he had so liberally bestowed upon him in his first life?

The statement of the second life does not contradict that of the first. Thomas of Celano does not deny that the bless-

ing has been given to Elias by Francis on his death-bed. The interpretation of facts alone has changed. In the first life he had put on Francis's lips these words: "As the Almighty has through thy hands multiplied my brothers and children, so I now on thee and through thee bless them all." Yet the blessing was interpreted as largely of a personal nature. According to the second life, Elias was blessed, not as a private individual, but only inasmuch as he represented the whole order. Hence he should not arrogate to himself the glory of this blessing, nor will it preserve him from eternal damnation, if, by his scandal, he leads astray the children of Francis.

The next reproach addressed to Thomas of Celano as an historian is his adulation for Gregory IX. The most flattering terms are showered upon him with profusion. Then, it is said, he is invariably represented as the friend of the Saint, while, as a matter of fact, they often disagreed in their views and the Cardinal actually made the order deviate from the ideal traced by its founder.—If we keep in mind that Thomas of Celano wrote his legend of St. Francis on the express order of Gregory IX, that the Holy Father, while Cardinal of Ostia, was held in the greatest reverence by St. Francis and his companions,—if we remember also the customs of the time which not only allowed but demanded the use of flattering terms, particularly in an official document of this kind, we shall not be surprised to see the complimentary phrases addressed to Gregory IX. The assertion that Francis often disagreed with the Cardinal and that the latter made the order deviate from the ideal fixed by the founder, remains to be proved. The case would be better stated thus: Francis was an idealist who understood little the details of administration and the difficulties of government. The share of the Church and of the Cardinal of Ostia in the foundation of the order was the practical arrangement of means: the ideal was not changed, it was made attainable to the followers of Francis. The Saint felt that he was unable to carry the burden of a complicated administration and not only welcomed, but solicited the assistance of a Cardinal Protector. If there was ever any difference of views it was soon ad-

justed to the satisfaction of both. The Cardinal understood Francis; he understood the necessity of a reform through poverty, and only wanted to make Francis's work practical and lasting. Francis was grateful even if at times, on some secondary point, he had to yield to the Cardinal's experience. At other times it was the Cardinal who had to give way before the ideal of Francis.³⁰ But these slight differences of views, if they may be called thus, always ended in perfect agreement.

May Thomas of Celano be accused of having concealed the difficulties of the order? There is but a vague mention of the intimate companions of the Saint, those who soon after his death protested so loudly against the new spirit introduced by Elias and the "Mitigants." The loss of the rule was surely known by Thomas of Celano, intimate friend as he was of Cæsarius of Spire who assisted in the composition of the rule; yet there is no allusion to this fact in the official legends. We are not even informed in the "Vita Prima" of the democratic institution of chapters, and of their importance in the first years of the order, and, by a striking coincidence, Elias took great care not to convoke any during his administration, preferring, while he was in power, the monarchical to the democratic form of government. Nor are we told in the "Vita Prima" of the characteristic dislike of Francis for theological science, in which the Franciscans were soon to be the rivals of the Dominicans. The Testament which became a source of trouble in the order is mentioned only once.³¹ In all this we must remember that Thomas wrote for edification, not for historians, still less for critics. Hence he chose among the facts that he knew only those which were of such a nature as to interest a pious reader and inflame in his heart the desire to love and imitate their founder and model.

Yet with all that, it must be admitted that Thomas of Celano is at times affected by party spirit, not to the point of distorting the truth, but to the extent of leaving out certain facts which might have been told and probably would have

³⁰ Spec. Perf. Cap. 6, 23, 43, 65.

³¹ I Cel., 17.

been told, had he been perfectly impartial. But is there a single Franciscan writing of the first century of the order, which is not to some extent a party writing? P. Sabatier himself admits it for the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" with which he wishes to supplant the official legends. The "*Leg. 3 Soc.*" belong to the same class, and St. Bonaventure, in a conciliatory mood, leaves out of his legend everything that might favor one or the other party.

Neither can we say that Thomas of Celano did worse than embrace a party,—that he shifted from one party to another, following in the wake of the stronger. If this charge had any foundation, and if after Elias's fall and scandal Thomas of Celano had passed over to the party of the more "spiritual" brothers, the changed circumstances would largely excuse him. But such a charge would be derived entirely from the difference of tone between the "*Vita Prima*" and the "*Vita Secunda*," a difference which is easily explained by the peculiar nature of the composition of the "*Vita Secunda*." Though the controversy regarding this composition has not yet been settled definitely, most writers on Franciscan matters agree on the following points:

The student of Thomas of Celano's works finds himself in presence of two facts: the striking difference between the two legends, not only in spirit, but also in style and method,—and the certainty that these two lives were written by the same author. All difficulty disappears if we say that Thomas of Celano, in his second life, has been the compiler of the records sent to Crescentius by the companions of the Saint, and that he simply put unity through the documents and used them, as was intended by the General, to complete the official life which had been so far in use. Nor is this a mere hypothesis.

We read in the "*Chronicle of the Twenty-four Generals*"²² that after the legend of Brothers Leo, Angelo, and Rufino, and the notes taken by many others, had been sent to Crescentius, "Brother Thomas of Celano, by order of the same Minister and of the General Chapter compiled a first treatise (trac-

²² Anal. Franc., Vol. III, p. 262.

tatum) of the legend of Blessed Francis, that is of his life, words, and intention regarding the rule; this legend is called "*Legenda Antiqua*." It was addressed to the General and to the Chapter with a prologue beginning by these words: "*Placuit Sanctæ Universitati Vestræ*."

And in this prologue the writer, contrarily to the prologue of the first life, used the first person plural, to denote that he was speaking not in his name alone, but in the name of all those who had contributed to gather new facts on the life of the founder. There is even an allusion to the author of the first life in the third person. So also the prayer at the end entitled "*Oratio Sociorum Sancti*" is evidently not the exclusive work of Thomas of Celano; yet it supposes clearly that he had an important share in the redaction of the "*Secunda Vita*": "*Supplicamus etiam toto cordis affectu, benignissime Pater, pro illo filio tuo, qui nunc et olim devotus, tua scripsit præconia. Hoc ipse opusculum, etsi non digne pro meritis, pie tamen pro viribus colligens, una nobiscum tibi offert et dedicat.*"⁸³ In the preface to the second part of the work, the writer, on the contrary, speaks in the singular,⁸⁴ while in the text the first person plural is often used. All this would certainly confirm the fact that both the Companions of the Saints and Thomas of Celano coöperated in the work: the Companions supplied the documents, Thomas of Celano compiled them.

A less clear but not less interesting question is that of the relation of the "*Secunda Vita*" to our two legends known as the "*Legenda Trium Sociorum*," and the "*Speculum Perfectionis*." The opinion still held by P. Sabatier that we have the original form of the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" and part of the original "*Legenda Trium Sociorum*," and that these are the selfsame documents out of which the "*Vita Secunda*" was compiled,—has been given up by most critics. It has been proved with sufficient certitude that our "*Speculum Perfectionis*" dates not from 1228, but from a much later time, and is not an original work, but a compila-

⁸³ II Cel., 223.

⁸⁴ II Cel., 26.

tion. So also the "*Legenda Trium Sociorum*" is now generally admitted to be not the original work of the three companions, nor the legend announced by the letter which precedes it, but a much later work. At the same time we find the greatest resemblance between the first part of the "*Vita Secunda*" and our "*Legenda Trium Sociorum*" on the one hand, and, on the other, between the second part of the "*Vita Secunda*" and our "*Speculum Perfectionis*." Are there any grounds then to say that the authors of the "*Legenda Trium Sociorum*" and of the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" have copied the "*Vita Secunda*"? It may be so at times; but at other times it would seem that the two former legends have the original and that the "*Secunda Vita*" is the copy. Hence the opinion has been advanced and is now held by many critics that both our "*Legenda Trium Sociorum*" and the "*Speculum Perfectionis*" have been compiled from the original documents sent by the companions of the Saint to Crescentius, —the same documents which Thomas of Celano used in the composition of his second life.

Howsoever this may be, this second life is surely a compilation, with probably a strong element of personality in the choice of matter, the arrangement of the documents, the correction of the style, and possibly the contribution of facts from the author's own knowledge.

This view of the "*Vita Secunda*" helps us to understand the differences between the first two works of Thomas of Celano. We need not say that he acted the part of a weakling and simply followed the party in power. He was in both cases the official historian of the order. When he wrote his first life, Elias and Gregory IX were probably among his principal witnesses; he also contributed his own knowledge of the Saint, but this knowledge was more or less distant as he does not seem to have been one of the intimate companions of the Saint. On the contrary the documents which he compiled into the "*Vita Secunda*" came from those who lived with St. Francis, had been his constant companions, and reflected more vividly the ideal of Francis. In both cases he spoke to the best of his knowledge, and his narratives, though at times

reflecting the sentiments then prevalent in the order or among his informants, are not the less true to facts.

Our contention, however, is not to excuse altogether the author of these two lives of St. Francis, for he has his defects, not only as a stylist, but also as an historian. Yet he remains the first and most reliable exponent of Francis's life. The future may reveal to us new documents and new sources of information; but at the present state of the critical history of St. Francis, it is from his two lives that we may draw our best knowledge of the Saint, as outside of them we have only chronicles which mention St. Francis accidentally, or else legends and late compilations which still far more than Thomas of Celano's works are vitiated by the party spirit which rent the order for over a century after St. Francis's death.

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THE WORD *CELT* (continued).

Nicolaus of Damascus, fr. 86, p. 49, D. *apud Athenæum*, 6, 54, p. 249^a: But Nicolaus of Damascus, who belonged to the Peripatetic school, says in the one hundredth and eleventh book of his many volumed history, which consisted of one hundred and forty-four books, that Adiatomus, the king of the *CELTIC* tribe of the Sotiani, had about him six hundred picked men, whom the Galates called in their native language *Siloduri* (the *Soldurii* of Cæsar, B. G. III, 22), which means in Greek "bound by a vow"—*Vita Cæsaris*, 28, p. 127: The *CELTS* who dwell along the upper sea (= Gallia Narbonensis)—*Morum mirabilium collectio*, fr. 5, p. 146, *e Stobæi Florilegio*, 7, 40: The *CELTS* who dwell near the ocean consider it a disgrace to escape from a falling wall or building. And when the sea rises in a flood and comes upon them, they put on their armor and go out to meet it and they oppose it until they are drowned, lest it be thought that they had fled in fear of death—fr. 15, p. 147: The *CELTS* wearing their arms carry on all the business of the city. They punish the murder of a foreigner more severely than of a citizen; in the former case the penalty is death, in the latter, banishment. They bestow the highest honors upon those whose victories have added to the public domain. They never lock the doors of their houses.

Paradoxographus Vatican. Rohdii, 25: Whenever there is a famine or pestilence, the *CELTS* punish their wives as being responsible for their misfortunes.

Vitruvius, VIII, 2, 6: The Rhone rises in Gaul, the Rhine in *CELTICA*.

Livy, V, 34, 1 sq.: In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, the control of the *CELTS*, [who comprise the third part of Gaul (according to d'Arbois de Jubainville, Livy is here glossing his Greek authority)], was in the hands of the Bituriges. They gave a king to *CELTICUM* (= *Κελτική*

which, according to Ephorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, included the greater part of Spain, France, Germany and Austria; it is not to be confused with the Celtica of Cæsar which was one of the divisions of Gaul). *Ambicatus* (this is Stokes' reading for *Ambigatus* of the codices) was his name.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I, 10, 3: For, the Ligures have their homes mostly in Italy, but they also occupy some parts of *CELTICA*. 38, 2: It is said that the ancients offered human sacrifices to Saturn. That was the practice in Carthage so long as the city stood, and is found amongst the *CELTS* to this day and certain other western nations. 74, 4: Almost all agree that the irruption of the *CELTS*, in which the city of Rome was taken, took place in the first year of the ninety-eight Olympiad, in the archonship of Pyrgion. 6: So that the irruption of the *CELTS*, which we have seen took place in the second year after the census, occurred one hundred and twenty years later. VII, 3, 1 (speaking of the Tyrrheni): who dwelt near the Ionian gulf and, in the course of time, were driven from thence by the *CELTS*. 70, 4: It is especially fear that effects the barbarians; there are many reasons for this which it is not convenient to speak of now. In the whole course of time down to the present it has never been possible to persuade the Egyptians nor the Libyans nor the *CELTS* nor the Scythians nor any other race of barbarians to abandon or to transgress any of their celebrations of the orgies of the gods. XIII, 6, 7: Soon after that the city, except the Capitol, was captured by the *CELTS* . . . beleaguered by the *CELTS*. . . . 8: Suddenly Camillus appeared and turned the *CELTS* in flight and as they were in disorder and confused he slaughtered them like victims. 7, 9: The Romans sent a certain youth from the city of the Veii to those who were cooped up in the Capitol. He escaped the notice of the *CELTS* who were keeping guard in that place and climbed up and told what was wanted. During the night he made his way back unnoticed. But, when day came, one of the *CELTS* saw his tracks and told the king. A council of their bravest

men was called and the king pointed out the way up to Rome, etc. 10: But the CELTS, who by this time were more numerous, made their way further in. 8, 11: Marcus Manlius was first to meet the barbarians and as their leader came up wielding his sword, he struck him a blow from the shoulder and cut off his arm and then, before they could come to close quarters, he hit him in the face with the oblong shield and threw him to the ground and killed him. Thereupon, the rest fell into disorder and Marcus drove them on, cutting down some and pursuing others down the cliff, and scattered them. 12: The place where the CELT had gone up. . . . So that the CELTS gave up hopes of taking the city by stratagem or surprise and they discussed the terms of a ransom which the Romans would pay the barbarians and save the city. 9, 13: They swore to a solemn convention and the Romans came with the twenty five talents weight of gold which they had to pay out to the CELTS. The beam was set and the very first weight the CELT put down was heavier than it should have been. That angered the Romans but the barbarian was far from acting with justice. He took his sword and sheath and winding them with the belt placed them in the scales. When the quæstor asked him what he meant by that he replied, "Woe to the conquered." A third part of the weight was still lacking and the Romans were unable to make up the full amount because of the greed of the CELT. They asked permission to seek assistance in procuring the rest and withdrew. 10, 14: This was the occasion of the arrival of the CELTS into Italy. 15: The young man was only too glad to give his consent to his (Arun's) departure and furnished him with everything he needed for his enterprise, several bags of wine and oil and baskets of figs which he took with him on wagons to CELTICA. 11, 16: At that time the CELTS were ignorant of grape-wine and such oil as our olives produce, but they used a wine made of barley soaked in water and, for oil, they used stale hog-fat, disgusting in smell and taste. The first time they enjoyed those things which, up to that time,

they had never tasted, they took such great pleasure in them that they asked the stranger (Arun) how those things were produced and by what people. (The Tyrrhenian told them that that land was a very fruitful one and only sparsely inhabited by a weak population.) 17: These stories won over the CELTS who set out for Italy and laid siege to a place of the Tyrrheni called Clusium, which was the home of the man who had persuaded them. 12, 18: Messengers were sent from Rome to the CELTS, and one of them, Quintus Fabius, learning that the barbarians had gone out on a foraging expedition, engaged in battle with them and slew the leader of the CELTS. Then the barbarians sent ambassadors to Rome who demanded that the man and his brother be handed over to them, to pay the penalty for the murders. 19: The Senate deferred its decision and the CELTS were obliged to transfer the war to Rome. . . . Then the CELTS having routed them brought all Rome to terms except the Capitol. XIV, 1, 1: CELTICA is situated in that part of Europe that lies towards the west, between the north pole and the equinoctial west. Its shape is like a rectangle and it is bounded on the east by the Alps (Struve reads *by the Ripaian mountains*), the greatest mountains in Europe; on the south by the Pyrenees; on the west by the ocean that lies beyond the Pillars of Hercules; by the Scythian and Thracian tribes on the north and along the Ister which is the greatest river in that district; it rises in the Alps and, after a course through all the country in the north, flows into the Black Sea. 2: So great is the magnitude of this territory that it does not lack much of being a quarter of all Europe. It is well watered, its soil is rich and produces an abundance of fruit and it is excellent for grazing. It is divided in the middle by the Rhine, which is supposed to be the largest river in Europe next to the Ister. The district on this (the eastern) side of the Rhine bordering on Scythia and Thrace is Germany which reaches to the Hercynian forest and the Ripaian mountains. The other district (west of the Rhine) facing the south as far as the Pyrenees which encompass the Galatic Gulf is Galatia

(=*Gallia*), named after the sea. 3: The Greeks have but one name for the whole territory, viz. *CELTICA*, which, some say, took its name from a certain giant, *CELTOS*, who ruled there. Others tell as a legend that Hercules and Asterope, daughter of Atlas, had two sons, Iberos and *CELTOS*, who gave their names to the lands over which they ruled. Others say that there is a certain river, the *CELTOS*, (the earlier Celtic name for the Garonne?) which rises in the Pyrenees, and that from this river at first the adjacent and then in the course of time the rest of the district was called *CELTICA*. Still others say that when the Greeks first came to that country their ships were carried by strong winds towards the Galatic Gulf and that when the men reached land they called the country *CELSICA* because of the adventure they had had. This word, by a change of a single letter, their descendants made into *CELTICA*. 8, 12: On their second expedition to Rome the *CELTs* laid waste the land of Alba and gorged themselves with food and drank heavily of unmixed wine. The wine grown in that district is the sweetest next to the Falernian and tastes very much like a mixture of honey and water. An unusually heavy sleep fell upon them and they passed most of their time in the shade. They became so fleshy and flabby and their strength was so weakened that when they attempted to exercise their bodies and to engage in hard labor their breath failed them every little while, their limbs were bathed in sweat and they ceased working before they received the command from their leaders. 9, 13 (Camillus addresses his soldiers): "We have had weapons made for us that are superior to those of the barbarians, breastplates and helmets and greaves and stout shields which protect the entire body, two-edged swords and, instead of spears, arrows, a missile that cannot be escaped. Our defensive armor does not yield easily to blows and is so adapted as to afford complete protection. But, the enemies' heads are bare, as are their breasts, sides, thighs and legs down to the feet, and they have no other protection but shields. Their only weapon of attack are spears and very long

curved swords. 15: What great harm can their long thick hair, their wild eyes and the grim expression of their face do us when we fight them? And the harsh uproar, the empty flourish of arms, the frequent clashing of shields and the other threatening things in form and voice that the crazed barbarians indulge in against an enemy advancing in order? What good does it do the fools to advance arrogantly and why should those fear who use their reason in the midst of terrors?" 16: "As many of you as were present in the first war with the CELTS." 10, 17: The attack of the barbarians was wild and savage and altogether without the skill that is employed in arms. At one time they raised their swords and struck blindly, falling upon the Romans with their entire body just as wood-cutters or diggers; then they would give aimless blows as if they would hew down the enemy, armor and all; they even turned back the edges of their swords. 18: On the other side was the courage of the Romans whose manoeuvring against the barbarians was well carried out and had but little that was dangerous to themselves. Whenever the barbarians raised their swords, the Romans would give a lunge in under the arm, and holding their shields high the Romans bent and crouched so that the enemies' blows were over their head and ineffectual. If they carried their swords high they were struck in the groin and pierced in the side and the vitals reached. If there were any who had those parts protected, the Romans cut the tendons of the knees or ankles and lay them on the ground roaring and gnawing their shields and howling like wild beasts. 19: Strength failed many of the barbarians, since their limbs were enfeebled from fatigue. Their arms were blunted or broken to pieces and of no use to them. Besides, because of the blood running from their wounds and the sweat pouring from all over their body, they were unable to control their swords or to handle the shields, their fingers slipped from the handles and their grip was weak. 12, 22: The CELT was a good deal taller, in fact he exceeded the common stature. XV, 1, 1: When the CELTS

were marching on Rome, a certain king challenged any man of the Romans to single combat and Marcus Valerius . . . went out to fight the CELT. When they came together a crow lighted upon the helmet of Valerius and screamed terribly looking at the barbarian and, as often as he was about to strike a blow, flew at him and tore his cheeks with its claws and struck at his eyes with its beak, so that the CELT lost his wits and did not know how he could strike the man and ward off the crow. 2: After considerable time had passed in the struggle, the CELT finally attacked Valerius and lowered his sword to pierce him in the side, when the crow flew at him and struck his eyes. As he stretched out his shield to drive away the bird, the Roman followed him up and, as the shield was still raised, drove in his sword from below and slew the CELT. 18, 13 (18), 5: Publius Cornelius, who as consul four years before had slaughtered all that race of CELTS including the youth, who are called Senones (substituted for the *Boii*) and are the bitterest enemies of the Romans (referring to the battle of the Vadimonian Lake).

Philippos, in Anthologia Palatina, 9, 561, 3: Or the ever frozen snow-clad Alps of the CELTS.

Mela, III, 2, 20: All the territory occupied by these people is called *Gallia Comata*. There are three principal names of their tribes who are separated by large rivers. The Aquitani extend from the Pyrenees to the Garonne, the CELTS from thence to the Seine, the Belgians from thence to the Rhine. The most important tribe of the Aquitani are the Ausci, of the CELTS the Aedui and of the Belgians the Treveri. The most flourishing city of the Treveri is Augusta (Trier), of the Aedui Autun, and of the Ausci Elimberrum (Auch).

Dioscorides, 1, c. 7: CELTIC nard grows in the Alps near Liguria. In the language of the country it is called *saliougca* (cf. *Pelagonius*, 28, 273. 31, 454. 463—*Vegetius, de mulomedicina*: CELTIC spike—*Marcellus empiricus de medicamentis*, c. 8, 194, p. 89, 31 H.: Of CELTIC nard. c. 17, 52, p. 177, 3: Of CELTIC spike. c. 20, 149, p. 219, 27: Of CELTIC nard (the codex has *nardoceltici*). c. 21, 19,

p. 226, 10: Of **CELTIC** nard, that is, of the *saliumca* or wild nard—*Hermeneumata Monacensia*, *C Gl L*, 2, p. 195, 23: bundles of **CELTIC** nard—*Glossæ Cassinenses*, *C Gl L*, 3, p. 537, 53: The **CELTIC**, that is the spikenard, *cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 539, 21 and p. 541, 7).

Lucan, 4, 9 ff.: And the **CELTS** who had migrated from the ancient race of Gauls, combining their name with that of the Iberians.—*Cf.* Usener's note: The people of Gaul were driven by famine to Spain and they are called **CELTIBERI**, which is a combination of the two names.

Pliny, *Natural History*, III, 8: M. Varro wrote that the Iberi, the Persians, the Phœnicians, the **CELTS** and the Carthaginians came and occupied the whole extent of Spain. IV, 105: All Gaul, which is comprised under the general name *Comata*, is divided into three main groups of peoples who are separated chiefly by rivers. Belgica extends from the Scheldt to the Seine, from thence to the Garonne is **CELTICA** also called *Lugdunensis*; from thence to the chain of the Pyrenees is Aquitania, formerly called *Armorica*. VIII, 6: Mucianus, who was three times consul, is authority for the story that one of these elephants was taught to write the Greek characters and that he used to write in that language: "I wrote this and it is I who have dedicated these **CELTIC** spoils." XIV, 107: With **CELTIC** nard. XXXIII, 39: These bracelets are called *viriolæ* in **CELTIC** and *viriae* in **CELTO-iberian**.

Silius I, 45–49: Shall not the Trebia flow for me (Juno) through **CELTIC** regions with Roman blood and roll back choked with heaps of warriors slain, and Thrasymenus look with horror on his waters turbid with the wide spread gore? III, 340–343: Next came the **CELTS** who share their name with the Iberians (=Celtiberians). They hold that it is an honor to fall in battle and that it is a disgrace for the bodies of the fallen to be burned. For, they believe that the bodies left on the ground for the hungry vultures are taken to heaven to the gods. 417–419: Lofty Pyrene, its summit wrapped in clouds, beholds the Iberi far divided from the **CELTS** and stands an everlasting bound between those two vast lands. 447–

448: (The Rhone which) takes its rise in Alpine heights and snow-clad rock and spreads over **CELTIC** lands. IV, 63: (Hannibal) had made his way through **CELTIC** lands. 148-156: Before all the rest rushed the nimble band of Boii, led on by Crixus and opposed their huge bodies to the Roman van. He, full of pride in his noble forbears, boasted that he was of Brennus' blood and claimed the captured Capitol. Fool that he was, he bore engraved in his shield the Tarpeian rock and the sacred height and the **CELTS** weighing the ransom gold. His milk white neck flashed with resplendent chains, with gold his garments were striped and sleeves stood out and his helmet shone with gold. 189-190: The **CELTIC** fury filled the entire plain. 300: Now that their leader is lost, the **CELTS** take to their feet. V, 142-143: Then he takes the shield which oft before in slaughter **CELTIC** blood had stained. VI, 23-24: When as victor he (Flaminius) had overwhelmed the **CELTIC** arms, for the gods were more propitious then. VIII, 16-20: The **CELTS**, too, of fickle mind, but fierce at first, a boastful race, inconstant, looked toward their homes. They grieved that war should be waged without slaughter (a thing unknown to them) and their hands dry of blood grew dull as they lay midst the arms of Mars. IX, 235-236: With bands of **CELTS** who oft had been bathed in Eridanus' stream. X, 304: The Numidians, the Garamas, the **CELTS** (Burmann reads the **CELT**) the Moor and the Asturian. XI, 25-29: But now the proud restless dwellers beside Eridanus, the **CELTS**, increased the misfortunes of the Romans and, moved by their ancient hate, hastened to unite into one band. But, would it be just to lay the blame of this on the **CELTS**, and of those battles on the Boian tribes? XIII, 79-81: She (Pallas) snatched in death the **CELTS** who dared storm the walls of Rome, and not one of the many thousands of so great a race did she allow to return to his ancestral hearth. XV, 715-719: In the first rank stood the tall cohorts, the standard bearers of the **CELTS**, whose lines were broke open by a sudden fierce and wedge-shaped attack. Tired as they were from the march and unused

to the scorching sun and breathless from the long continued toil, their native terror put them to flight.

Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, XIX, 15: The knowledge of the death of Gaius reached the Germans first. They were his body-guard; they bore the same name as the race from which they had been enlisted and composed the CELTIC division.

Dio Chrysostomus, oratio 49 t. 2, p. 249 R.: Whom the CELTS call druids. *Oratio* 79 t. 2, p. 433 R.: And what is to be said about the CELTS in whose land we are told is a certain river which bears down amber, and great quantities of it are thrown out and lie along the banks, just as pebbles on our sea-shore? Formerly the children playing games threw the amber about, but now it is gathered and saved, for they have learned from us that they are rich. Consider then that all these peoples, I mean the CELTS, the Indians, the Iberians, the Arabians and the Babylonians take tribute from us, not of our land or cattle, but of our folly. *Anonymi Corinthiaca oratio*, 37, p. 114 R.: (Ordained) for the CELTS, lest any of those barbarians, by turning to this, should despair of an Hellenic culture.

Plutarch, Romulus, 17: And Simulus the poet says that Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol not to the Sabines but to the CELTS with whose king she had fallen in love. He talks utter nonsense when he says: "Tarpeia who dwelt near the Capitolian rock became the destroyer of walls, for, in her guilty passion for the sceptre bearer of the CELTS, she neglected the guard of her fathers' homes," and, a little later, speaking of her death, he says: "Her, the Boii and the numerous nations of the CELTS left not within the bed of the Po, but, possessed of warlike frenzy, they threw their arms upon the luckless maid as an adornment and for her death." 22: And this (divining rod) was kept in the Palatium but disappeared when the city was taken by the CELTS. 29: When the CELTS who had taken Rome were driven back by Camillus.—*Camillus*, 15: The Galates are of the CELTIC race. 18: On learning of that, the CELTS were angry and without delay they advanced with all haste. The people through whose

country they marched, amazed at their multitude and their elaborate preparation and at their force and spirit, made ready to surrender their country as already lost and abandon their cities. But, contrary to expectations, they did no damage and took nothing from the inhabitants. As they passed near the cities they cried out that they were on their way to Rome, that it was the Romans alone they were making war on and that they regarded all others as their friends. . . . There the barbarians suddenly came into view and the Romans, having made a disgraceful show of a fight, turned in disorder. The CELTS drove the left wing into the river and destroyed it. The right wing, by avoiding the attack and getting from the plain to the hills, suffered less and many of them escaped from thence to the city. 23: The misfortune of the Romans ought not be ascribed to the valor of the CELTS. 26: In the evening he called together the most active bodied CELTS and those who had had most experience in mountain climbing. 28: From that time on the position of the CELTS became more and more hopeless. . . . After they had sworn to the agreement and the gold had been provided, the CELTS acted unfairly in the matter of the weight, at first under cover but they soon openly disturbed the balance and the Romans were annoyed at them. 29: While the dispute about these matters was going on among themselves and among the CELTS, Camillus was at the gates at the head of his army. . . . he ordered the CELTS to take their scales and balance and to depart. . . . Brennus quickly recollected himself and led the CELTS away to the camp with the loss of only a few. 36: Marcus Manlius who first drove the CELTS back from the citadel when they were making their night assault upon the Capitol. . . . For, the spot where Manlius had stood and fought his night combat with the CELTS overlooked the forum from the Capitol and it brought compassion to all who saw him. 40 (*anno* 367): The CELTS, many thousands in number, are again marching from the Adriatic on to Rome. 41: When the CELTS were near at hand in the neighborhood of the river Anio,

with a heavy camp and loaded with vast spoil. . . . The first thing to destroy the arrogance of the CELTS was that they saw the Romans take the offensive, which they had not looked for. . . . This fight is said to have taken place thirteen years after the sack of Rome, and henceforth the Romans had firm courage against the barbarians whom they had feared exceedingly and who, they thought, had been previously defeated by chance owing rather to pestilence than to their own valor.

JOSEPH DUNN.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS.

L'Origine du Quatrième Evangile. By M. Lepin. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906.

As the present work is not a polemic against M. Loisy, we think the author was ill-advised in inscribing his name at the head of the first chapter. We are not prepared by this for the perfectly correct tone, the calm and thoroughly scientific argument that follows. The genuine eloquence that marked M. Lepin's preceding book has no place here; instead we have a careful, minute, sometimes a profound discussion of the knotty questions involved. As anyone acquainted with the subject is aware, these are quite numerous, but the author's treatment is always clear, orderly and to the point. No one can deny him a thorough familiarity with the arguments of his adversaries nor habitual fairness in stating them; some will be inclined to reproach him with leaning too much on others, friends and foes, and not standing firmly enough on his own feet. While the work offers little that is positively new except its keen and often fatal criticisms of current theories, it is throughout a strong piece of reasoning and an admirable exposition of the best arguments, at least of those taken from the external testimony, in favor of St. John's authorship.

The author begins by an inquiry into the date of the fourth gospel, bringing it back step by step, beyond the year 110. Its existence at that date is evidenced by the epistles of St. Ignatius, whose christology depends, as Loisy holds likewise, on the fourth gospel, and by St. Polycarp, who quotes from the first epistle of John, admittedly a later writing than the gospel. Allowing time for it to circulate and produce such an impression as Ignatius witnesses to, we arrive close to the year 100 and as Harnack concedes, no strong objection can be made against a date ten or fifteen years earlier. This brings its origin well within the traditional chronology of St. John's lifetime; and its place of origin is easily shown to be the province of Asia, which tradition designates as the last home of the apostle. Here comes in naturally the testing of that tradition's value. The author lays great stress on this point, because if it be proven that St. John was living in Asia at the time the gospel was published there, a long step has been taken in the establishing of his authorship. He shows to evidence, we believe, that no reliance can be placed on the supposed texts of Papias from which the conclusion as to St. John's early martyrdom

in Palestine was drawn. In this again he is at one with Harnack. The silence of the early Asian writers about John's residence in their country is somewhat surprising and not without difficulties, though here also M. Lepin has the support of Harnack in seeing a reference to it in Ignatius. But this silence is fairly enough accounted for and at any rate is much outweighed by the testimony of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, of Irenæus, etc. The argument on this point leads certainly to a very high probability.

Introit Joannes presbyter. Is he or is he not a real person, distinct from the apostle? Only a critic with an axe to grind can cut that Gordian knot; the ordinary student will wonder at the critic's certitude and confess his own skepticism. The historical existence of the presbyter hangs on a single clause in a complicated and variously interpreted sentence of Papias. If that be interpreted adversely, then every other supposed reference to the presbyter is seen to pertain to the apostle. M. Lepin, in a clever if not entirely convincing argument, endeavors to show that Papias speaks only of one John, viz., the apostle. This is possible, but the writer seems influenced by his thesis in maintaining it as the only possible interpretation. It would certainly be very convenient to dispose of the presbyter entirely, but even if his existence be granted, with Drummond and other conservative scholars, no great injury would result to the central position of M. Lepin. At any rate he is more reasonable in his contention than the critics who have raised the ghost of the presbyter, reposing between two commas on a page of Papias, and presented it with the authorship of the gospel, the three epistles and even (as Harnack) of the Apocalypse. The ascription, be it remembered, is made purely on conjecture, without any support from tradition. M. Loisy shows his prudence in being wary of this brilliant hypothesis. Never did the assurance of critics hang on a slenderer thread.

In the remainder of the work the author examines the testimony of the second century and of the Johannine writings themselves to St. John's authorship. He brings into light that the gospel was published during the lifetime of John of Ephesus or at latest very shortly after his death, with the aim of having it accepted as the work of the son of Zebedee; and this contention he supports by the witness of the gospel itself. And now at the crucial point of the entire discussion when he reviews the indirect witness of the gospel, the author is not as thorough as one might expect. In regard to the external testimony, most students will concede that the conservative critics have by far the better of the contest; but they will not as generally nor as fully grant that in regard to the internal testimony. M. Lepin's

arguments have weight but the problem can not be satisfactorily solved without a thorough investigation of the character of the gospel—a task which we hope to see successfully accomplished in his forthcoming book. Here accordingly insufficient attention is given to the arguments which have most influence on certain critics who see many of the problems of external testimony almost eye to eye with M. Lepin and yet pronounce for the negative. Perhaps too much attention is now given to the witness of history and not enough to the witness of the book itself; having routed the radicals on one field, the conservatives should join with them in closer battle on the other.

We may add that the author is specially happy in showing that though the negative critics are unanimous in rejecting the Johannine authorship, they agree in little else, while his own argument is self-consistent and each successive point has the support of some eminent negative critic. He has brought us nearer to the solution of this most difficult of New Testament problems.

JOHN F. FENLON.

Les Origines Liturgiques. Par Dom Fernand Cabrol, Conférences données à l'Institut Catholique de Paris en 1906. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906. 8°, pp. 372.

In these eight conferences Dom Cabrol presents many interesting considerations on the Liturgy of the Catholic Church, most of them relative to its historical origins. An opening conference deals with the esthetic element, or the beauty of the Catholic services; if the beautiful be the "splendor veri," these immemorial rites and ceremonies are no slight index of the truth of Catholicism. The remaining seven essays deal with the scientific classification and laws of liturgical compositions; the original forms of Catholic worship; the component parts of liturgies (prefaces, prayers, litanies, versicles); the original free improvisation, and some traces of it yet visible in the Exultet, the Te Deum, the Roman Canon of the Mass; the style of the various liturgies (Eastern and Western); the formation of the Mass service, the baptismal service, and the great ceremonial system of Holy Week. Only an expert liturgist could cover with brevity and clearness so vast a field, and present at once the essentials of our earlier knowledge and the main outlines of a newer wisdom gained partly by improved methods of criticism, partly by happy discoveries of valuable documents, not to speak of the unremitting toil that in the latter half of the nineteenth century has been spent on the illustration of the principal liturgies, East and West. Nine valuable appendices round out the interesting and instructive doctrine of these con-

ferences. They deal with the documents of the liturgies, dated and known, undated and anonymous; the use of critical method in liturgical studies; the Mass of Jan I, and the remnants of popular idolatry from the sixth to the seventh century; the Mozarabic or Old-Spanish liturgy as made known by the *Liber Ordinum* of Dom Férotin (Paris, 1904), the documents of the Gallican liturgy, the Book of Cerne (ed. Kuypers, Cambridge, 1902) and the Celtic liturgies; the so-called "Masses of St. Augustin" probably the work of Alcuin; the custom of composing liturgical prayers from sermons or homilies of famous fathers like St. Augustin (*Centonisations patristiques*); the origins of the Mass and the Roman Canon.

Psallite Sapienter (Psallieret Weise!), Erklärung der Psalmen im Geiste des betrachtenden Gebets und der Liturgie, dem Klerus und Volk gewidmet. Von Dr. Maurus Wolter, O.S.B. Third edition. Freiburg: Herder, 1904-1906. 4 vols. \$10.80.

No one who has ever used this masterpiece of Archabbot Maurus Wolter will wonder that it has reached a third edition. On its first appearance (1890) it won a high place among the popular exegetical works of the nineteenth century, and it has continued since then to instruct and charm an ever-increasing circle of readers both lay and ecclesiastical. In this work the Vulgate text of each psalm is accompanied by a German translation and provided with an exhaustive commentary, literal, moral, and liturgico-mystical, i. e., its use in the various ecclesiastical services is fully illustrated. Philological notes help to render clear the more difficult passages. Altogether, there is no better manual of introduction to the frequent reading of the psalms. A tone of deep and pure piety pervades each volume. The second founder of Beuron in the Donauthal, whence have issued the flourishing Benedictine houses of Emmaus (Prague) and Bolders and Seckau in Austria, has poured into this noble work no little of the traditional Benedictine intelligence of the Divine Office. Indeed, we should rightly expect as much from the intimate friend of Dom Guéranger, to whose "*Année Liturgique*" this work is a worthy counterpart. All lovers of the German literature of edification should possess this fine commentary, which is published with the usual perfection of the house of Herder. Each volume has its own well-constructed index. We look forward with pleasure to the fifth and concluding volume, which will contain the text, translation and exegesis of psalms 120-150.

Questions D'Enseignement Supérieur Ecclesiastique. Par Pierre Batiffol, recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse, Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1907. 8°, pp. 354.

We recommend this volume to all who are interested in the training of our American clergy for their important mission. It contains various public discourses of Mgr. Batiffol, delivered in the last decade at the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, also three appreciations of distinguished teachers of that school, MM. Léonce Couture, Duilhé de Saint Projet, and Jacques Thomas. The grave and noble, yet somewhat melancholy pre-occupations of Mgr. Batiffol lend the volume a certain pathos, in view of the heavy sacrifices made for the support of this school, its absolute importance for the elevation and refinement of local ecclesiastical thought and life, and the menacing attitude of the present government towards the poor remnant of the freedom of higher education that survives from the law of 1875. All the world knows that the rector of the Toulouse Institute is a model of Catholic ecclesiastical scholarship, trained in the exacting school of such ardent idealists as the late Abbé Hogan and such unrelenting critics as Mgr. Duchesne, worthy, therefore, of presiding over the intellectual formation of the choicer minds in the clergy of France. But it may not be so well known that he is a literary artist of rare promise. These occasional papers or studies, prepared amid graver and more technical labors, betray qualities of style that ought not to go unused. There are here breadth and acumen of thought, largeness of vision and fullness of sympathy, moderation of expression and accuracy of diction, clearness of conception and a musical balance of language that are rarely found in combination. Mgr. Batiffol is himself what he styles another French writer "un étincelant artiste de lettres égaré dans la critique documentaire." Perhaps the time has come for him to abandon temporarily the pleasures of a delicate workmanship on fragments of religious antiquity and to enter the arena of living conflict, where his sure critical sense, his perspicacity of judgment, his chivalrous candor, his liberal historical view, ought to make him a foremost champion of the distressed Church of France.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Tertullien de Pœnitentia, de Pudicitia. Texte latin, traduction française, introduction et index, par Pierre de Labriolle, professeur à l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse). Paris: Picard, 1906. 8°, pp. 236.

This third volume of the "Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme" edited by two learned Catholic priests,

MM. Hippolyte Hemmer and Paul LeJay, is a model of a patristic text adapted to the use of ecclesiastical students in our seminaries. These treatises of Tertullian, it is well known, are the earliest efforts of Latin theology, and offer already not a few of the characteristics that have since been special to it, as compared with Greek theology. In these short "opuscula," or learned sermons perhaps, we recognize, confusedly of course, the elements of exegesis, moral theology, Catholic doctrine, ecclesiastical constitution, Christian ethics, and other departments of ecclesiastical science long since become independent, but then germinating in the mind of the great Roman jurist whose conversion to the law of Jesus Christ was destined to inaugurate a line of development running through two centuries, until it was closed with extraordinary solemnity and completeness by another African. The professor of moral theology, in particular, will find very useful this edition of the two treatises in question; scarcely inferior, perhaps is the interest of the professor of dogmatic theology, especially in "De Pudicitia," with its acrimonious and illogical pleading against the fulness of papal authority. Years ago Harnack pointed out the great importance of this little work for an accurate intelligence of the Roman primacy about the year 200. The introduction to both texts treats briefly but magisterially of their content and plan, date, audience and scope. Critical and explanatory notes are added and there is a good index of the vocabulary of Tertullian, into which has been worked another index of all scripture-passages quoted. The text given is substantially that of the Vienna edition of Reifferscheid-Wissowa for De Pudicitia, and of Preuschen (1891) for De Pœnitentia.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Madame Louise de France, La Vénérable Thérèse de Saint Augustin (1737-1787). Par Geoffroy de Grandmaison (Les Saints) Paris: Lecoffre, 1907. 8°, pp. 266.

M. de Grandmaison has constructed from original documents the edifying story of the life of the youngest daughter of Louis XV and Queen Marie Leczinska, whose voluntary entry among the Carmelites of St. Denis astonished so profoundly the "ancien régime," and whose virtues, long cherished in the traditions of Carmel, will probably one day be solemnly recognized by the Church. Since 1856 the process of her canonization goes on at Rome; she was declared Venerable by Pius IX (June 19, 1873). This narrative is calculated to edify every reader, for it exhibits a soul rising above all the temptations and solicitations of the highest worldly conditions, and casting itself in all confidence upon the divine mercy and compas-

sion. The story of this vicarious sacrifice of a king's daughter, of royal innocence pleading through a life-time for a hardened royal sinner, has more than once been told, but never with so rich a documentation as is here presented. The writer has effectually refuted certain slanders concerning Madame Louise, e. g., that she intrigued at Rome to obtain the annulment of the marriage of Madame du Barry in order that the latter might be free to become the morganatic wife of Louis XV.

Le Venerable Père Eudes (1601-1680). Par Henri Joly (Les Saints). Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1907. 8°, pp. 206.

M. Joly, author of the charming work "*La Psychologie des Saints*" in this series, furnishes another volume not less worthy of his discriminating mind and sound judgment in spiritual things. The life of the Venerable Father Eudes is in itself a fine chapter of the inner life of Catholicism during the seventeenth century—that large life of genuine piety, elevated love of God and humanity, pure and spiritual religion that manifests itself so richly in the saints and holy persons of that time. He is a forerunner of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, the founder of a meritorious congregation, the opponent of Jansenism, the devoted missionary of a great part of France. He had been formed to the religious life in the Oratory by such men as Cardinal de Bérulle, Père de Condren and Père Bourgoing, and in a certain sense may rightly be claimed by the French Oratory as one of its most distinguished sons. This life is composed from original and authentic material, including an autobiography, and correspondence of Fr. Eudes. The lives by Hérainbourg and by Martine have been consulted. At the same time this brief account does not pretend to supplant the extensive life by P. Boullay in three volumes, two of which have already made their appearance.

The Founders of the New Devotion, being the lives of Gerard Groote, Florentius Radewin and their followers, by Thomas à Kempis. Translated into English by J. P. Arthur. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1905. 8°, pp. xlvii + 266.

Of these lives of the founders of the Brotherhood of Common Life or "New Devotion," as it was originally styled, it may be said that they are truly a "human document," so filled are they with the lights and shadows of the fifteenth century, especially in the Netherlands. It is impossible to read a few pages of them without recognizing the atmosphere and spiritual temper of the Imitation, which they also regularly imitate in form, being a series of dialogues be-

tween an elder brother and a novice, a spiritual conversation, but lacking in no refinement of the logic and rhetoric of a very pure and elevated mysticism. Since their first publication (Nuremberg, folio, 1492-94) they have been attributed to Thomas à Kempis; apart from the external evidence, the peculiar style and diction, and well-known principles and formulas of that writer in his genuine works, are so closely akin to the same elements in these writings that the identity of authorship is evident. The serious reader will not easily put down a work at once deeply spiritual and Catholic, yet so rich in historical illustrations of the two generations that preceded Luther that its original Latin pages have more than once been quoted by mutually opposed historians of the period that immediately preceded the Reformation.

Les Martyrs: V. Le Moyen Age. Par Dom H. Leclercq. Paris: Oudin, 1906. 8°, pp. ccxv + 273.

Dom Leclercq publishes in this fifth volume of his popularization of the acts and histories of Christian martyrdom a series of mediæval "actes" or narratives, some of them quite historical, others subject to "réserves critiques," and therefore printed in a type reserved in preceding volumes for legendary narratives. The period covered extends from the ninth to the sixteenth century and each narrative is preceded by a brief indication of the works that contain the original materials as far as they are accessible. Whatever be the degree of credibility belonging to each narrative, or portion of narrative, the student of ecclesiastical history will welcome the collection in one volume of the texts of the principal mediæval martyrdoms. One half of this volume is devoted to a literary appreciation of the literary treatment of martyrdom in the last three centuries. Dom Leclercq has selected the following, D'Aubigné's "Tragiques," Calderon's "El Mágico prodigioso," Corneille's "Polyeucte," Rotrou's "Saint-Genest," Voltaire's "Zaire," Chateaubriand's "Martyrs," Goethe's "Faust," Alexandre Dumas' "Caligula," Lemaître's "Myrrha, Serenus," De Vogüé's "Silvanus," Richépin's "La Martyre," Leconte de Lisle's "La Mort du Moine," and the "Quo Vadis" of Sienkiewicz. Such material, however, scarcely belongs in this place; it would have been better to withhold it for the future philosophico-literary treatment of martyrdom that Dom Leclercq half promises us.

L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin.

Par M. Roger. Paris: Picard, 1905. Pp. xvii + 457.

This is a scholarly, and, on the whole, a reliable study of the vicissitudes of classical learning in France and Great Britain during the centuries that elapsed between the death of Ausonius (393) and the beginning of the educational activity of Alcuin on the continent of Europe (781). The fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries are too often neglected in the history of European education. They contributed so little to literature, in the highest sense of the word, that their function as a medium of transmission of the heritage of the classics is seldom accorded adequate treatment. In the work before us, which bears the secondary title "Introduction to the History of the Carolingian Schools," they are presented to us with a wealth of detail and an abundance of documentary evidence that leave nothing to be desired. The author does not lose himself in the intricacies of textual criticism; he has a definite plan of treatment and uses his data to establish and support his inferences. Indeed, he impresses one here and there as if he had a pet theory to defend, or were chiefly concerned in disproving the hypothesis of an adversary, and one is not always quite sure that he does not interpret the facts in the light of a preconceived purpose. In the main, however, his conclusions are safe, and well supported by citations from incontrovertible sources.

In the opening chapters the author presents a vivid picture of the condition of the schools of Gaul in the fourth century, when the *rhetor* and the grammarian held full sway, and the dialectician and the theologian had not as yet left their mark on the schools. The fourth century, he says, witnessed the final disappearance of Celtic and the establishment of Latin as the universal medium of communication in Gaul. The Latin language was recognized to be a powerful instrument of "intellectual nationalization"; it was the last weapon employed by imperial Rome to bring about a *pax Romana* in that important province. Accordingly, we find the authority of the emperors exercised in favor of a programme of education which, inspired by Quintilian, placed grammar and rhetoric at the head of the curriculum and excluded philosophy from the schools. Christianity as an embodiment of an educational ideal had little influence in an age when men like Ausonius passed for Christians. It was, as the author clearly shows, in the monasteries alone that the Christian ideal was cultivated without the need of compromising with the conservative forces of pagan classical culture. The fifth century marks the gradual disappearance of these imperial schools. Literary

skill and a love for the Greek and Roman classics now became a matter of individual taste, and were restricted to the few among the Gallo-Roman aristocracy who could afford to frequent private schools and felt inclined to do so. In the sixth century matters became much worse. In fact, M. Roger considers that with the sixth century began the "Dark Age" which lasted in France until the dawn of the Carolingian revival. Here he runs counter to the conclusions of Ozanam and the authors of *l'Histoire littéraire*. He has no difficulty in showing that the so-called Palace School of the Merovingian epoch was not a school of the liberal arts. We are inclined to think, however, that in his treatment of the latinity of St. Gregory of Tours and Virgil the Grammarian his opposition to Ozanam and Fustel de Coulanges may have carried him too far.

The attitude of the early Christians towards pagan culture our author describes as one of hesitation between the danger of reading authors whose influence was hostile to religion and morality, and the need of having recourse to pagan learning in order to meet the organized forces of paganism on equal terms in the field of conflict. He traces these two phases of the question, devoting special attention to the influence of Cassian, St. Benedict, Cassiodorus, St. Gregory the Great and St. Isidore of Seville. The conclusion to which he arrives is that until the influence of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks began to be felt there was very little classical culture either in the monastic or in the episcopal schools of Gaul.

How the Irish and British teachers came into possession of classical culture, how they preserved it, and eventually made Anglo-Saxon England and Gallo-Roman France sharers in its advantages, is the subject of more than two hundred pages of M. Roger's work. The remarkable fact that the Irish monks possessed a knowledge of Greek at a time when that language was unknown in the Western continent of Europe has been accounted for in various ways. To some it seemed natural to suppose the British monks should have carried classical learning to Ireland at an early date. By others it was considered more probable that Greek monks from Alexandria found their way to Ireland and carried with them copies of the classics. It is Zimmer's opinion that Ireland owes its classical culture to its own development of the rudiments of classical learning which it received with Christianity in the fourth century. While he does not set these hypotheses aside, M. Roger emphasizes the additional influence which must have reached Ireland from Canterbury after the time of Theodore and Hadrian's mission to England. These questions are, of course, important, although a definite solution of them seems to be

as far off as ever. One thing, however, is certain: from whatever source they derived their knowledge of the classics, the Irish monks cultivated that knowledge with extraordinary zeal, and, when the Carolingian schools came to be established, it was a constant source of wonder to continental Europe that teachers from "the farthest regions of the earth" could possess so much learning and bring to the discussion of philosophy and theology minds so carefully trained in the subtleties of speculation. Readers of M. Roger's work will watch with interest the appearance of a second volume in which he will give us the history of the Carolingian schools.

In one or two instances M. Roger seems to go beyond the evidence of his texts. For instance, he contends that there is no evidence of the Irish monks of the seventh century having read the Greek Fathers in the original, and to support his contention he explains the well-known quotation from St. Cyrill in Abbot Cummian's letter by saying that the passage may have been accessible in a Latin translation. But who, except an Irish ecclesiastic, would be likely to translate that particular passage at that stage of the controversy concerning the celebration of Easter? Again, if the condition of learning in the Church of Gaul and Lombardy in the sixth and seventh centuries was such as M. Roger represents it to have been, how does it detract from Ireland's share in the education of Columban that that saint did not write his poems until after his arrival on the Continent?

WILLIAM TURNER.

Samuel Champlain, fondateur de Québec et père de la Nouvelle France, Histoire de sa vie et de ses voyages. Par N. E. Dionne, bibliothécaire de la Législature etc. Québec, 1891, 1906. 2 vols. Pp. xviii + 430, 558.

Though the substance of these two volumes is already accessible in Dr. Dionne's English biography of Champlain (Toronto, 1905) we strongly recommend the French life now completed. The second volume is particularly fascinating, with its abundant details concerning the earliest French missions in Canada, Recollet and Jesuit, its picturesque descriptions of the savage life, the trials of the first settlers of Quebec, the fur trade, the rivalries of Huguenot and Catholic, the daring of the mariners of Rouen, La Rochelle and Saint Malo, and a dozen other phases of the large free life that the original French colonists led along the St. Lawrence from Tadousac and Cap Tourmente to Three Rivers, Sorel, and La Prairie. The second volume is in a certain sense a noble religious document, for closely woven with the religious fervor and devotion of the missionaries is the Catholic

faith of Champlain. From his letters and his books, his actions and the traditions of "la petite patrie" (if we may so call the broad inheritance of French Canada) it is clear that Champlain looked upon himself as an apostle of Catholicism, destined at once to convert the countless souls that in imagination he beheld between Quebec and the mysterious "Northern Sea" or Hudson's Bay (that he was not fated to reach), and to found a new state, French and Catholic, along the shores of the broad rivers and the glorious lakes that he was the first to permanently civilize and throw open to Western progress. He was a Catholic statesman gifted with all the qualities of that high office—had he met with the support and encouragement that he deserved, the history of North America would probably have been written on other lines; other also might have been the reciprocal influence of the New World on the politics of Europe, not to speak of its religious, social, and economical life. However, dying, he could say with the poet "Non omnis moriar." He had lived to see the Louis Héberts, the Guillaume Couillards, and the Abraham Martins multiply and take root in sight of the "habitation" and in the shadow of "Our Lady of Recovery." This little nucleus that he cherished as his very heart, for which he crossed the ocean eighteen times in frail barks and amid countless perils and trials, for which he pleaded before the Henrys and the Louis, for which he braved the dangers of the wilderness and suffered privations unspeakable, has taken on a growth of extraordinary proportions. It has never wavered in fidelity to the fundamental ideas of Champlain, and was for more than two centuries the forerunner of white and Western civilization in regions once held to be desolate and unfit for human life, but now the granaries of Europe, the refuge of liberty, the hope of a new Christian civilization in which may yet be realized all the dreams that ever crowded the fitful sleep of the founder of Canada. Some day there should rise in his honor, along the shores of Lake Champlain, a monument second to none of those that men have anywhere uplifted in eternal memory of the highest and most useful public virtues. May we not justly apply to Champlain the splendid and sonorous stanzas of Richard Watson Gilder?

Who builds the state? Not he whose power,
Rooted in wrong, in gold intrenched,
Makes him the regent of the hour;
The eternal light cannot be quenched.
This shall outlive his little span;
Shine fierce upon each tainted scheme;

Shall show where shame blots all the plan :
 The treachery in the dazzling dream.
 He builds the state who builds on truth,
 Not he who, crushing toward his aim,
 Strikes conscience from the throne, and ruth,
 To win a dark, unpiteous fame.
 Not he, though master among men—
 Empire and ages all his thought—
 Though like an eagle be his ken :
 Down to the ground shall all be brought.
 For this I hold, and shall for aye—
 Till heaven sends death—that they who sow
 Hate, and the blood of brothers, they
 Shall harvest hate and want and woe.
 The curse of Earth's dread agonies
 Whereto they added in their hour,
 And all the unheeded tears and cries
 They caused in lust of lawless power.
 He builds the state who to that task
 Brings strong, clean hands and purpose pure;
 Who wears not virtue as a mask;
 He builds the state that shall endure.
 The state wherein each loyal son
 Holds as a birthright from true sires
 Treasures of honor, nobly won,
 And freedom's never-dying fires.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

I Codici Bobbiesi della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.
 Con illustrazioni di Carlo Cipolla. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1907.
 Large quarto. Pp. 198; 90 heliotype plates. Lire 200 (forty dollars).

Our readers will doubtless recall that in 1904 the University Library of Turin lost by fire one of its most precious treasures, the collection of Bobbio manuscripts that had been formed in the eighteenth century. They were among the last relics of the Old-Irish monastery on the Trebbia, half way between Piacenza and Genoa, and were considered priceless, not only for their antiquity and rarity, but also because they exhibited, as few other collections, the history of hand-writing in the West, from the splendid uncials of fragments of Cicero down to late Gothic script. Fortunately they had been photo-

graphed before the fire took place, and from the negatives thus secured the enterprising Milan house of Hoepli has undertaken to reproduce in fac-simile these lost manuscripts. The publishers are deserving of all support, especially from all who are interested in the Irish scholarship of the early Middle Ages. We are not without hope that some generous friend will enrich our University library with a copy of these priceless treasures. In reality it is equivalent to a transfer of the entire collection to the service of our professors and students.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Early History of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island. By Rev. John C. Macmillan. Quebec, 1905. 8°, pp. 304.

This work is practically a life of the apostolic bishop Angus Bernard MacEachern (1759-1835). To this zealous ecclesiastic is owing, under God, the first spiritual growth of the little flock of 210 Scotch Catholics which in 1772 took refuge on the Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island). Father Macmillan follows with loving interest all the vicissitudes of this brave pioneer missionary's life which in its main outlines resembles closely enough that of many other missionaries placed in similar circumstances, i. e., amid poverty and solicitude, tried by sickness and persecution, obliged to cover in all seasons vast distances, and to provide out of slender means for all the needs of religion. Bishop MacEachern's memory is yet cherished by the descendants of those Highlanders to whom their Catholic faith was a jewel of such supreme worth that they preferred to cross the ocean rather than tarnish or lose it. He was their pattern of a spiritual chieftain, strong, bold, and resourceful. Together with Archbishop O'Brien's life of Bishop Burke, the first bishop of Halifax, this life of Bishop MacEachern furnishes the chief elements of the early history of Scotch Catholic life in the maritime provinces. The life of a true Catholic missionary has in it something akin to martyrdom—it is the daily confession of Jesus Christ, hence, such works offer an interest comparable to that of the Acts of the Martyrs or the Lives of the Saints; frequent perusal of them tends to kindle in the soul of every reader the highest Christian virtue.

Mœhler. Par Georges Goyau (*La Pensée Chrétienne*). Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1906, 8°, pp. 367.

In these pages M. Goyau offers to French readers an analysis of three important works of Johann Adam Mœhler, his *Unity in the Church*, his *Symbolism*, and his defence of the latter work. This

analysis is based on earlier French translations; for the "Symbolism" he has made use of the translation of M. Lachat (Brussels, 1853), said by the latter to have been done under the supervision of Mœhler himself. While the condensed diction and abstract thought of the original German text are occasionally paraphrased and sometimes summarized, M. Goyau has taken care to compare constantly the earlier translations with the text of Mœhler, i. e., with the sixth and definitive edition. This little volume will be welcomed by all who desire to have at hand a reliable summary of the classical formulations of Catholic faith that have made famous the name of Mœhler.

Aspects of Anglicanism, or Some Comments on Certain Events in the Nineties. By Mgr. Moyes, Canon of Westminster Cathedral. New York and Bombay: Longmans, 1906. 8°, pp. 491.

Those who were readers of *The Tablet* fifteen years ago will probably recall the series of articles under the above heading contributed by the then editor, Canon Moyes, of which the present volume is mostly a reprint. An acute observer and an excellent scholar, he seized upon the various movements, discussions, etc., that, during the years 1890-1894, took place within the Church of England, and used them as object-lessons for bringing home to the minds of his readers the position of the Catholic Church in contrast with the Anglican. While in a sense controversial, the writer disclaims any motive other than a desire for Christian unity and the spiritual betterment of Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and the tone of sympathy and of deep, earnest, and we may say, at times pathetic, charity, which dominated throughout, proves the sincerity of his profession. Besides, Mgr. Moyes is no mean scholar. He is well acquainted, not only with the best works on the Ecclesiastical History of England, but with the original sources as well, and he put his learning to good use. In such chapters, for instance, as "Continuity, Old and New," "With Whom is the Ancient Church of England?" "Anglicanism in Ireland," "An Anglican Episcopal Election," "An Anglican Enthronement," he uses the weapon of plain historical fact with telling effect. He also has the happy faculty of condensing within very close limits, and yet exposing with perfect clearness and accuracy, the real question at issue, as when, for instance, apropos of the decision in the heresy trial of Mr. Macqueary, he says: "The belief in the Divinity of Christ was affirmed—by a majority of one! The Creed of Nicæa has had some stirring experiences. Perhaps its narrowest escape was in the Anglican Court in Ohio."

In the present compilation some of the articles are omitted, while others are published for the first time; and in those reprinted a few changes, and not a few considerable additions, have been made. On this account, and also because of the convenience of having them all in one volume, it would be well for every such persons as have access to back numbers of *The Tablet* to possess themselves of the book. As for those who have yet to make its acquaintance, we can but recommend it as a model of controversy and, within its scope, of apologetics.

EDWIN RYAN.

The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy: An Account of the Death in Prison of the Eleven Bishops honoured at Rome amongst the Martyrs of the Elizabethan Persecution: Archbishop Heath of York, Bishops Funstall, Bonner and Companions. By the Rev. G. E. Phillips. St. Louis: Herder, 1905. 8°, pp. xii + 440.

The fate of the Marian bishops deprived of their sees by Queen Elizabeth has for nearly three centuries been buried in obscurity. In the words of Father Bridgett, "there is probably no great event to which so little attention has been given, or with regard to which so many errors are current."¹ Careless historians, trusting blindly to the accounts given in Burghley's *Execution of Justice in England*, and Camden's *Annals*, both interested witnesses, went on asserting that, beyond the loss of episcopal dignity and a mild sort of surveillance, the deposed bishops had nothing to suffer, but were permitted to end their days in peace. Such a statement as that of Burghley, that Archbishop Heath "lived in his own house very discreetly and enjoyed all his purchased lands during all his natural life, until by very age he departed this life," or the meaningless assertion of Camden that Funstall "died at Lambeth in free custody," were accepted without investigation and even with some attempts at softening by subsequent writers, until, by mere repetition, the true fate of the last of England's ancient hierarchy became lost amid a crowd of glaring falsehoods. There was, indeed, in the English College at Rome, a fresco representing some Elizabethan martyrs, accompanied by a four-fold inscription, the first part of which read: "*Propter sedis Romanæ et fidei Catholicæ confessionem undecim Rmi, episcopi catholici ex diuturna carceris molestia contabescentes obierunt.*" But the contrary Protestant tradition was so widely accepted that even Catholics suspected some exaggeration in this, and inclined towards the prevailing view, even in their writings,² until the appearance, in 1889, of

¹ Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy, Ch. I.

² See e. g. Charles Butler, *Memorials of the English Catholics*, iii, 142.

Father Bridgett's *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*, wherein the author, after a careful examination of original papers, public and private, found that, instead of the "gentleness" contrasted by Burghley with Mary's treatment of the Protestants, the Catholic bishops had in fact sealed their confession by a persecution that was in every sense a martyrdom.

Having thus proven (though without directly referring thereto in his book) that the tradition of the Roman picture is sustained by history, the next step was to identify the particular ones there mentioned, but this seemed a discouraging task, and was not undertaken until some years later, by the author of the present volume. It is unnecessary to describe at length the manner in which it has been accomplished. Basing his contention on a careful study of contemporary writers, both private and official, such, e. g., as Sander (whose claims as an historian Protestants have at last begun to recognize), the anonymous *Treatise of Treasons*, Bristow, Cardinal Allen and others, he establishes beyond the possibility of doubt that the "undecim Rmi episcopi" of the inscription at Rome are Archbishop Heath of York, Bishops Bayne of Litchfield, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, White of Winchester, Funstall of Durham, Pate of Worcester, Poole of Peterborough, Bonner of London, Bourne of Bath, Thirlby of Ely, and Turberville of Exeter. He has gone further, and given us, in quite a large book, a detailed account of their sufferings, gleaned not only from the writers above mentioned, but also from such other documents (diplomatic correspondence, etc.) as tend to throw light on the matter.

The method of handling his authorities is admirable as will be seen especially by reading the chapter on "The Identification of the Eleven," and the résumé of their testimony at the end of the volume. The work is one of genuine scholarship, requiring painstaking research and careful criticism, and deserves the commendation of historians, Catholic or non-Catholic. But to the former it is something more. To them, and especially to such of them as are English, it provides an edifying account of the trials endured by men who were true guardians of Christ's flock, and of a steadfastness under persecution which, in one case was ample atonement for earlier weakness. Moreover, the account of Bishop Bonner (for whose vindication the author relies largely on Maitland and Gairdner) will be read with gratitude by those who are jealous of the good name of their fathers in the faith. But what is of more immediate importance, the book, by arousing interest in the men whose sufferings it recounts, is bound to tell for

their canonization, thereby removing from English Church History a strange anomaly. For, while many persons, including a number of the laity of either sex, are honored by English Catholics as glorious martyrs to the cause of the Holy See, the last of the original generation of the bishops of England, who were naturally the principal objects of attack, are comparatively unknown. This is due partly to the false notion current about them, to which allusion has been made, and partly also to the fact that, for some reason or other, they seem to have had no one to plead their cause. But the movement started some years ago, under the late Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, to have them inscribed among the Beatified of the English Martyrology, and the book now produced by Father Phillips, give promise of a change in this regard.

We regret that we cannot afford an equally high commendation to the author's literary style. We wish for instance that he had a little more taste in the arrangement of paragraphs. But these are trifling, almost unnoticeable, defects. Those interested in Church History, whether from the point of view of scholarship alone, or for the additional and higher reason of a love for whatever pertains to the glory of the Church, can have only feelings of gratitude for the labor so successfully performed.

EDWIN RYAN.

Egypt Exploration Fund, Græco-Roman Branch. The Hibe Papyri. Part I. Edited with Translations and Notes by Bernard P. Grenfell, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., and Arthur S. Hunt, M.A., D.Litt. With ten plates. London, 1906.

This volume belongs in a series of publications by the same editors of which, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Parts I-IV, have been reviewed in the BULLETIN. The method of publication is the same, and the work is characterized by the same painstaking care in all minutiae which the publication of Papyri demands, and by the scholarship at once broad and deep for which the editors are so well known. The present notice will be limited therefore, to a short description of the contents of the volume, and the pointing out of the value of these new discoveries.

Hibeh is a town on the east bank of the Nile between Benisuéf and Shêkh Fadl, where the editors made excavations in March-April, 1902, and again in January, 1903. An interesting description of the site (which unfortunately had been plundered by the Arabs chiefly in 1895-6) and of the methods of excavation is given in the introduc-

tion, which also deals with the question of the name by which the town was known in Græco-Roman times. The papyri here published consist of mummy-cartonnage, ranging from the middle of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the twenty-fifth year of Euergetis I, and were either purchased by the editors in the Fayûm or discovered in the first season's exploration. The yield of the second excavations was in bulk nearly equal to that of the preceding year, and their publication will be awaited with the greatest interest on account of the value of the texts published in the present volume.

Foremost in interest are the *New Classical Fragments*, of which *No. 1* contains in practically perfect condition the first fourteen lines of the *Γνώμαι* of Epicharmus. From a different MS. of the same work comes *No. 2*, a fragment unfortunately much mutilated, but which can be identified by the resemblance of l. 6, which may be filled out as: εὐτροπος ἀνθρώποισι δαίμων π[οτὲ μὲν ἔστι, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κατὰ, to a quotation in Stobæus. *No. 3* is a badly mutilated fragment containing tragic iambs which the editors following Blass ascribe with hesitation to the *Tyro* of Sophocles. Of *No. 4* the same is unfortunately true, and its ascription to the *Æneus* or *Meleager* of Euripides remains equally uncertain. The papyrus, dating B. C. 300-280, is of special interest as being among the oldest specimens of Greek literature. In better condition is *No. 5*, containing the fragments of a comedy by Philemon, of which ten lines are in good condition. The name of the slave Strobilus recurs also in the *Aulularia* of Plautus, but none of the other resemblances suggested carry any weight. *No. 6* also contains fragments of a comedy of Menander or a contemporary. Two columns are in fair condition, but a connected translation is still impossible.

No. 7 is a portion of an Anthology, in which are found *Euripides Electra* 367-379, and four iambic lines concluding with St. Paul's well known quotation: φθείρουσιν ἡθ[ῆ] χρηστὰ δμῶν καὶ κατὰ "Evil communications corrupt good manners." The quotation is variously assigned to Euripides and Menander—the rhythm of the opening of the preceding lines, and the neighborhood of another selection from Euripides favor his authorship. *Nos. 8-12* are small fragments of Epic, Tragic and Comic poetry that it is impossible further to identify. *No. 13* contains two well preserved columns of an attack upon certain musical theorists, who claimed that different moral effects are produced by different melodies. Blass' ascription of the fragment to Hippias of Elis is not improbable but lacks confirmation. *No. 14* is readily identified as coming from the speech of Lysias against Theozotides, which now proves to be for a γραφή παρανόμων. *No. 15* is one of the best pre-

served papyri, but by a caprice of fortune, one of the least interesting—its contents being a rhetorical exercise. *No. 16* is a fragment of a philosophical work containing a discussion of the atomic theory of Democritus. *No. 17* is a collection of sayings on the subject of “expenses” by the famous poet Simonides of Ceos. *No. 18* is of uncertain character.

On account of the early date of the papyri the *Fragments of extant Classical Authors* are of more than usual interest. *Nos. 19–22* are fragments of extensive portions of the *Iliad* while *No. 23* (B. C. 285–250) is “the first early Ptolemaic fragment of the *Odyssey* to be discovered.” The new discoveries furnish the editors with material for controverting, Ludwig’s *Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen*, in a discussion which is at once one of the most interesting and valuable portions of the book. *Nos. 24–25* are portions of Euripides with interesting variants from our MSS., while *No. 26* contains large fragments of the Treatise on Rhetoric addressed to Alexander. Its discovery tells very heavily against Susemihl’s attempt to assign the composition of the work to the 3d century, as the papyrus dates from about 285–250 B. C. In addition to this the papyrus is of unusual value for the establishment of the text.

Of the non-literary texts the most important is *No. 27* an astronomical calendar; in addition to this there are Royal Ordinances. *Nos. 28–29*, Legal Documents, *Nos. 30–32*. Declarations and Petitions, *Nos. 33–38*. Official and Private Correspondence, *Nos. 39–83*. Contracts, *Nos. 84–96*. Receipts, *Nos. 97–109*. Accounts, *Nos. 110–121*. Description of Documents, *Nos. 122–171*.

The volume contains besides three Appendices of interest to those concerned with Ptolemaic chronology: I, The Macedonian and Egyptian Calendars, pp. 332–358; II, The Systems of Dating by the Years of the King, pp. 358–367; III, The Eponymous Priesthoods from B. C. 301–221, pp. 367–376.

The volume serves to illustrate two points, that the friends of classical studies should take to heart. The greatest advance in an understanding of classical literature in recent years has come from Egypt—the *Constitution of Athens*, Bacchylides, Herondas, Menander, Timotheos to mention only the more sensational discoveries—and there is every reason to hope that the future has in store discoveries of equal if not greater value. The consequences of delay in the effort to recover the treasures that are lying in the tombs and rubbish heaps of Egypt are well shown by the present volume. Valuable as its contents are, it is clear that the find would have been much richer, if the site could have been explored some ten years earlier before

the plundering by the Arabs. Each year that a site is left unexplored increases the chance of similar depredations, the damage of which it is impossible to estimate. The work is being done at present with all that zeal, energy, and ability on the part of the workers can accomplish. What is needed that it may proceed more rapidly is an increase of funds, and the present volume like its predecessors shows, that there is no more effective way of helping the study of the classics than by subscribing to the Græco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

The second point exemplified by the volume is the extent to which the work is dependent on the caprices of Fortune. The most interesting finds at Hibeh (except *No. 1*) are the worst preserved, and the best preserved (*Nos. 15* and *26*) are the least interesting. The fickle goddess has however atoned for this unkindness by presenting at Oxyrhynchus last year papyri of an entirely unexpected extent and value. The new discoveries comprise large fragments of Pindar's *Pæans*—a class of his work hitherto practically unknown,—of Euripides' *Hypsipyle*, of a new history of Greece, possibly that of Ephorus or Theopompus, and of Cercidas a lyric poet known hitherto only from small fragments. Besides these there is a vellum leaf containing forty-five lines of a lost gospel that promises to be of unusual interest. These finds will be published in Part V of the Oxyrhynchi Papyri which is promised in June, 1907, and all interested in classical studies are urged to secure this volume, both because of its own interest and of the help which they will thus afford to the progress of the work.¹

GEORGE M. BOLLING.

The Golden Sayings of the Blessed Brother Giles of Assisi, newly translated and edited together with a sketch of his life. By the Rev. Fr. Paschal Robinson, of the Order of Friars Minor. Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press, 1907. Pp. lxxiii + 141. Price, \$1.00.

All will welcome this new contribution of Father Paschal to our rapidly increasing Franciscan literature. There are few characters as interesting as the Blessed Giles of Assisi, one of the first companions and a faithful disciple of St. Francis. His admiration for his master knew no bounds and he could think of no better way of cooperating

¹ Subscriptions of five dollars entitle the subscriber to the annual volume and also to the annual *Archæological Report*. They may be sent to Miss Grace I. Gay, Pierce Building, Copley Square, Boston. Previous publications of the Fund may be obtained at the same place.

in his apostolic work than to get up before the people after him and tell them to believe all that Francis had said because his advice was very good. True to the initial spirit of the Franciscan movement, he tramped through the world in whatever direction his fancy or devotion prompted him, for Francis had said to him: "Thou mayest go wherever thou wishest." But little by little this passion for activity gave way before the sweetness of contemplation and even before the death of St. Francis we see him take to the life of a hermit. His detachment from the world and his ecstasies increased continually until his death which occurred in 1262.

But it is not about Blessed Giles' life that Father Paschal's little book is mainly concerned—though it contains an interesting sketch of it by way of introduction. It is a faithful translation, with many additional notes, of the Quaracchi edition of the "*Dicta Beati Ægidii Assisiensis*." These sayings were gathered by Giles' disciples as they came from his lips during his tramps through Europe and still more while he was in his hermitage near Perugia.

They may be compared to the "Admonitions" of St. Francis, as they treat largely of the same subjects and are, like them, addressed to religious rather than to people of the world. There is the same character of simplicity, ardent faith, burning love of God. The style also reminds one of that of Francis by its briskness, the constant use of figures and familiar comparisons, and a dramatic way of presenting the truths of religion. But we do not find in Blessed Giles the delicacy and sweet refinement of St. Francis, and at times his sharp wit becomes almost crude. Scholasticism makes itself felt in the "*Dicta*" of Blessed Giles, and some of his divisions and subdivisions resemble much the twelve reasons of Brother Gerardino which Giles himself, at the sound of his lute, scattered through the air. Still less should we expect to find in Giles the poetic spirit of Francis, his tender devotion to the person of Our infant Lord, to His Blessed Mother, to the Holy Eucharist. We meet with few quotations of the Scriptures in the "*Dicta*," while St. Francis's admonitions are full of them.

The asceticism of Giles had gone far beyond that of Francis. There was a time, probably during the first years of his Franciscan life, when Giles would kiss the flowers, the grass, the rocks, for very love of Him who had created them. But little by little Giles lost sight of earth and earthly things. Shut up in his hermitage, he cared little for what happened in this world and Bernard of Quintavalle jokingly accused him of remaining like a "*domicella*" in her chamber. This complete separation from the world of God was not the true Franciscan spirit, which was essentially active; but like many other

faithful disciples of Francis, he was disgusted at the sight of the worldly activities of a large portion of the Order. However, Giles was never an open partisan of the Spirituals and he managed to keep out of the turmoil that agitated the Order during his age. When Elias put an urn on the "Colle d'Inferno" to receive money offerings for the construction of the basilica, Giles said to Leo: "If thou art a dead man, go and break the urn to pieces," and Leo went and smashed the urn. Nor was he afraid to tell his relaxed brethren that the only thing they now wanted was "wives"! Later when John of Parma, a truly spiritual Franciscan, was elected General of the Order, Giles said to him "Welcome, Father! But, oh! you come late!" Yet with all that we do not read that he had any enemies in the Order. He was not a Joachimist and we do not see in his "sayings" any trace of the belief, then common among the Spirituals, in the three ages of the world, the third of which, about to come, was that of the Holy Ghost, of spiritual perfection, of contemplation. Yet he believed, after having experienced both lives, that contemplation is superior to action. He thought that the world and religion needed a renewal of life and, sick at the sight of so many evils, he had no desire but for his cell in the mountain, away from all, with God alone. Sometimes speaking of the religious order, he would say: "The ship is wrecked; it hath broken up; let him flee who may flee, and escape if he is able." What would Francis have thought of Giles's answer to the two Cardinals who asked him to pray for them: "Why should I pray for you; you have more faith and hope than I have; with so much riches and honor and worldly prosperity you hope to be saved, whilst I, with so much misery and adversity, fear to be damned"? But Giles was a fearless and robust character and he was ready to speak his mind to whoever wished to hear it.

In fact it is this characteristic way of expressing himself that forms the main charm of his sayings. He loves to startle his hearers by an unexpected reply. Quick at repartee, he never leaves a question unanswered, and the answer is often so original, so abrupt, so pithy, that the reader is fairly taken by surprise and wonders what kind of a man was Brother Giles. "Bo, Bo, molto dico e poco fo," he exclaimed one day impersonating a Brother who preached long sermons. At other times he expresses truths worthy of the deepest philosopher: "Man fashioneth God as he desireth; but He is always such as He is." Or then the mystic reveals himself in the most striking way: his faith, he says, has been taken away, he does not believe any more, he knows, "Cognosco!"

Father Paschal has appended to his sketch of Blessed Giles's life and the translation of his "Dicta," a bibliography which is a rich mine of information on the subject. We hope that Father Paschal may, in the near future, publish the work for which he is so well qualified and of which we are so much in need: an up-to-date and complete bibliography of works, particularly English, on Franciscan matters.

LEO L. DUBOIS.

Saint-Pierre. Par L. Cl. Fillion. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1906. 8°, pp. 207. (Les Saints.)

Le Bienheureux Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole (1387-1455). Par Henry Cochin. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1906. 8°, pp. 283. (Les Saints.)

Saint Theodore (759-826). Par L'Abbé Marin. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1906. 8°, pp. 195. (Les Saints.)

Sainte Colette (1381-1447). Par Andre Pidoux. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1907. 8°, pp. 190. (Les Saints.)

La Bienheureuse Varani, princesse de Camerino et religieuse Franciscaine (1458-1527). Par la Comtesse de Rambuteau. 2d ed. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1906. 8°, pp. 187.

Saint Hilaire. Par Georges Girard. Angers: J. Siraudeau, 1906. 8°, pp. 176.

The popular lives of saints in the Lecoffre collection of "Les Saints" maintain their average perfection. They have been so often described in our pages that we need scarcely more than chronicle the new numbers as they appear. The Collection should be in every Catholic library. The lives of the Blessed Princess Varani and of St. Hilary of Poitiers are likewise commendable reading.

Memoriale Vitæ Sacerdotalis, auctore Claudio Arvisenet.—**De Sacrificio Missæ,** auctore Joanne Cardinali Bona; Vol. I of "Bibliotheca Ascetica Mystica." Ed. Aug. Lehmkuhl, S. J. Freiburg: Herder, 1906. 8°, pp. 425.

All lovers of the masterpieces of ascetical theology will be grateful to the house of Herder for initiating, and to Fr. Lehmkuhl for editing, this "select library" of golden little books on the spiritual life in which the Catholic literature of an earlier age abounds. The first volume of the "Bibliotheca" contains the classical treatise on the

priesthood by Claude Arvisenet, and the equally classical ascetical exposition of the Mass by the great Cistercian liturgist Cardinal Bona. All priests should own this "Bibliotheca." The volumes are exquisitely bound, and are quite neat and portable. The series will soon be enriched with writings of Blossius, St. Francis of Sales, Luis da Ponte, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Theresa and others.

Catechismus Romanus, ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos Pii V. Pont. Max. Jussu editus, etc. (with a German translation), editio quarta. New York: Pustet, 1905. 2 vols. Pp. xx + 286, 217.

These volumes offer the Latin text of the Roman Catechism after the Ritter edition (Breslau, 1857), with the German version of Canon Smetso (1844), improved by Dr. Adolf Buse (1858), and in the present edition by Dr. Wilhelm Scherer. The latter contributes also an introduction that exhibits the principal items of the literary history of the Roman Catechism and emphasizes its extraordinary utility for all ecclesiastics charged with pastoral responsibilities. The encyclical of Clement XIII (In Dominico Agro, 1761), here reprinted, is in itself an authentic expression of the respect and confidence that the Apostolic See continues to manifest in a work that is unequalled for its theological sufficiency and acumen. This edition contains also a "Praxis Catechismi" for every Sunday of the year, and an excellent index. The work is indispensable to all German parish-priests and their assistants.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine. Curavit D. Eberhard Nestle. Stuttgart, 1906. Pp. 665. Price, Mk. 4.50.

Novum Testamentum Latine, Textum Vaticanum. . . . Curavit D. Eberhard Nestle. Stuttgart, 1906. Pp. 657. Price, Mk. 3.50.

Lepicier, *The Unseen World.* Benziger Bros., 1906. Pp. viii + 284. Price, \$1.60.

Brinkmeyer, *The Lover of Souls.* Benziger Bros., 1906. Pp. 180. Price, \$1.00.

Vaughan, *The Sins of Society.* Herder, 1907. Pp. 272. Price, \$1.35.

De Kermaingant, *Souvenirs et fragments pour servir aux memoires*

- . . . *du Marquis de Bouille*, Tome I. Paris: Picard, 1906. Pp. 510.
- Fra Gætano da Bergamo, *Thoughts and Affections on the Passion of Jesus Christ*. Tr. from the Italian. Benziger Bros., 1905. Pp. xxiv + 627. Price, \$2.00.
- Sheppard, *Plain Practical Sermons*. Pustet, 1907. Pp. 534. Price, \$1.50.
- Hickey, *Short Sermons*. Benziger Bros., 1906. Pp. xi + 268. Price, \$1.25.
- Coupe, *Lectures on the Holy Eucharist*. Benziger Bros., 1906. Pp. xiv + 248.
- Northcote, *Mary in the Gospels*. New ed. Benziger Bros., 1906. Pp. 308. Price, \$1.25.
- McGinley, *The Profit of Love*. Longmans, 1907. Pp. xi + 291. Price, \$1.50.
- Stang, *Medulla Fundamentalis Theologie Moralis*. Ed. altera et aucta. Benziger Bros., 1907. Pp. 185. Price, \$1.00.
- Walsh, *Thoughts from Modern Martyrs*. Boston, Catholic Foreign Mission Bureau, 1906. Pp. 102. Price: leather, \$1.00; cloth, \$0.75.
- Wyatt-Davies, *An Elementary History of England*. Longmans, 1906. Pp. 256.

ROMAN PONTIFICAL DOCUMENTS.

In the future the BULLETIN will print in each issue, in logical arrangement, a certain number of the more important pontifical documents. As a rule they will be taken from the pages of the "Acta Sanctæ Sedis," and will represent the guidance of the Apostolic See in the various modern lines of thought and action. A special section of the index of each volume will be devoted to these pontifical utterances. They will be presented, usually, in the original text, and in due course of time ought make the BULLETIN a valuable work of reference for the American Catholic clergy.

I. EDUCATIONAL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LAVAL (QUEBEC).

Venerabili Fratri Ludovico Nazario Archiepiscopo Quebecensi
Magno Cancellario Universitatis Studiorum Lavallianae Quebecum
Pius PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Vehementer Nos delectarunt communes litterae, a moderatoribus Collegioque doctorum decurialium istius Universitatis datae, ac per te, Magnum Cancellarium, Nobis redditae. Ex his enim intelleximus, non modo quam studiosa vestrum omnium sit erga Pontificem Romanum pietas, sed etiam quam religiose Apostolicae Sedis documenta servetis et praescripta in negotio tanti momenti ac ponderis, quanti est recte formare et instituere in gravioribus disciplinis iuventutem. Itaque mirum non est, complures numerari in ordine vel sacro vel civili praestantes viros, qui Lavalliani nomen Instituti, cuius extitere alumni, Ecclesiae simul et civitati egregio testimonio commendent. De his operae vestrae fructibus uti vos, et quidem iure, gaudetis, ita Nos vobis gratulamur: eo magis quod in optimo proposito sic vos constare perspicimus, ut ex praeterito tempore coniecere futurum liceat. Pergite igitur bene de Canadensi et Ecclesia et patria mereri; certum habentes, vobis cum Romani Pontificis comprobatione nec hominum proborum gratiam opesque, nec vero uberrima Dei defutura auxilia. Horum auspiciem et peculiaris Nostrae Benevolentiae testem, tibi, Venerabilis Frater, et omnibus istius lycei magni moderatoribus, doctoribus, alumni Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino

impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die II Maii MDCCCCIV,
Pontificatus Nostri anno primo. Pius PP. X.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN COLLEGE, ROME.

Dilectis Filiis Aloisio Cappello S. I. Moderatori Collegii Pii Latini
Americani in Urbe Eiusdemque Collegii Alumnis Pius PP. X.

Dilecti Filii, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Magnam equidem habet utilitatem inter alumnos qui in Collegio Latino Americano degunt eosque, qui, confecto studiorum curriculo, in patriam remearunt, coniunctionem animorum servari ac veluti operis communionem. Hinc enim qui adhuc formandi sunt stimulos sibi adiici sentiunt ad fructus eruditionis rite percipiendos. Inde vero, qui iam sacro ministerio in patria occupantur, exactos in ephebeo annos memoria repetentes, suscepta ibi proposita instaurant et alacriore studio persequuntur. Hanc in rem magnopere conferunt ephemerides, quae statis temporibus in Collegio eduntur; quibus factorum notitia tum praesentum tum veterum alumnorum, rerumque Collegii continetur. Concilium igitur editionis eiusmodi libenti Nos commendatione honestamus. Et quia Collegium Urbanum Americae Latinae haud minori, quam Decessores Nostri, benevolentia complectimur, faustitatem omnem illi a Domino adprecamur. Cuius sit pignus Apostolica Benedictio, quam Moderatori, Magistris, alumnis universis tum qui sunt, tum qui fuerunt, peramanter impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die IX Maii MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo. Pius PP. X.

THE GERMAN COLLEGE OF THE "ANIMA" (ROME).

Dilecto Filio Iosepho Lohninger Protonotario Apostolico Pius PP. X.

Dilecte Filii, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Exeunt, quod propediem fore ex tuis litteris accepimus, quinto saeculo ab initiis urbani Teutonum hospitii, cui praees, recte tu quidem et sacerdotes tui consilium cepistis faustam rei celebrare memoriam, atque in id convocare omnes, quotquot de gente vestra Urbem incolunt aut per eos dies in Urbem advenerint. Nam primum omnium decet vos beneficia commemorare, quae hoc tanto spatio multa et magna Instituto vestro Deus contulit, deque his sollemnes agere divinae bonitati gratias. Tum in conspicuo ponere aequum est, quantopere ad idem Institutum sustinendum provehendum non modo vestratium liberalitas vestrorumque Caesarum cura, sed etiam perpetua Pontificum Romanorum providentia valuerit.

Nominandus in his praesertim Pius IX fel. rec. cuius auctoritate amplificatum congruenter necessitatibus temporum Hospitium, id est, auctum collegio sacerdotum, qui sacris repolirentur doctrinis ac pontificii iuris prudentiam peritiamque perciperent, multo magis, quam antea, opportunum ac salutare esse coepit.

Nos vero, quum aequae, ac Decessores Nostri, erga vos vestraque affecti simus, libenter saecularia haec sollemnia significatione ornamus paternae benevolentiae Nostrae: cuius testem eandemque divinorum munerum auspicem, tibi dilecte Fili, atque omnibus, qui ex isto hospitio collegioque sunt fueruntve sacerdotes, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XVIII Aprilis anno MDCCCXVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

THE ROMAN COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS.

Beatissimo Padre,

Il Padre Fr. Enrico Buonpensiere, dei Predicatori, Reggente del Collegio di S. Tommaso d'Aquino de Urbe, supplica umilmente Vostra Santità affinché si degni concedere a detto Collegio il titolo di Pontificio, dichiarando che i gradi accademici, che da esso si conferiscono in Filosofia, Teologia e Diritto Canonico, abbiano gli stessi effetti canonici di quelli che si conferiscono in altre Università cattoliche.

Che della grazia, ecc.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X in Audientia diei 26 mensis Maii 1906, referente subscripto S. Congregationis Studiorum Emo Cardinali Praefecto, attenta commendatione Rmi. P. Generalis Ord. Praed., benigne, Libenterque annuens precibus Rmi. P. Henrici Buonpensiere, Regentis Collegii Divi Thomae Aquinatis de Urbe, mandare dignatus est, ut hoc perinsigne Collegium, in quo florent studio Philosophiae, Theologiae ac Iuris Canonici, posthac Pontificium vocari possit; et gradus academici, qui ab eo in Philosophia, Theologia ac Iure Canonico rite conferuntur, eadem prosus iura ac privilegia habeant, quae habent ii qui in qualibet Universitate catholica canonice instituta conferuntur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Franciscus Card. SATOLLI, Praefectus.

THE SEMINARY OF MILAN.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Andreae S. R. E. Presbytero Cardinali Ferrari Archiepiscopo Mediolanensi Mediolanum Pius PP. X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Vigere in Seminario Theologico Mediolanensi fidem, obsequium, studium erga Nos et Apostolicam Sedem, iamdiu noveramus; agno-

vimus autem nuper ex iis, quas tu curasti ad Nos perferendos, amantissimas litteras, atque huius amoris pignus, Petrianam stipem. Id vero scias delectationi fuisse Nobis et solatio. Multa quidem sunt, quae perfunctionem Pontificatus maximi difficilem Nobis laboriosamque faciunt: sed illus in primis Nos angit et sollicitat, quod, quum ad despicientiam auctoritatis proiecta sint tempora, contumaces quosdam spiritus videmus inter bonos quoque serpere: atque huic vitio temporum nonnullos aliqua ex parte indulgere, qui minime omnium debeant. Profecto nihil tam absurdum tam que perniciosum cogitari potest, quam homines sacri ordinis esse ullos, quorum sentiendi agendique ratio obtemperationem et reverentiam Vicario Iesu Christi debitam non plane praeferat. Iamvero quidquam huiusmodi suspicari non licet de alumni Seminarii tui, in quo sanctissimi Caroli disciplina etiamnum, te accurante, spirat: ac pro certo habendum est, eos omnes futuros tales ministros sacrorum, quales testantur se esse velle, idest Beati Petri Cathedrae toto pectore coniunctos, atque omnibus in rebus dicto audientes Pontifici. Nos interea haec pietatis observantiaeque testimonia libenter grateque amplectimur; eundemque animorum habitum ut perpetuo tueatur et foveat ad propriam ipsorum et communem salutem divina benignitas, precamur. Ac coelestium munerum auspicem, Nostraeque paternae benevolentiae testem, tibi, dilecte Fili Noster, Seminarii Theologici moderatoribus, praeceptoribus et alumni, iis praesertim qui sacerdotium inituri proxime sunt, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die X Aprilis a. MDCCCXVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

Pius PP. X.

THE "SEMINARY B. ALBERTUS MAGNUS" AT FRIBOURG IN SWITZERLAND.

Venerabili Fratri Augustino Episcopo S. Galli Pius PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Novum Beati Alberti Magni collegium, sodalitatis S. Pio V curis, extractum perfectumque Friburgi esse, magna consolatione animi accepimus. Auctus enim aetate hac nostra est disciplinarum omnium cultus et prolata vis: nemoque propterea rectus aestimator temporum oportere non intelligat institutionem adolescentium foveri quotidie magis, ac novis praesidiis fulciri. Id quidem, si ad omnium ordinum consociationis humanae commodum accurare necesse est, at maiore certe enitendum est studio pro sacri incremento ordinis. Quam ob rem tibi collegisque in Episcopatu tuis, de profectu religioso populi

ac de amplificando catholici nominis decore valde sollicitis, itemque laudatae Sodalitati gratulamur, quod nova istis pateat incumbentibus in studia clericis domus ad omnem recentioris humanitatis sanaeque doctrinae progressionem informata. Nec minus gratum est, invitari ad celebrandas Athenaei scholas non vestrarum modo dioecesium iuvenes, sed etiam exterarum; id quod, in Helvetiis plane pulchreque congruit cum tradita a maioribus consuetudine hospitii, cum christianaque libertatis sensu, unde eorum, qui rem publicam civitatemque administrant, instructi animi sunt. Est autem memoratu heic iucundum, voluisse Nos theologiae in collegio studia a sodalibus Dominicanis tradi, qui honestissimas scientiae, imprimis sacrae, consecuti laudes, securitatem iniiciunt magisterii, habentque domesticum in theologia lumen divum Thomam Aquinatem, quem non principem solum, sed scholarum sacrarum ducem magistrumque et Leo XIII Decessor iussit esse, et Nos, cum uberrimi certitudine emolumentii, confirmavimus. Nullum ad haec dubium esse potest, cordi futurum tibi laudatisque Pastoribus doctrinarum tam bene sollicitis, simul pietati enutriendae adolescentium sedulam dare operam, quippe non prodest in sacro clero sine pietate scientia; prodest autem, et nullam reperit meliorem sui ad lucrandas animas artem, si comitem habeat religionem. Testem benevolentiae Nostrae, divinorumque munerum auspicem Apostolicam benedictionem tibi, Episcopis Helvetiae singulis ac Pianae sodalitati peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die VI Februarii a. MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

II. DOCUMENTARY COLLECTIONS, FINE ARTS.

THE BULLARIUM OF GREGORY XVI.

Dilecto Filio Antonio Mariae Bernasconi Cathedralis Templi Sabiniensis Canonico Poenitentiario. Pius PP. X.

Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Nobile profecto munus Nostroque humane dicatum nomini, versatur Nobis ob oculos quartum, quod de Actis Gregorii XVI Decessoris Nostri, emisisti volumen. Recens vero est, mense quippe Novembri superioris anni in id habuisti apud Nos admissionem, ex quo prioribus tribus eiusdem scripti voluminibus laudem Nostram tribuimus. Nunc autem, vix brevi post, corona feliciter operis prodit, mirum quanta cum probatione doctorum, eorum in primis, qui historiae sunt dediti. Nam, quae Romanorum Pontificum congesta Bullaria extant, unius Gregorii XVI documenta desiderabant, cui quidem devezata illa nec brevia tempora maximi negotia ponderis iussere

credi, non alio certe administranda atque expedienda subsidio, quam eius firmitate prudentiaque animi. Quod si curarum plurimum, annorum spatio duodecim, sollerti tibi industrioque viro haec studia fecerunt, illud liceat ad laetitiam recolere, magnum quidquam aut illustre aut cum singulari nominis decore sociatum, nisi gravi comitante opera, non perfici. Esse tamen abunde existimamus unde suscepti memoriam laboris iucunditati vertas et gaudio, si quidem et ob expletam provectamque gestarum rerum historiam, et ob praestitam Apostolicae Sedi operam, et ob comparata carissimae Venetorum Regioni monumenta gloriae domesticae, praeclare meruisti. Praemium vero, illudque ingenio consentaneum alacritatique quae, non esse a Deo defuturum certo confidimus, a quo meriti de Religione ac de Pontificatu fideles non vacui a mercede aliquando erunt. Nostro interea laetare eodemque publice ad honorem delato testimonio laudis, testemque Nostrae erga te voluntatis, Apostolicam benedictionem exicipias, quam tibi studiisque tuis peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXIII Nov. MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

Pius PP. X.

DOCUMENTARY COLLECTION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

Dilecto Filio Vincentio Sardi Ab Epistolis Nostris ad Principes Canonico Petriano Pius PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Exposuisti Nobis, vixdum a benignitate Nostra ad munus evectus fuisti epistolarum Nostrarum ad Principes conscribendarum, reperisse te in Tabulario tuae curae credito documenta omnia, quae ad Definitionem Dogmatis de Immaculato Conceptu augustae Deiparentis Mariae pertinerent. Usus autem opportunitate celebritatum, quibus, Decembri proximo, quinquagesimus annus a dicta Definitione commemorabitur, consilium inivisti ea documenta omnia, si placeret Nobis, in lucem edendi, ac volumen Nostro Nomini dedicandi. Propositum, dilecte fili, quod iam probavimus, probamus iterum, et volumen dicari Nobis libentissime annuimus. Idque non eo solum quod labore a te suscipiendo Magnae Dei Matri honor accedet; verum etiam quia ex memorata documentorum editione licebit cuique agnoscere qua cunctatione, qua prudentia, quibus diuturnis consiliis Pius IX, Decessor Noster, in tanti momenti re usus fuerit. Non dubitamus quin librum omnes laeto animo sint excepturi quotquot vel sacrae student eruditioni, vel Sanctam Dei Matrem peculiari pietate prosequuntur. Tibi interea caelestium munerum ubertatem adprecamur. Nostrae vero benevolentiae pignus, Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XV Augusti MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

Pius PP. X.

THE KAISER AND THE SISTINE CHAPEL FRESCOES.

Augustissimo Serenissimoque principi Guilelmo Germaniae Imperatori Borussiae Regi Illustri Pius PP. X.

Augustissime et serenissime Imperator, salutem et felicitatem.

Primum operis volumen, quod ad Xystinum illustrandum sacrum Ernestus Steinmann, doctor, edere est aggressus, pergrate a Maiestate Tua dono suscepimus, gratiasque Eidem quam plurimas de praeclaro munere agimus. Novum inde haurire placet argumentum humanitatis urbanitatisque, quae in praenobili ac munifico Maiestatis Tuae animo elucet ac splendent; libetque gratulari etiam vehementer quod ad rem tanti tamque explorati decoris favorem omnem ac liberalitatem Tua Maiestas contulerit. Id interea gaudemus, doctoris Germanici studio novum artis monumentum e Vaticanis aedibus fuisse profectum, semperque id genus opera in eruditis Germaniae viris laudabimus, quum non minus eadem ad Nostram illustrandam Sedem, quam ad comparandam Imperio isti gloriam conducant. Maiestati Tuae omnique Augustae Ipsius Domui faustissima quaeque exoptamus, Deumque adprecamur ut Maiestatem Tuam incolumen diutissime servet. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die IX Maii MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

Pius PP. X.

III. DECREES RELATING TO THE SACRAMENTS.

TAMESTI (MARRIAGE) DECREE EXTENDED TO ALL GERMANY.

Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei Ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.

Provida sapientique cura quavis aetate Sancta Ecclesia legibus latis ea disposuit quae ad christianorum connubiorum firmitatem et sanctitatem pertinerent. In quibus legibus illa eminentem locum habet, qua Sancta Synodus Tridentina¹ clandestinorum matrimoniorum pestem abolere et ex populo christiano extirpare contendit. Magnam ex hoc Tridentino Decreto utilitatem in universam rempublicam christianam promanasse et hodie quoque promanare apud omnes in confesso est. Nihilominus, ut sunt res humanae, contigit alicubi, et praesertim in Imperio Germanico, propter lamentabilem maximamque in religione divisionem et catholicorum cum haereticis permixtionem in dies augescentem, ut cum praedictae legis observantia incommoda etiam quaedam nec levia coniungerentur. Nimirum cum ex voluntate Concilii caput *Tamesti* non antea in singulis parocciis vim obligandi habere coeperit quam in illis rite esset promulgatum,² et cum haec ipsa promulgatio an facta sit multis in locis dubitetur,

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incertum quoque non raro sit an lex Concilii obliget etiam acatholicos uno aliove in loco morantes, maxima inde ac molestissima in plurimis Imperii Germanici locis nata iuris diversitas et dissimilitudo, plurimaeque et spinosae exortae sunt quaestiones quae in iudiciis quidem persaepe perplexitatem, in populo fideli quamdam legis irreverentiam, in acatholicis perpetuas cierent querelas et criminationes. Non omisit quidem Sedes Apostolica pro nonnullis Germaniae dioecesibus opportunas edere dispositiones et declarationes, quae tamen iuris discrepantiam minime sustulerunt.

Atque haec moverunt complures Germaniae Episcopos ut iterum iterumque Sedem Apostolicam adirent communibus precibus huic rerum conditioni remedium petentes. Quorum preces Decessor Noster f. r. Leo XIII benigne excipiens praecepit ut ceterorum quoque Germaniae Praesulum vota exquirerentur. Quibus acceptis et toto negotio in Suprema Congregatione Sacrae Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis mature discusso, Nostrum esse officium intelleximus praesenti rerum statui efficax et universale levamen afferre. Itaque ex certa scientia et plenitudine Nostrae potestatis, ut consulamus sanctitati firmitatique matrimonii, disciplinae unitati et constantiae, certitudini iuris, faciliiori reconciliationi poenitentium, ipsi quoque paci et tranquillitati publicae, declaramus, decernimus ac mandamus:

I. In universo hodierno Imperio Germaniae caput *Tametsi* Concilii Tridentini quamvis in pluribus locis, sive per expressam publicationem sive per legitimam observantiam, nondum fuerit certo promulgatum, et inductum, tamen inde a die festo Paschae (idest a die decimaquinta Aprilis) huius anni millesimi nongentesimi sexti omnes catholicos, etiam hucusque immunes a forma Tridentina servanda, ita adstringat ut inter se non aliter quam coram parcho et duobus vel tribus testibus validum matrimonium celebrare possint.^a

II. Matrimonia mixta quae a catholicis cum haereticis vel schismaticis contrahuntur, graviter sunt manentque prohibita, nisi accedente iusta gravique causa canonica datis integre, formiter, utrimque legitimis cautionibus per partem catholicam dispensatio super impedimento mixtae religionis rite fuerit obtenta. Quae quidem matrimonia, dispensatione licet impetrata, omnino in facie Ecclesiae coram parcho ac duobus tribusve testibus celebranda sunt, adeo ut graviter delinquant qui coram ministro acatholico vel coram solo civili magistratu vel alio quolibet modo clandestino contrahunt. Imo si qui catholici in matrimoniis istis mixtis celebrandis ministri acatholici operam exquirunt vel admittunt, aliud patrant delictum et canonicis censuris subiacent.

Nihilominus matrimonia mixta in quibusvis Imperii Germanici

provinciis et locis, etiam in iis quae iuxta Romanarum Congregationum decisiones vi irritanti capitis *Tametsi* certo hucusque subiecta fuerunt, non servata forma Tridentina iam contracta vel (quod Deus avertat) in posterum contrahenda, dummodo nec aliud obstet canonicum impedimentum, nec sententia nullitatis propter impedimentum clandestinitatis ante diem festum Paschae huius anni legitime lata fuerit, et mutuus coniugum consensus usque ad dictam diem perseveraverit, pro validis omnino haberi volumus, idque expresse declaramus, definimus atque decernimus.*

III. Ut autem iudiciis Ecclesiasticis tuta norma praesto sit, hoc idem iisdemque sub conditionibus et restrictionibus declaramus, statuimus ac decernimus de matrimoniis acatholicorum, sive haeticorum sive schismaticorum, inter se in iisdem regionibus non servata forma Tridentina hucusque contractis vel in posterum contrahendis; ita ut si alter vel uterque acatholicorum coniugum ad fidem catholicam convertatur, vel in foro ecclesiastico controversia incidat de validitate matrimonii duorum acatholicorum cum quaestione validitatis matrimonii ab aliquo catholico contracti vel contrahendi connexa, eadem matrimonia, ceteris paribus, pro omnino validis pariter habenda sint.

IV. Ut demum Decretum hoc Nostrum ad publicam notitiam perveniat, praecipimus Imperii Germanici Ordinariis ut illud per ephemerides dioecesanarum aliosque opportuniore modos ante diem Paschae anni currentis cum clero populiue fidei communicent. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XVIII Ianuarii MDCCCVI, Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

Pius PP. X.

* Cfr. Conc. Trid. (*Sess. 24, cap. I, de Reform. matr.*) et declaratio cum instructione S. C. Concilii diei 4 Novembris 1741 super dubiis respicientibus matrimonia in Hollandia et Belgio contracta et contrahenda. Haec declaratio iam in quibusdam Imperii Germanici dioecesibus aliisque in regionibus vigeat, prout videre est penes Gasparri *De matrimonio*, vol. 2, pag. 536.

* Sess. XXIV, cap. I, de Reform. matr.

* Hoc modo integra quoque Germania legi clandestinitatis a Conc. Trid. (*Sess. 24, cap. I, de Reform. matr.*) generatim inductae subiicitur (*N. R.*).

* Omnibus compertum est iure communi, quo nunc regimur, etiam matrimonia mixta quae inter catholicos et haeticos vel schismaticos, necnon matrimonia quae inter ipsos catholicos contrahuntur, legi clandestinitatis subesse. Quapropter si praefata coniugia non celebrentur coram Ecclesia seu coram parocho proprio et duobus vel tribus testibus nedum sunt illicita sed etiam ipso iure nulla. Hodierna vero dispositione, sub n. 2 et 3 contenta, huiusmodi matrimonia clandestina, quantumvis illicita, valida tamen in posterum pro Germania declarantur. Praeterea duae conditiones, quae inibi apponuntur, ex se patent. Prima enim in hoc consistit ut aliud non extet impedimentum matrimonii dirimens, quia secus coniugium ex hoc capite irritum esset; hinc,

IV. RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

ORDERS—THE EXAMINATION OF REGULARS.

Motu Proprio De examinibus ordinandorum Regularium in Italia et in insulis eiusdem ditioni subiectis. Pius PP. X.

Religiosorum Ordinum familias, utpote quae praeclaro semper et adiumento et ornamento fuerint Ecclesiae, peculiari quadam Nos providentia studioque prosequimur; in primisque dandam operam arbitramur, ut constanter pergant, pro necessitatibus temporum, salutare esse ac frugiferae. Hanc ob causam, quoniam ipsae, praeterquam sanctarum exercitatione virtutum, etiam doctrinae laude florent necesse est, Nos e re esse haud ita pridem duximus, aliquid in hoc genere statuere. Etenim, noveramus quidem Sacram Congregationem, Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis et consultationibus praepositam, auctoritate decessoris Nostri fel. rec. Leonis XIII, die IV Novembris MDCCCXCII, prudentissime praescripsisse, ut "professum votorum solemnum, tum votorum simplicium ab Ordinariis locorum ad sacros Ordines non admittantur, nisi, praeter alia a Iure statuta, testimoniales litteras exhibeant, quod saltem per annum sacrae theologiae operam dederint, si agatur de subdiaconatu; ad minus per biennium, si de subdiaconatu; et quoad presbyteratum saltem per triennium, praemisso tamen regulari aliorum studiorum curriculo."¹ Sed praescriptiones huiusmodi non aliter videbantur suos omnes fructus efferre posse, quam si candidati ad sacros Ordines legitimo experimento probare deberent, se in constitutis doctrinae studiis satis profecisse. Id quod ceteroqui sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus iusserat: nam Sess. XXIII, Cap. VII de Reform., haec habet generatim: "Episcopus ordinandorum omnium mores et doctrinam diligenter investiget et examinet"; nominatim autem de Regularibus eiusd. Sess. Cap. XII: "Regulares non sine diligenti Episcopi examine ordinentur, privilegiis quibuscumque quoad hoc penitus exclusis." Opportunum igitur apparebat esse, hanc Tridentini Concilii legem revocari, quae diuturnitate obsolevisset; idque Nos anno superiore praestitimus pro Urbe, quum die XVI mensis Iulii Motu-proprio decrevimus,² ut quicumque sive de saeculari sive de regulari clero ad sacros Ordines promovendi essent, omnes, excepto nemine, doctrinae periculum facerent in Curia Cardinalis Vicarii Nostri.

quoties huiusmodi impedimentum vi pontificiae dispensationis auferri valeat et revera auferatur, etiam clandestinum matrimonium validum est censendum. Altera conditio in eo est ut mutuus coniugum consensus perseveret, quum ipso deficiente idem matrimonialis contractus concipi nequit.

These notes are from the editors of the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*.

Nunc vero placet, etiam ex consulto Moderatorum Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, memoratum Nostrum decretum per has litteras extendere. Quare Nos, Motu item proprio, volumus ac iubemus, ut in Italia et in insulis Italiae ditioni subiectis, Religiosi omnes, vel ad Instituta votorum simplicium, vel ad votorum sollemnium pertinentes, ne ante ad sacros Ordines promoveantur, quam ab Episcopo loci, diligenti doctrinae examine probati sint idonei: sublato, ad hunc tantummodo effectum, quocumque contrario privilegio, etiam specialissima et individua mentione digno, abrogataque quacumque contraria consuetudine, etiam centenaria et immemoriali, quam in futurum quoque induci prohibemus. Id examen qua ratione instituendum sit, Episcopi definient: hique vero curabunt, quemadmodum Nos eo pro Urbe Motu proprio constituimus, ut candidati non solum in iis rebus, quae ad Ordinem adeundum pertinent, sed in aliis quoque de theologia dogmatica tractationibus periculum faciant. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIX Martii anno millesimo nongentesimo sexto, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

NEW RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS.

Motu Proprio De religiosorum sodalitatibus nisi consulta Apostolica Sede non instituendis. Pius PP. X.

Dei providentis benignitatem, opportune Ecclesiae temporibus subvenientem, cum alia multa ostendunt, tum hoc praeclare, quod veteribus religiosorum Ordinibus ob conversionem publicarum rerum dispersis afflictisque, nova instituta accessere, quae, professionem religiosae vitae retinendo, ingravescentibus christiani populi necessitatibus multipliciter deserviunt. Illas hoc loco, ut apparet, utriusque sexus Familias dicimus, proprio et titulo et habitu distinctas easdemque solo simplicium votorum aut nullo id genus vinculo adstrictas, quarum sodales, licet in plures distributi domos, eisdem tamen legibus ac sub uno summo praeside omnes vivunt, eo proposito, ut perfectionem virtutis ipsi assequantur, seque proximorum causa in variis religionis aut misericordiae operibus exercent. Profecto sodalitatum istiusmodi, tam bene de Ecclesia deque ipsa civili societate merentium, sperandum est, numquam defuturam copiam: hodieque libet agnoscere, usque adeo eas increbuisse, ut nullum videatur esse ministrandae caritatis christianae genus, quod illae reliquum fecerint. Verumtamen, quae est humanae conditionis infirmitas, ex ipsa ista

¹ Cfr. Decretum Auctis admodum relatum in Actis S. Sedis, vol. 25, page 312.

² Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 38, pag. 8, necnon pag. 354.

talium sodalitatum frequentia, nisi temperatio aliqua iuris accesserit, fieri non potest quin aliquando sacrae disciplinae perturbatio quaedam oriatur et confusio, Itaque ad hoc avertendum incommodum plura iam Apostolica Sedes edixit; nominatimque cavit, ne ibi sodalitas nova conderetur, ubi per alias iam conditas necessitatibus loci satis consultum esset; neve ulla usquam sineretur institui, quae aut redditibus careret, ad sodalium victum necessariis, aut quidquam minus decorum in titulo, in habitu, in opere exercendo prae se ferret. Praeterea Sacrum Consilium Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis praepositum nonnulla praescripsit antea servanda, quam hae sodalitates earumque constitutiones approbatione aut laude Sedis Apostolicae honestarentur. At vero experimentis compertum est, nondum per has praescriptiones satis esse provisum, ne sodalitates ab suis exordiis in eo statu collocentur, unde postea, quum Apostolicae Sedis comprobatio erit assequenda, debeant magno saepe cum detrimento recedere. Quare, de eiusdem Sacri Consilii sententia, haec Nos quae infra scripta sunt, motu proprio statuimus:

I. Nullus Episcopus aut cuiusvis loci Ordinarius, nisi habita Apostolicae Sedis per litteras licentia, novam alterutrius sexus sodalitatem condat aut in sua diocesi condi permittat.

II. Ordinarius, huius licentiae impetrandae gratia, Sacrum Consilium Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis praepositum adeat per libellum supplicem, quo haec docebit: quis qualisque sit novae sodalitatis auctor, et qua is causa ad eam instituendam ducatur; quibus verbis conceptum sit sodalitatis condendae nomen seu titulus; quae sit forma, color, materia, partes habitus a novitiis et professis gestandi; quot et quanam sibi opera sodalitas assumptura sit; quibus opibus tuitio eiusdem contineatur; an similia in diocesi sint instituta, et quibus illa operibus insistant.

III. Accepta Sacri Consilii veniâ, nihil iam obstat, quo minus Ordinarius novam sodalitatem instituat aut institui permittat, eo tamen titulo, habitu proposito ceterisque rebus ab ipso Sacro Consilio recognitis, probatis designatisve; quae numquam deinceps, nisi eodem consentiente, immutare licebit.

IV. Conditae sodalitatis constitutiones Ordinarius recognoscat: verum ne prius approbet, quam eas ad normam eorum, quae Sacrum Consilium in hac causa decrevit, exigendas curaverit.

V. Instituta sodalitas, quamvis decursu temporis in plures dioeceses diffusa, usque tamen, dum pontificiae approbationis aut laudis testimonio caruerit, Ordinariorum iurisdictioni subiaceat, ut Decessoris Nostri constitutione Conditae sancitum est.

Quae vero per has litteras decreta sunt, ea Nos rata et firma esse

volumus, contrariis quibusvis minime obstantibus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XVI Iulii anno MXMVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.
Pius PP. X.

Praescriptiones, de quibus est sermo, continentur in Bulla Conditae a Christo diei 8 Decembris 1900 (Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 33, pag. 341) praesertim cap. I, n. 3; necnon in Normis secundum quas S. Congr. EE. et RR. procedere solet in approbandis novis Institutis votorum simplicium, diei 28 Inuii 1901.

Ordinarii dioecesani potestatem approbandi vel canonice erigendi Instituta votorum tum solemnium tum etiam simplicium, consentiente Apostolica Sede, iam ante saeculum XIII exercebantur. Verum Romani Pontifices hanc facultatem sibi primitus reservarunt in Concilio Lateranensi II (Cap. Ne nimia, de relig. dom.); quod dein subsequentibus decretis confirmarunt. Imo quod ad Instituta votorum simplicium attinet, Pius V Bullis Circa pastoralis et Lubricum vitae genus ea penitus prohibuit. Tractu vero temporis Ecclesia nedum disciplinam Pianam temperavit, sed et huiusmodi Instituta approbare et canonice erigere coepit. Hinc factum est ut etiam Episcopi, Summo Pontifice non improbante, eandem facultatem saec. XVII et XVIII exercuissent, quam deinde anno 1900 a Leone XIII per Bullam Conditae a Christo solemniter confirmatam habuerunt.

Ordinarius nempe approbare nequit constitutiones Instituti, nisi hae conformes sint Normis, quibus Sancta Sedes uti solet in novis Institutis a probandis, quum consentaneum omnino sit ut Institutum iam a suo exordio iuxta Apostolicas regulas moderetur.

Dicta igitur Summi Pontificis licentia aliud non est nisi nihil obstat quominus Institutum votorum simplicium canonice erigatur vel approbetur ab Ordinario loci, sub suis proinde iurisdictione manere omnino debet, usque dum etiam a S. Sede approbetur.

SUPPRESSION OF TWO ROMAN CONGREGATIONS.

Motu Proprio De Sacris Congregationibus super Disciplina Regulari et de Statu Regularium Ordinum extinguendis. Pius PP. X.

Sacrae Congregationi super negotiis Episcoporum et Regularium providentissime constitutae duplicem aliam Romani Pontifices, decedentes Nostri, congruenter necessitatibus temporum, adiecerunt. Nam Innocentius XII, ad tuendam in religiosis Italiae familiis sancti instituti integritatem, die XVIII Iulii an. MDCXCV Const. Sanctissimus, Congregationem instituit super Disciplina Regulari; quae quidem Congregatio, praeter propriam provinciam, conservandi scilicet inviolatam in Italia disciplinam religiosorum Ordinum internam, propositum habuit, opportuna Summo Pontifici consilia suggerere quae ad fovendam et reparandam eam ipsam disciplinam etiam extra Italiam pertinerent. Pius autem IX fel. rec. Congregationem de Statu Regularium Ordinum, quam ab Innocentio X. fundatam Innocentius XII sustulerat, decreto dei VII Septembris an. MDCCCXLVI edito tamquam extraordinariam restituit, eiusque hoc voluit esse munus, quod memoratae modo Congregationis partim fuerat, disci-

plinam in religiosis Ordinibus per universam Ecclesiam instaurare novisque fovere decretis.

At vero, mutatis hodie adiunctis rerum ac temporum, iam non satis esse causae videtur, cur hae duae Congregationes a Congregatione Episcoporum et Regularium distinctae permaneant; multum esse, cur ipsae cum illa coalescant, nempe ut religiosorum negotia melius et facilius, servato rerum ordine ac similitudine, expediantur. Eo magis, quod Congregatio super Disciplina regulari iamdiu communi utitur Cardinali Praefecto, et communis cum Congregatione Episcoporum et Regularium est utriusque Secretarius: Congregatio autem de Statu Regularium Ordinum munus sibi demandatum iam magna ex parte ad exitum feliciter adduxit. Itaque hisce omnibus mature perpensis, Nos Motu proprio Congregationem tum super Disciplina Regulari tum de Statu Regularium Ordinum penitus abolemus, abolitasque esse declaramus, ac facultates ipsarum omnes in Sacram Congregationem Episcoporum et Regularium perpetuo transferimus. Quod autem his litteris decretum est, ratum firumque auctoritate Nostra Apostolica iubemus esse, contrariis quibusvis minime obstantibus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXVI Maii anno millesimo noningentesimo sexto, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

V. ECCLESIASTICAL OBEDIENCE.

Epistola Encyclica SS. D.N. Pii div. prov. Papae X ad Archiepiscopos et Episcopos Italiae, de inobedientiae ac independentiae spiritu in clericis reprimendo.

Ai Venerabili Fratelli Arcivescovi E Vescovi D'Italia Pio PP. X. Venerabili Fratelli, salute ed Apostolica benedizione.

Pieni l'animo di salutare timore per la ragione severissima, che dovremo rendere un giorno al Principe dei pastori Gesù Cristo a riguardo del gregge da lui affidatoci, passiamo i di Nostri in una continua sollecitudine, a preservare, quanto e possibile, i fedeli dai mali perniciosissimi, onde e affitta di presente l'umana società. Teniamo perciò come detta a Noi la parola del Profeta: Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam;¹ e non manchiamo, ora di viva voce ed ora per lettere, di avvertire, di pregare, di riprendere, eccitando soprattutto lo zelo dei Nostri Fratelli nell'episcopato, onde spieghi ciascuno la piu sollecita vigilanza sulla porzione dell'ovile, a cui lo Spirito Santo lo ebbe preposto.

Il motivo, che Ci spinge a levare di nuovo la voce, e del piu grave

¹ Is. LVIII, 1.

momento. Trattasi di richiamare tutta l'attenzione del vostro spirito e tutta l'energia del vostro pastoral ministero contro un disordine, di cui già si provano i funesti effetti: e se con mano forte non si svella dalle piu ime radici, conseguenze ancor piu fatali si proveranno coll' andare degli anni. Abbiamo infatti sott-occhi le lettere di non pochi fra voi, o Venerabili Fratelli; lettere piene di tristezza e di lagrime, le quali deplorano lo spirito d'insubordinazione e d'indipendenza, che si manifesta qua e la in mezzo al clero. Purtroppo un'atmosfera di veleno corrompe largamente gli animi ai nostri giorni; e gli effetti mortiferi sono quelli che gia descrisse l'apostolo S. Giuda: *Hi carnem quidem maculant, dominationem autem spernunt, maiestatem autem blasphemant;*¹ oltre cioè alla piu degradante corruzione dei costumi, il disprezzo aperto di ogni autorità e di coloro che la esercitano. Ma che tale spirito penetri comechessia fino nel santuario ed infetti coloro, ai quali piu propriamente convenir dovrebbe la parola dell' Ecclesiastico: *Natio illorum, obedientia et dilectio;*² e cosa questa che Ci ricolma l'animo d'immenso dolore. Ed e soproattutto fra i giovani sacerdoti che si funesto spirito va menando guasto, spargendosi in mezzo ad essi nuove e riprovevoli teorie intorno alla natura stessa dell'obbedienza. E, ciò ch'è piu grave, quasi ad acquistar per tempo nuove reclute al nascente stuolo dei ribelli, di tali massime si va facendo propaganda piu o meno occulta fra i giovani, che nei recinti dei Seminari si preparano al sacerdozio.

Pertanto, o Venerabili Fratelli, sentiamo il dovere di fare appello alla vostra coscienza, perche, deposta ogni esitazione, con animo vigoroso e con pari costanza diate opera a distruggere questo mal seme, fecondo di esizialissime conseguenze. Rammentate ognora che lo Spirito Santo vi ha posti a reggere. Rammentate il precetto di S. Paolo a Tito: *Argue cum omni imperio. Nemo te contemnat.*³ Esigete severamente dai sacerdoti e dai chierici quella obbedienza, che, se per tutti i fedeli è assolutamente obbligatoria, pei sacerdoti costituisce parte precipua del loro sacro dovere.

A prevenire però di lunga mano il moltiplicarsi di questi animi riottosi, gioverà assaissimo, Venerabili Fratelli, l'aver sempre presente l'alto ammonimento dell'Apostolo a Timoteo: *Manus cito nemini imposueris.*⁴ È la facilità infatti nell'ammettere alle sacre ordinazioni quella, che apre naturalmente la via ad un moltiplicarsi di gente nel santuario, che poi non accresce letizia. Sappiamo esservi città e dio-

¹ Iud., 8.

² III, 1.

³ II, 15.

⁴ I Timoth. v. 22.

cesi, ove, lungi dal potersi lamentare scarsità nel clero, il numero dei sacerdoti è di gran lunga superiore alla necessità dei fedeli. Deh! qual motivo, o Venerabili Fratelli, di rendere così frequente la imposizione delle mani? Se la scarsità del clero non può essere ragione bastevole a precipitare in negozio di tanta gravità; là dove il clero sovrabbonda al bisogno, nulla è che scusi dalle più sottili cautele e da somma severità nella scelta di coloro, che debbano assumersi all'onore sacerdotale. Ne l'insistenza degli aspiranti può menomare la colpa di siffatta facilità. Il sacerdozio, istituito da Gesù Cristo per la salvezza eterna delle anime, non è per fermo un mestiere od un ufficio umano qualsiasi, al quale ognun che il voglia e per qualunque ragione abbia diritto di liberamente dedicarsi. Promuovano adunque i Vescovi, non secondo le brame o le pretese di chi aspira, ma, come prescrive il Tridentino, secondo la necessità delle diocesi; e nel promuovere di tal guisa, potranno scegliere solamente coloro che sono veramente idonei, rimandando quelli che mostrassero inclinazioni contrarie alla vocazione sacerdotale, precipua fra esse la indisciplinezza e ciò che la genera, l'orgoglio della mente.

Perchè poi non manchino i giovani che porgano in se attitudine per essere assunti a sacro ministero, torniamo, Venerabili Fratelli, ad insistere con più premura su ciò che già più volte raccomandammo: sull'obbligo cioè che vi corre gravissimo dinanzi a Dio, di vigilare e promuovere con ogni sollecitudine il retto andamento dei vostri Seminari. Tali avrete i sacerdoti, quali voi li avrete educati. Gravissima è su ciò la lettera che vi diresse, in data 8 Dicembre 1902, il Nostro sapientissimo Prodecessore, quasi testamento del suo diuturno pontificato.¹ Nulla Noi vogliamo agiungervi di nuovo; richiamiamo solo alla vostra memoria le prescrizioni in essa contenute; e raccomandiamo vivamente, che al più presto sieno messi in esecuzione i Nostri ordini, emanati per organo della Sacra Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, sulla concentrazione dei Seminari, specialmente per gli studi della Filosofia e della Teologia, a fine di ottenere così il grande vantaggio derivante dalla separazione dei Seminari piccoli dai Seminari maggiori, e l'altro non meno rilevante della necessaria istruzione del clero.

I Seminari siano gelosamente mantenuti nello spirito proprio, e rimangano esclusivamente destinati a preparare i giovani, non a civili carriere, ma all'alta missione di ministri di Cristo. Gli studi di Filosofia, di Teologia e delle scienze affini, specialmente della Sacra Scrittura, si compiano, tenendosi alle pontificie prescrizioni, e allo studio di S. Tommaso, tante volte raccomandato dal venerato Nostro

¹ Cfr. *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. 35, pag. 257.

Predecessore e da Noi nelle Lettere Apostoliche del 23 Gennaio 1904.¹ I Vescovi poi esercitino la più scrupolosa vigilanza sui maestri e sulle loro dottrine, richiamando al dovere coloro, che corressero dietro a certe novità pericolose, ed allontanando senza riguardo dall'insegnamento quanti non apprifittassero delle ricevute ammonizioni. Il frequentare le pubbliche Università non sia permesso ai giovani chierici se non per molto gravi ragioni e con le maggiori cautele per parte dei Vescovi. Sia onninamente impedito che dagli alunni dei Seminari si prenda parte comechessia ad agitazioni esterne; e perciò interdiciamo loro la lettura di giornali e di periodici, salvo per questi ultimi, e per eccezione, qualcuno di sodi principi, stimato dal Vescovo opportuno allo studio degli alunni. Si mantenga con sempre maggior vigore e vigilanza l'ordinamento disciplinare. Non manchi da ultimo in verum Seminario il direttore di spirito, uomo di prudenza non ordinaria ed esperto nelle vie della perfezione cristiana, il quale, con cure indefesse, coltivi i giovani in quella soda pietà, ch'è il primo fondamento della vita sacerdotale. Queste norme, o Venerabili Fratelli, ove sieno da voi coscienzosamente e costantemente sequire, vi porgono sicuro affidamento di vedervi crescere intorno un clero, il quale sia vostro gaudio e corona vostra.

Se non che il disordine d'insubordinazione e d'indipendenza, finora da noi lamentato, in taluni del giovane clero va assai più oltre, con danni di gran lunga maggiori. Imperocchè non mancano di coloro, i quali sono talmente invasi da sì reprobò spirito, che abusando del sacro ministero della predicazione, se ne fanno apertamente, con rovina e scandalo dei fedeli, propugnatori ed apostoli.

Fin dal 31 Luglio 1894 il Nostro Antecessore, per mezzo della Sacra Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, richiamò l'attenzione degli Ordinari su questa grave materia.² Le disposizioni e le norme date in quel pontificio documento Noi le manteniamo e rinnoviamo, onerando su di esse la coscienza dei Vescovi, perchè non abbiano ad avverarsi mai in veruno di loro le parole di Nahum profeta: *Dormitaverunt pastores tui.*³ Nessuno può avere facoltà di predicare, *nisi prius de vita et scientia et moribus probatus fuerit.*⁴ I sacerdoti di altre diocesi non debbono ammettersi a predicare senza le lettere testimoniali del proprio Vescovo. La materia della predicazione sia quella indicata dal divin Redentore, là dove disse: *Praedicate evangelium. . .*⁵ *Docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis.*⁶

¹ Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 36, pag. 467.

² Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 27, pag. 162.

³ III, 18.

⁴ Conc. Trid., Sess. v, cap. 2, de Reform.

⁵ Marc. XVI, 15.

⁶ Matth. XXVIII, 20.

Ossia, come commenta il Concilio di Trento: *Annunciantes eis vitia, quae eos declinare, et virtutes quas sectari oportet, ut poenam aeternam evadere et caelestem gloriam consequi valeant.*¹ Quindi si bandiscano del tutto dal pulpito gli argomenti piu acconci alla palestra giornalistica ed alle aule accademiche che al luogo santo; si antepongano le prediche morali a conferenze, il men che possa dirsi, infruttifere; si parli *non in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis.*² Perciò la fonte precipua della predicazione devono essere le Sacre Scritture, intese, non già secondo i privati giudizi di menti il piu delle volte offuscate dalle passioni, ma secondo la tradizione della Chiesa, le interpretazioni dei Santi Padri e dei Concili.

Conformemente a queste norme, Venerabili Fratelli, egli è duopo che voi giudichiate di coloro, ai quali vien da voi comesso il ministero della divina parola. E qualora troviate che talun di essi, piu cupido degli interessi propri che di quelli di Gesu Cristo, piu sollecito di plauso mondano che del bene delle anime, se ne allontani; e voi ammonitelo, correggetelo; e se cio non basti, rimovetelo inesorabilmente da un ufficio, di cui si manifesta affatto indegno. La quale vigilanza e severità tanto piu dovute voi adoperare, perchè il ministero della predicazione è tutto proprio di voi ed è parte precipua dell'ufficio episcopale; e chiunque oltre di voi lo esercita, lo esercita in nome vostro ed in vostro luogo; ond'è che resta sempre a voi il rispondere innanzi a Dio del modo col quale viene dispensato ai fedeli il pane della parola divina. Noi, per declinare da parte Nostra ogni responsabilità, intimiamo ed ingiungiamo a tutti gli Ordinari di rifiutare o di sospendere, dopo le caritatevoli ammonizioni, anche durante la predicazione qualzivoglia predicatore, sia del clero secolare sia del regolare, il quale non ottemperi pienamente alle ingiunzioni della precitata Istruzione emanata della Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari. Meglio è che i fedeli si contentino della semplice omelia e della spiegazione del Catechismo fatta dai loro parroci, anzichè dover assistere a prediche che producono piu male che bene.

Un altro campo, dove tra il giovane clero si va travando purtroppo anse ed eccitamento a professare e propugnare la esenzione da ogni giogo di legittima autorità, è quello della cosi detta azione popolare cristiana. Non già, o Venerabili Fratelli, perchè questa azione sia in se riprovevole o porti di sua natura al disprezzo dell'autorità; ma perchè non pochi, fraintendondone la natura, si sono volontariamente

¹ Loc. cit.

² I Cor. II, 4.

allontanati dalle norme che a rettamente promuoverla furono prescritte dal Predecessore Nostro d'immortale memoria.

Parliamo, ben l'intendete, della Istruzione, che circa l'azione popolare cristiana emanò, per ordine di Leone XIII, la Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, il 27 Gennaio 1902, e che fu trasmessa a ciascun di voi, perche nelle rispettive diocesi ne curaste l'esecuzione.¹ Questa Istruzione altresì Noi manteniamo, e colla pienezza di Nostra potestà ne rinnoviamo tutte e singole le prescrizioni; come pure confermiamo e rinnoviamo tutte le altre da Noi stessi all'uopo emanate nel Motu-proprio del 18 Dicembre 1903 *De popolari actione christiana moderanda*, e nella Lettera circolare del diletto figlio Nostro il Cardinale Segretario di Stato, in data 28 Luglio 1904.²

In ordine alla fondazione e direzione di fogli e periodici il clero deve fedelmente osservare quanto è prescritto nell'art. 42 della Costituzione Apostolica "*Officiorum*":³ *Viri e clero . . . prohibentur quominus, absque praevia Ordinariorum venia, diaria vel folia periodica moderanda suscipiant.* Parimente, senza il previo assenso dell'Ordinario, niuno del clero può pubblicare scritto di sorta, sia di argomento religioso o morale, sia di carattere meramente tecnico. Nelle fondazioni di circoli e società, gli statuti e regolamenti debbono previamente esaminarsi ed approvarsi dall'Ordinario. Le conferenze sull'azione popolare cristiana o intorno a qualunque altro argomento, da nessun sacerdote o chierico potranno essere tenute senza il permesso dell'Ordinario del luogo. Ogni linguaggio, che possa ispirare nel popolo avversione alle classi superiori, è e deve ritenersi affatto contrario al vero spirito di carità cristiana. È similmente da riprovare nelle pubblicazioni cattoliche ogni parlare, che ispirandosi a novità malsana, derida la pietà dei fedeli ed accenni a *nuovi orientamenti della vita cristiana, nuove direzioni della Chiesa, nuove aspirazioni dell'anima moderna, nuova vocazione sociale del clero*, nuova civiltà cristiana, e simili. I sacerdoti, specialmente i giovani, benché sia lodevole che vadano al popolo, debbono nondimeno procedere in ciò col dovuto ossequio all'autorità e ai comandi dei Superiori ecclesiastici. E pure occupandosi, con la detta subordinazione, dell'azione popolare cristiana, deve essere loro nobile compito "di togliere i figli del popolo alla ignoranza delle cose spirituali ed eterne, e con industriosa amorevolezza avviarli ad un vivere onesto e virtuoso; riaffermare gli adulti nella fede dissi-

¹ Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 34, pag. 401.

² Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 36, pag. 339; et vol. 37, pag. 19.

³ 25 Gennaio 1897.—Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 30, pag. 39.

pandone i contrari pregiudizi, e confortarli alla pratica della vita cristiana; promuovere tra il laicato cattolico quelle istituzioni, che si riconoscano veramente efficaci al miglioramento morale e materiale delle moltitudini; propugnar sopra tutto i principi di giustizia e carità evangelica, ne'quali trovano equo temperamento tutti i diritti e i doveri della civil convivenza. . . . Ma abbiano sempre presente, che anche in mezzo al popolo il sacerdote deve servare integro il suo augusto carattere di ministro di Dio, essendo egli posto a capo dei fratelli *animarum causa*.¹ qualsivoglia maniera di occuparsi del popolo, a scapito della dignità sacerdotale, con danno dei doveri e della disciplina ecclesiastica, non potrebbe essere che altamente riprovata."²

Del resto, Venerabili Fratelli, a porre un argine efficace a questo fuorviare d'idee ed a questo dilatarsi di spirito d'indipendenza, colla Nostra autorità proibiamo d'oggi innanzi assolutamente a tutti i chierici e sacerdoti di dare il nome a qualsiasi società che non dipenda dai Vescovi. In modo poi piu speciale, e nominatamente, proibiamo ai medesimi, sotto pena pei chierici d'inabilità agli Ordini sacri e pei sacerdoti di sospensione ipso facto a divinis, di ascrivere alla *Lega democratica nazionale*, il cui Programma fu da Roma-Torrette li 20 Ottobre 1905, e lo Statuto, pur senza nome dell'autore, fu nell'anno stesso stampato a Bologna presso la Commissione Provvisoria.

Sono queste le prescrizioni, che, avuto riguardo alle condizioni presenti del Clero d'Italia, ed in materia di tanta importanza, esigea da Noi la sollecitudine dell'Apostolico ufficio. Ora altro non Ci resta, che aggiungere nuovi stimoli al vostro zelo, Venerabili Fratelli, affinché tali disposizioni e prescrizioni Nostre abbiano pronta e piena esecuzione nelle vostre diocesi. Prevenite il male dove fortunatamente ancor non si mostra; estinguetelo con prontezza dov'è sul nascere; e dove per sventura sie già adulto, estirpatelo con mano energica e risoluta. Di ciò gravando la vostra coscienza, vi imploriamo da Dio lo spirito di prudenza e fermezza necessaria. Ed a tal fine vi impartiamo dall'intimo del cuore l'Apostolica Benedizione.

Dato a Roma presso S. Pietro, il 28 Luglio 1906, anno terzo del Nostro Pontificato.

Pius PP. X.

¹ S. Greg. M., Regul. Past., pars II, c. vii.

² Ep. Encycl. 8 Dec. 1902.—Cfr. Acta S. Sedis, vol. 35, pag. 257.

VI. CATHOLIC SOCIETIES.

THE BONIFATIUS-VEREIN.

(I)

Dilectis Filiis Francisco Nacke, Antistiti Urbano, Propraesidi Ceterisque Viris de Supremo Consilio Societatis Bonifacianae Paderbornam. Pius PP. X.

Dilecti Filii, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Non ignota Nobis quidem erant insignia erga Ecclesiam promerita Societatis vestrae, iamdudum elaborantis, ut Germanicae nationis catholici homines, qui, acatholicis et schismaticis permixti, Germaniam, Austriam et Helvetiam incolunt, salvam et incolumem ab horum consuetudine convictuque periculoso conservent fidem. Singularem vero voluptatem nuper cepimus ex eo libro, quem ad Nos cum summae observantiae significantione misistis de ratione cursuque instituti vestri, unde cognovimus quae, toto hoc annorum plus quinquaginta spatio, in salutem vestrorum popularium egeritis. Profecto ista Nos reputantes, facere non possumus quin et Dei providentis bonitati ingentes agamus gratias, et diligentiam vestram, aequae ac Decessores Nostri, laudibus ornemus.

Nunc autem fructus istius diligentiae etiam ampliores, Deo item auxiliante, polliceri Nobis posse vehementer gratum est. Vos enim parati, uti convenit, illuc accurrere prolixius opitulatum, unde maior necessitas opis ostenditur, rectissime operam vestram amplificare et intendere cogitatis in Austriae finibus, per Bohemiam maxime; quippe ibi fervet maxime actiosa vis haereticorum, quibuslibet artibus molientium divellere et abstrahere quamplurimos possunt a sinu complexuque Romanae Ecclesiae. Et revera pro facultatibus nominatim, quibus abundant, nimium quantum proficiunt! Huius tanti mali progressionibus obsistere (quod quidem, nisi mature cohibeatur, evasurum brevi est in teterrimum perduellionis incendium, idque fortasse maius quam ut restingui possit) non modo vobis debet esse propositum, sed omnibus bonis, quicumque istae illatas Ecclesiae matri iniurias et detrimenta dolent, atque aegre ferunt fratrum suorum vicem, qui misere ruunt in interitum. Itaque conata laboresque vestros in hac religionis et animarum clade prohibenda, dubitare non possumus quin primum, pro conscientia pastoralis officii, magis magisque, auctoritate gratiaque sua, velint adjuvare Episcopi, ac praesertim efficere, ut Societatis vestrae Opus in singulis dioecesis suae parocciis aut instituant, aut iam institutum refoveant. Sed universos praeterea, potissime ex Austria, catholicos valde confidimus pro sua quemque facultate, vobis suppetias venturos. Quos quidem,

etsi satis per se promptos intelligimus ita contendere pro fide ut tempus postulat, velimus tamen voce quoque excitari Nostra, qua studiosissime eos hortamur quaesumusque ut, quavis mutua concertationis causa seposita, omnes, coniunctis animis foederatisque viribus, contra communem religionis et civitatis hostem, operam vobis navando, dimicent.

At praeter istas regiones, in quibus usque adhuc salutaris industria Bonifacianae Societatis se continuit, videte quanti referat eiusdem beneficia ad ipsam proferre Italiam. Hic enim in praecipuis urbibus vestrates bene multos habitare novimus, eosque maximam partem expertes catholicae fidei. Quum his ante omnia praesidia abunde suppetant ad colenda sacra professionis suae, dolendum interea est, qui sunt catholici, eos nec ita paucos, si excipias qui Romae commorantur, in magno salutis aeternae versari discrimine; siquidem destituti sacerdotum ministerio, ob sermonis utrinque inscientiam, sibi prorsus relictis, nimis facile fit ut tandem inducant animum aut christianae vitae officia deserere, aut ad heterodoxos, quibuscum vivunt, sese adiungere. Rem cernitis agi eiusmodi, quae Bonifacianae Societatis operam et adiumenta inprimis desideret. Quare vos, pro instituto vestro, hos etiam populares, quos dicimus, incolas Italiae certe habebitis curae, nec patiemihi quemquam ex eis, paene in conspectu Romanae Sedis, fidei sanctae iacturam facere. Nos interim precamur ex animo uberrima coeptis vestris caelestia munera: quorum auspicem ac peculiaris benevolentiae Nostrae testem, vobis, dilecti filii, universis Societatis vestrae sodalibus aequi omnibus qui suis vos opibus iuvant, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die I Maii MDCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

Pius PP. X.

(II)

Dilecto Filio Urbano Schachleiter O. S. B. Praesidi Sodalitatis Bonifacianae Pragae. Pius PP. X.

Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Illustris atque explorata Sodalitatis Bonifacianae promerita, cuius fructus, tum ad religionem tum ad civilem cultum et patriae amorem abunde latos, plus semel dignos duximus laude, tuo esse nomini actionique coniuncta libenti animo novimus. Etenim moderatoris munere perfurgentem Sodalitatis a Sancto Bonifatio ac menstrui commentarii, cui item a Sancto Bonifatio nomen, plurimum te utilitatis catholicis Austriae creare compertum habemus; eos quippe et in avita tuenda fide confirmas et a praeiudicatis dissentientium opinionibus immunes reddis ac liberes. Id autem scribendi regendique com-

mentarii opus, aetati tam congruum nostrae, actuosius etiam, crebris, fecundisque auges laboribus expeditionum sacrarum, illuc nimirum assidue prompteque te sistens, quo gravior ab hostibus feratur impetus. Itaque grate Nobis contingit, quae ipse multiplici studio atque industria perficis ad populorum sincera ac mansura provehenda bona, laude et commendatione prosequi eam etiam in rem ut animos inde capias novos pro sollertia exaugenda tua. Nec minus gratum est hoc uti loco posse Benedicti Santer, Abbatis dilaudandi, e quo quum exemplum profectum esse scimus prohibendi arcendique inimici conatus, tum potissima derivata fuisse operi praesidia cognovimus; te quippe is legit tribuitque rei ducem, comitemque adiunxit, propositi studiosissimum, Augustinum Galen. Mens vero Nobis est neque ullum non Nostra complecti voluntate, quem clara apud vos merita decorent, neque ullum debere in vobis esse reliquum, quem non ardor inflammet eiusmodi promerendae laudis. Quapropter et Episcopos, et clerum et populum Austriae universum vehementer adhortamur, ut, coniunctis in unum viribus, iussaue aut consilia hinc dando, inde exequendo, audax funestissimumque facinus eorum propulsent, qui, cum Ecclesiae patriaeque calamitate, animos nituntur a Romana Fide segregare. Vota demum pro communis contentionis exitu nuncupantes, illudque etiam expetentes, ut quod labores pro re catholica fertis, et mente fideles percipiant et actione generose adiuvent, testem Nostrae benevolentiae auspicemque coelestium gratiarum Apostolicam benedictionem tibi ac ceteris, qui una tecum operam navant, peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die VIII Iunii MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio. PIUS PP. X.

SOCIETY FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS.

Epistolo Pii X laudantis Eugenium Prévost ob conditam Sodalitatem pro clericis lapsis, senibus et infirmis excipiendis. Dilecto Filio Eugenio Prévost, Sacerdoti Parisios Pius PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Navitas egregia tua, quae in opere parando condendoque eluxit, Leonis XIII fel. rec. Decessoris Nostri singulari laude honestato, intimo Nos laetitiae sensu perfundit. Scribis enim florere sodalitatem a te paucos ante annos excitatam, in qua, praecellentissimae caritatis instinctu, cura impenditur iis, qui in sortem Domini vocati, ab officio et gratia misere deflexerint. Nimirum probe tenes quanta clericos oporteat sanctitate fulgere, quorum ministerii dignitas omni vitae generi praestat. Integros quippe mores sic alere et custodire iisdem est opus, ut haud indigni famulatu illius existimentur cuius natura sanctitas est. Quapropter viros sacri ordinis tam religiose et graviter

se gerere iubet Augustinus, ut divini illico agnoscantur homines, per quos condiendi sunt quodammodo populi. Iis namque non modo cavendum ne a probitate discedant, sed contentio adhibenda est omnis ut expressam virtutis imaginem ad imitandum ostendant, tantumque praeter ceteros viros bonos excellant, quanto terris praestantius est caelum. Haec quum essent tibi, sacerdoti optimo, explorata, plurimi quoque referre intellexisti ut, si quis e multis in clero immemorem se honestissimae dignitatis impertiat, is studio omni ac diligentia ad integritatis consilia revocetur. Possit ne pietas aut caritas esse magis animo Nostro iucunda? Nam si insita Nostro in corde atque affixa summopere est christiani gregis universi sollicitudo, at compertum quoque et perspicuum habemus informari recte aut componi fidelium mores non posse, exemplis aliquando sacerdotum adversis. O utinam ferat tibi Deus opem, qui tantae facinus utilitatis es aggressus! A Nobis quidem quantum est, nec animus tibi ad perficiendum deerit, nec perfectae probatio rei. Perge igitur, dilecte fili, secundis coeptis alacriter insistere, Nostraque confide laude, praecipua quidem ac merita, eo vel magis quod in ipsis aedibus in quibus aberrantes a recto tramite excipiuntur, iis etiam a caritate vestra locus patet qui, senio aut valetudine, impares sacro muneri sint effecti. Praemium porro reddet profecto Deus, sanctissimi conditor sacerdotii, suorumque administratorum custos providentissimus. Nos interim uberes tibi caelestes gratias deprecamur, earumque auspicem ac Nostrae benevolentiae testem Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi tuisque sodalibus peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXV Aprilis MDCCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

ROMAN PAULISTS AND CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

Dilectis Filiis Maximiliano Zara Praesidi et Sodalibus Societatis Paulianae Catholicis Scriptis Divulgandis Romae Pius PP. X.

Dilectii filii, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Exacto societatis istius anno tricesimo, fecistis vos quidem gratum, quod cum fidei pietatisque erga Nos vestrae significatione, indicem Nobis gestarum hoc intervallo rerum obtulistis. Non enim, haec Nos legentes, mediocrem cepimus voluptatem, quum cerneremus, animo, ex librorum optimorum a vobis diffusa copia quantas christiana populo utilitates attulisset. Gratulamur his laborum vestrorum fructibus, atque ut alacres propositum studeatis persequi, hortamur; quamquam intelligimus isti alacritati studioque vestro non parum facultatum angustias remoram facere. Atqui, si quod est instituti genus dignum cui catholicorum liberalitas adsit, vestrum est profecto, quo

gravissimum horum temporum coercere malum pro virili parte contenditis. Quam multa quotidie disperguntur in vulgus impie nefarique scripta, quae popularem religionis verecundiam labefaciant, quae mores corrumpant, quae ad ipsa convellenda humani convictus fundamenta pertineant! Gliscitque pestis, venia legum, qua licet, quidquid libeat, typis in lucem proferre. An vero, hoc instrumento in utramque partem efficacissimo improbi abutentur ad perniciem christianae societatis, nec ullis propterea parcent sumptibus; eodem autem boni non, quantum opus est, utentur ad salutem? Faxit Deus, ut sui quisque memor officii in hac causa, vobis itemque ceteris, quorum eadem est salutaris industria, pro facultatibus opituletur. Vosque a commendatione Nostra sumite animos, et, divinae Providentiae benignitate freti, quantum est in vobis, bene de Ecclesia, ut instituistis, mereri pergite. Auspicem interea caelestium munerum, et benevolentiae Nostrae testem, vobis, dilecti filii, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXX Iunii, in Commemoratione S. Pauli Ap., anno MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

CATHOLIC LITERATURE IN BAVARIA.

Letter of Pius X to Herr B. Franck, president of the Bavarian Society for the Diffusion of Catholic Works.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Praestitio Nobis a te atque a collegis tuis e spectabili coetu scriptis catholicis per Bavariam edendis, nihil possit esse obsequio incundius. Eos enim agnoscimus officia Nobis observantiae deferre, a quibus, sodalitatis vinculo coniunctis, quasi aptissimo augendarum virium praesidio, tam multa exspectamus in tuitionem sacrarum Bavariae rationum emolumenta. Quae vobis saluberrimi condendi coetus extiterint initia, compertum id quidem est: illata scilicet per adversas partes in catholicam professionem arma, ingesta tamen, ut est aetatis ingenio congruum, per eas maxime vias, quae ab omni litterarum genere praesto esse possint. At si decertandum bonis est sive ad custodiendam civitatem Dei sive ad eius amplificandam vim; si, etiam, non illud praetereundum dimicantibus bonis est, artes artibus esse obiciendas easdem, haec omnia fuere potissimum curae vobis, qui studio tuendae religionis acti, praeclarumque secuti exemplum virorum e sacro ordine, in unum generose coivistis, illas allaturi patriae utilitates, unde laetari Nobis libet in praesens. Magnis propterea laudibus, quemadmodum illustria merita postulant ornatus coetum, teque imprimis industrium fortemque praesidem, eosque una simul omnes, quos scimus adlaborare animose tecum, immemores sui, memores

autem Ecclesiae, cuius certe profectus cum civitatis bono coniungitur. Commoda autem et incrementa Sodalitatis quum cordi Nobis sint, illis Bavariae universae commendamus, quod quidem plurimi in re gravissima refert, ut non modo sacrorum administri, verum etiam praecipueque, laici nomen operi alacritatemque dedant. Omnes namque, quotquot catholica fide gloriantur, huius oportet fidei sive protegendae sive honorandae dare operam, et quando aptum prae ceteris opportunumque praesidium in sodalitate vestra est, eidem sese sodales addere. Quoniam vero nullum putandum est litterarum scriptorumque genus ab industria coetus alienum, id equidem expedire omnino atque adeo necesse esse existimamus, ut non ad labores solum, sed ad impendia quoque ferenda, quae sane pergrandia esse non ambigimus, singuli gerant paratissimum animum, ea nimirum erecti atque excitati spe, quae per eos suppeditentur id genus subsidia, perinde ac lectissima pietatis opera ad religionem referri, et ad comparandam animorum salutem conducere. Nostram demum ut operi voluntatem testemur, tibi sodalibus cunctis, atque iis, qui nomine operave coetui favebunt, auspicem coelestium gratiarum, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXVI Aprilis a. MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

Pius PP. X.

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENCE OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

Dilectis Filiis Iosepho Chapelier Antistiti Nostro Urbano Ac Praesidi Totius Operis A Sancto Francisco Salesio Nuncupati Ceterisque Eiusdem operis Sodalibus Parisiis Pius PP. X.

Dilecti Filii, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Ex opere, cui a S. Francisco Salesio nomen, iucunditatem parem, id est longe maximam, hausimus ac Nostri in Pontificatu Decessores Pius IX et Leo XIII fel. rec. Sodalitas namque, in qua cum fructu lectissimo vestra se probat industria, in id propositum incumbit egregie, ut pretiosam fidei haereditatem incolumem servet atque ab inimica tueatur haeresi: habetque propterea abunde quare et Nobis laetitiam iniiciat, qui fuimus ad munus tutandae fidei assumpti, et a Nobis laude summa exornetur. Magnum quidem ac nobile propositum: attamen non infra rei dignitatem voluntas sodalium est. Hanc vobis voluntatem effuse gratulamur, atque eo libentius gratulationem Nostram coetui vestro tribuimus, quod utilitates, ut diximus, eaeque uberrimae patent collatis eiusdem viribus partae. Spes autem Nos tenet debere sodalitatis emolumenta quotidie augeri, eorum accrescente sollertia qui nomen eidem dederunt. Spes etiam non tenuis est pluri-

mos e catholico grege allaturos coetui opem, ubi primum perspecta vulgo patescant vestra consilia. Nos vero quibus obscurum non est, quo universi incensi estis, divinae gloriae studium, perstantes vos in coeptis exoptamus, id ratos numquam defutura erga vos benevolentiae Nostrae argumenta. Interim gratum vobis de petriana stipe animum testamur, divinarumque gratiarum auspicem, Apostolicam Benedictionem singulis vobis amantissime impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die IX Maii MDCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.
PIUS PP. X.

PIUS X AND THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Jacobo S. R. E. Presb. Card. Gibbons Archiepiscopo Baltimorensi ceterisque Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Foederatarum Americae Septentrionalis Civitatum. Pius PP. X.

Dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Absolutis, ut accepimus, ferme aedibus, quas Delegatus Apostolicus Washingtoni posthac habebit sibi proprias ad incolendum, libenter facimus, ut per has litteras benevolentissimum vobis animum Nostrum testemur. Vos enim, quum Delegatum Nostrum videretis paullo habitare angustius, quam deceret eum qui Nostram apud vos personam sustinet, subveniendum hac quoque in re tenuitati Sedis Apostolicae decrevistis; ultroque collata pecuniae copia, honestius ipsi commodiusque domicilium comparastis. In quo vestra non solum laudanda liberalitas est; sed etiam et praecipue studiosa voluntas ergo Pontificem Romanum, cujus dignitatem maximae vobis esse curae ostendistis. Quare gratias vobis Nos quidem agimus, pro tributo Nobis officio, singulares; peramplas autem referat, precamur, Christus Dominus, cuius Nos, nullo Nostro merito, gerimus vices; actuosamque virtutem vestram ad laetiora quotidie incrementa ecclesiae, lectissimis gratiae suae muneribus, promoveat. Horum auspicem et peculiaris Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis, Dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, itemque vestro cuiusque clero ac populo Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die IX Novembris anno MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri quarto.

Pius PP. X.

(TRANSLATION.)

To Our Beloved Son, James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, and to Our other Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States of America.

Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, health and Apostolic benediction.

We have learned that the residence which the Apostolic Delegate in Washington will henceforth occupy is nearing completion, and We therefore take pleasure in expressing through this Letter Our hearty good-will in your behalf. You saw that Our Delegate's present dwelling did not fully befit his position as Our personal representative among you: thereupon you resolved that, in this matter also, you

would supplement the slender resources of the Apostolic See and with your voluntary contributions you provided a more suitable and commodious residence. It is not alone your generosity on this occasion that calls for praise; it is, above all, your devoted attachment to the Roman Pontiff in upholding whose dignity you have shown by your action the deepest concern. For the service which you have thus rendered Us, We indeed return you particular thanks: and We pray that Christ Our Lord Whom We, through no merit of Our own, represent, may abundantly requite you. May He further with the choicest of His graces the exertion of your active virtue for the steady advance of the Church.

As an omen of these heavenly blessings and a token of Our special favour, We most lovingly in the Lord bestow upon you, Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, and likewise upon the clergy and people entrusted to each of you, Our Apostolic benediction.

Given at St. Peter's Rome, this ninth day of November, nineteen hundred and six, in the fourth year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X, POPE.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Theology was celebrated on January 25. The High Mass was sung by Right Rev. James V. Turner, V. G., of Philadelphia. The sermon was preached by Very Rev. Dr. Shanahan, Dean of the Faculty of Theology.

Annual Meeting of the Alumni Association.—The thirteenth annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America was held at Washington on February 5, 1907. The business meeting was held at McMahon Hall at 3:00 p. m., the President, Rev. Dr. Maguire, being in the chair. The principal matters of interest to report in connection with the meeting were: (1) The report of Dr. Kirby on the Bouquillon Library Fund. It was announced that of the \$5,000 desired, \$2,600 had already been received. About \$200 more was promised. Dr. Kirby was authorized to make another appeal to the members of the Association and to report at the next meeting. (2) The amendments to the Constitution and By-laws of the Association as proposed by the Committee appointed at the previous meeting were adopted. It was voted to hold the next annual meeting in Boston, Mass. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Rev. Joseph V. Tracy, D.D.; first Vice-President, Mr. B. L. Donahue, Ph.D.; second Vice-President, Rev. Wm. T. Russell, S.T.L.; Executive Committee, William T. Cashman, Rev. Geo. V. Leahy, S.T.L., Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, D.D., Rev. Peter H. McLean, S.T.L., Rev. Charles F. Aiken, D.D.; committee on membership, Revs. Jos. McSorley, S.T.L., C.S.P., S. Wiest, S.T.L., W. Martin, S.T.L., W. J. Kirby, Ph.D., W. Fitzgerald, S.T.L., and J. O'Neil, S.T.L. The meeting having adjourned, the members went to the Maison Rauscher in the city where at 7 o'clock the annual banquet was served. Among the guests of the Association were Vice-President Charles Fairbanks, United States Senator Carter of Montana, Hon. Hannis Taylor, former United States Minister to Spain, and District Commissioner West. Felicitous speeches were made by each of these distinguished visitors, as also by Very Rev. Edward A. Pace, Ph.D., Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, D.D., of Boston, and Prof. William De Lacey, D.C.L., Judge of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia.

Lecture by Mr. P. J. Haltigan.—On January 28 Mr. P. J. Haltigan, Editor of the *National Hibernian*, delivered a very interest-

ing illustrated lecture at McMahon Hall on "The Irish in America during the Revolution."

Foundation of a Burse by Mgr. Mackey.—Right Reverend Mgr. John M. Mackey, Ph.D., Rector of St. Mary's Seminary, Cedar Point, O., has founded a Burse at the University for the benefit of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.

Annual Retreat for Students.—The annual retreat for the students was given February 13–17 by Rev. Father Dominic Rowland, O.F.M., of Cincinnati, O.

Gift to the Library.—Mr. F. E. Riggs, of Washington, D. C., has presented to the University the Library of the late Professor Bernhard Stade, the late Professor of Old Testament Literature in the University of Giessen. This collection consists of 1,600 volumes and 500 dissertations and monographs. It is well known to Orientalists and Scripture Scholars as a very valuable library. At a meeting of the Academic Senate held on February 13, a unanimous vote of thanks to the generous donor was passed.

Lecture by M. Le Braz.—M. Anatole Le Braz, *docteur ès lettres*, professor at the University of Rennes, lectured in French at the University, February 26, on *Les Manifestations de la vie religieuse chez les Bretons Armoricaïns*. The lecturer spoke of the occasion of the immigration of the Bretons from Wales and Cornwall to *Breiz-Izel* (Lower Britain), which had formerly been called Armorica, in the fifth and following centuries, of the curious legends such as that of Gralon and the submersion of the Ville d'Is, of the mingling of pagan and Christian beliefs and of the close relationship which has always existed, especially in the minds of the Bretons, between Ireland and Brittany. The points on which he insisted were the strong power of idealization of the Bretons, their pronounced individualism and their independence not only in politics but also in matters of religion. In the course of the lecture a score or more of views were shown of typical examples of Breton architecture, such as the Cathedrals of Quimper and St. Pol de Leon and of religious meetings such as the *Pardons* of Ste. Anne d'Auray and Ste. Anne de la Palude.

Visitors.—On Wednesday, February 27, Most Rev. Jeremiah J. Harty, D.D., Archbishop of Manila, accompanied by Very Rev. Joseph Chousa, Rector of the Cathedral of Manila, paid a visit to the University, and were entertained at dinner at Caldwell Hall. On Monday, February 18, Mayor Schmitz of San Francisco, the members of the San Francisco Board of Education and their Counsel, visited the University and were entertained at dinner at Caldwell Hall. On

Monday, February 18, Messrs. Thomas H. Poole and J. P. Farley of New York, architects, visited the University, and looked over the site on which the Paulist Fathers intend to build their new college.

Albert Hall Happenings.—Since the opening of the undergraduate department several years ago, the desire of the students residing at Albert Hall to be represented in the athletic world has been steadily growing. At the opening of the fall term in 1906 this desire took definite shape in the organization of an Athletic Association. On October 24 the students held a meeting in the parlor of Albert Hall and adopted a constitution, which was framed for them by Robert J. Kennedy. They then proceeded to elect the following officers: Robert J. Kennedy, President; Peter J. Nicrosi, Vice-President; John C. Moran, Treasurer; Thomas C. Quinn, Secretary, and Henry T. Walsh, Manager of the Football Team.

During the fall of 1906, the football team under the captaincy of John C. Moran played Mt. St. Mary's College at Emmetsburg, Md. (November 3, score 0 to 0), Georgetown (November 14, score 17 to 0 in favor of Georgetown), Gallaudet (November 24, score 7 to 0 in favor of the Catholic University team). At the close of the season a meeting was held and the football letter awarded to the following twelve men: Captain Moran, Messrs. Nicrosi, Hetfield, P. Canale, Chapa, Cumiskey, G. Canale, Cook, Merva, Maher (who has the honor of scoring the first point ever made by the Catholic University team in the Athletic field), Semnes, and the manager, H. S. Walsh.

After the Christmas recess the relay team began practice. The team, consisting of Kelley, Maher, Hetfield, and Sermes, with Merva for manager, competed successfully with the Richmond Hawitzers on January 26 and with St. John's of Annapolis at the Federal Meet.

Early in January, at a meeting which was called for the purpose of discussing the financial situation, the members of the Association decided to give a reception and dance at Rauscher's on February 8. The affair was very successful, and great praise is due Mr. Kennedy and the other members of the committee for their successful management. The sincere thanks of the Association are due to the ladies who acted as patronesses and chaperones. The patronesses were: The Baroness Hengelmüller von Hengévar, Mrs. Bonaparte, Madame Calderon, Madame Quesada, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. White, Mrs. Anderson, Mrs. Clabaugh, Miss Boardman, Mrs. Carr, Mrs. Byrnes, Mrs. Carmack, Miss Ella Loraine Dorsey, Mrs. Colbert, Mrs. Downey, Mrs. Hillyer, Mrs. Lambert, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Hannis Taylor, Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Riggs, Mrs. Stickney, Mrs. Monaghan, Mrs. Charles

Harper Walsh, Mrs. John James Walsh, Miss Kerby, Mrs. Main, Mrs. Pescia, Mrs. Whitton, and Miss Sherman. The chaperones were: Mrs. Egan, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. McCarthy, Mrs. Bolling, Mrs. Pescia, Mrs. Monaghan, Mrs. Hillyer, Mrs. DeLacey, and Mrs. Neill.

Mr. Nicrosi, manager of the baseball team, and Mr. Quinn, manager of the football team, have arranged schedules for the coming season with various college teams.

On February 11 the Athletic Association presented its President, Robert J. Kennedy, with a handsome silver loving-cup as a testimonial of appreciation of the work he has done for the advancement of athletics at the Hall.

Death of Mr. Thomas Foley, of St. Paul, Minn.—The students of Albert College were very much grieved to learn of the death of Mr. Thomas Foley of St. Paul, Minn., father of Mr. Frank Foley of the Engineering School. They extend their sympathy to Mr. Frank Foley and to the other members of the bereaved family.

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"Let there be progress, therefore ; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA, VOLUME I.

The announcement, some two years since, that this important work had been undertaken, aroused wide-spread interest. It also led, quite naturally, to no little speculation. Any encyclopedia, whatever its special object, means a storehouse of information. When that object is the Catholic Church, its constitution, doctrine, discipline and history, a vast range of possibilities is suggested as to the selection of subjects, the methods of treatment, the choice of writers and the position that might be taken on many difficult or controverted questions. The fact, moreover, that it was necessary to limit the work to fifteen volumes was sufficient indication that careful judgment would have to be exercised in allotting to each department its due proportion of space.

A clearer view of the work as projected was given in the "Specimen Pages" published early in 1906. These explained somewhat more in detail the scope and the plan of organization. They also outlined the character of each of the thirty-three departments and its special relation to the Catholic Church. From the partial list of contributors drawn up for the Specimen and from the articles which it contained, one could see that the Encyclopedia was to be in reality an international work of reference.

The appearance of the first volume goes much farther towards showing in a definite way just what the Encyclopedia is to be. It not only points out, but supplies, a need. Or rather, one may say that it reveals that need more fully

by opening up, on a multitude of subjects, sources of information, lines of thought and views of historical fact with which most readers now for the first time become acquainted. In many respects also, the work is unique; in one feature it is without precedent; it shows that the Catholic Church is today, as in the past, a vital force that influences, in one way or another, the thought and the action of mankind, the progress of civilization, the social, educational and religious development of the human race.

Looking more closely at the contents of the volume and noting some of the more important articles, one is enabled to form an idea of the extension of the Church and to realize that it is truly Catholic in the sense that it reaches to all parts of the world. Under this head come the descriptions of continents and countries such as Africa, America, Asia, Abyssinia, and the Argentine Republic. Each of these presents, along with the physical characteristics and civil history of the country, the story of Christianity, its struggles and triumphs. To the same class belongs the article on the Anglo-Saxon Church, which traces the development of Christianity during the early period in England. The treatment of America is liberal, one article being devoted to the Pre-columbian Discovery and another to the later exploration and colonization. Of special interest to the American reader are the articles on the several States of the Union—Alabama, Arizona and Arkansas—in which an account is given of the first settlements, the introduction and growth of Catholicism and the legislation which affects the Church. Still more detailed, from the ecclesiastical point of view, are the statements concerning each diocese. From the long list of sees, one may select, for the Old World, Armagh and Aberdeen, Aix and Angers, Alban and Amalfi; for America, Alexandria (Canada), Albany, Alton and Altoona; while Australia is represented by the archdiocese of Adelaide and the diocese of Armidale. Each account includes the establishment of the diocese, the names of its principal bishops, its educational and charitable institutions, members of the laity who have rendered notable services to the Church, and statistics of population, clergy and religious orders. It is

particularly instructive to note the rapid growth and the widening activity of the Church in our American dioceses. Some of our cities, indeed, compare favorably with the much older cities of Europe, such as Aachen, Amsterdam and Antwerp which, on account of their Catholic traditions, are described in separate articles. The Encyclopedia not only furnishes information to the reader of today, but stores up valuable material for the future historian. What a fund of knowledge will thus be provided when the work is complete may be estimated from the fact that about 1000 dioceses and several hundred titular sees are to receive similar treatment. If only as a work on Ecclesiastical Geography, the Encyclopedia will render invaluable service.

While this diffusion of the Church and the implied influence for civilization are worthy of careful consideration, it is still more important to understand the inner activity of Catholicism. The thoughtful student, at any rate, will not be content with observing outward manifestations of vitality; he will penetrate to the source and discover in structure and function the explanation of what he observes. This means that he will seek to understand the organization of the Church, the exercise of jurisdiction by the Hierarchy and, above all, the action of the Papacy. A complete survey of these subjects is not to be expected under the first letter of the alphabet; but the final scope of treatment is sufficiently indicated by the articles on Apostles, Apostolic See, Apostolicity and Archbishop; while under Adrian, Alexander and Anferus are presented some of the most interesting pages in the history of the Popes.

Intimately connected with this hierarchical organization and associated with it in the various lines of religious work, are the Orders of men and of women which have been founded from time to time to live under special rules and to labor for special purposes. Their government is well illustrated by articles on Abbess, Abbey, Abbot and Ancren Riwle; their history and institutions by notices of great Abbeys like Abingdon, Afflighem, Aldersbach and Ampleforth; and their work in particular directions by the accounts of the Alexians and Ambrosians. To these, of course, should

be added the biographies of their founders and of their members who shone by sanctity and learning—Alphonsus, Angela, Anselm, Aiden, Anthony and Aikenhead—to mention but a few of the names that occur in this volume.

The chief aim of the Church and of its entire organization is to perpetuate and spread the truths of Christianity. Though Catholic doctrine has been formulated with the utmost care by proper authority and explained by innumerable theologians, there is always need of setting it forth afresh in order to meet the changing conditions of thought and life. It is therefore gratifying to note that the Encyclopedia makes adequate allowance in its pages for doctrinal subjects. In particular, prominence is given to matters concerning the Scriptures and to the biblical topics which are just now the center of discussion. In this department appear Aaron, Abraham, Absalom, Adam, Aggeus, Amos, Animals in the Bible, Acts of the Apostles, Antichrist, Apocalypse, Ammonites, Ammonian Sections, Amorrrhites and Ark, besides a large number of shorter articles on the principal persons and places mentioned in Holy Writ. These biblical subjects are discussed with a calmness and breadth of view which is in keeping both with the Catholic position and with the requirements of modern scholarship. No unprejudiced reader of these articles will get or retain the impression that the Church is indifferent to Scripture or that Catholic scholars are heedless of biblical research.

As the authoritative interpreter of the Word of God and the custodian of the deposit of Faith, the Church has repeatedly cast into definite shape her dogmatic teaching. The earliest formulation of her belief is found in the Apostles' Creed whose content and history are presented in a special article. Under the titles Absolution, Adoration, Adoption and Angels, the Catholic doctrine on these important subjects is explained at considerable length. In regard to many other dogmatic questions the belief of the Church is shown by the decisions taken against various heresies. Here, in addition to the general article on Apostasy, attention may be called to Albigenses, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Adoptionism, Apollinarianism, Arminianism and Arianism. The

claims of Anglicanism and the recent action of the Holy See concerning them are stated in plain, dispassionate terms. In fact, the same fair and dignified tone is preserved through all the articles that deal with the beliefs and practices of those who have fallen away from the unity of the Church.

On its practical side Catholicism has developed the comprehensive sciences of Moral Theology and Canon Law. In these the principles and rules of Christian life and the discipline of the Church are explained. The layman as well as the cleric will find abundant information on Abduction, Abortion, Abstinence, Administrator, Adoption, Adultery, Anathema, Affinity and Appeals. These articles, moreover, illustrate the wisdom of the Church in dealing with human nature. They show that ecclesiastical legislation, while preserving unchanged the essentials of Christian morality, has kept in view the actual needs of each succeeding age and, with a vital power of adaptation, has provided, by salutary enactments, for righteousness in individual conduct and social action.

The same moral development, maintaining unity of substance through all variations of form, is strikingly exhibited in Catholic worship. Take, for instance, the different liturgies which the Encyclopedia describes—African, Alexandrine, Ambrosian and Antiochene. Each of these has its peculiar rites and ceremonies, and each differs in some respects from the Roman with which we are so familiar. Yet all contain the same essential elements, as they all express the same Faith and administer the same Sacraments. Or again, if we consider the details of liturgical practice and inquire into their meaning and history, we find a wealth of symbolism in each object and action, while the language employed in the several rites is inspiring as it is simple. Hence the exhaustive articles on Altar, and the accounts given of *Agnus Dei*, *Alleluia*, *Amice* and *Angelus*. The music also of the Church is exemplified in the Ambrosian Chant, Ambrosian Hymnology, Antiphon and Antiphonary; and the origin of the several antiphons and hymns is explained in special articles.

Apart from their present significance, nearly all the elements of the Liturgy possess an historical significance,

either because they have come down to us from the earliest days of the Church or because they represent with certain modifications the usage of antiquity. One is thus naturally led into the rich field of Christian Archæology, which in recent times has been cultivated with such satisfactory results by many eminent scholars. To these we are indebted for the valuable information contained in the articles on Agape, Alphabet, History of the Christian Altar, Amphoræ, Ampullæ, Amulet, Anchor, and Arcosolium. An impartial study of these and other subjects of an archæological character must eventually lead to the conviction that the Church of today is identical with the Church of the Catacombs. The very principle of development suffices to explain modifications in what is external and to set aside the charge of "innovation" which was once so easily preferred against the Church.

This inner life of Catholicism, comprising doctrine, discipline and worship, has not developed without conflict. It was rather to be expected, indeed it was foretold by Christ himself, that His Church would have to withstand the onset of various opposing forces. On the other hand, this struggle has occasioned many wholesome results. It has afforded opportunity for explaining the truths of Christianity by defending them, and it has called forth a distinct branch of ecclesiastical science. The purpose, methods and development of this science are exhibited in the article on Apologetics; its special problems will naturally find place in the treatment of the various heads of belief as these follow in alphabetical order.

One of the most interesting phases in the history of Apologetics is the relation which this science establishes between revealed doctrine and rational truth. To the findings of human speculation, the Church could not and cannot be indifferent. Though not in itself a philosophical system, Catholicism is concerned with every philosophy that touches upon the deeper problems of life and mind. It is therefore needful in a Catholic Encyclopedia to discuss such topics as Analysis, Aesthetics, Human Acts, Altruism and the metaphysical concepts of Accident and *Actus*. A wider reach

of thought takes in the position known as Agnosticism, a subject which has received thorough treatment, and the tendency to Anthropomorphism, the significance of which is quite clearly brought out. In criticising philosophical theories, old and new, the Catholic thinker follows the example and avails himself of the principles of the great speculative minds that dominated antiquity and in the Middle Ages laid the foundations of modern thought. Of masters like Aristotle and Abelard, Albertus Magnus and Alexander of Hales, the Encyclopedia points out concisely the doctrine and influence, while it also shows in numerous sketches of later philosophers the historical vicissitudes through which traditional systems have passed.

The preservation and transmission of the treasures garnered in antiquity would not have been possible without the systematic work of the school. Nor could the tenets of Christianity have been fixed in the minds of newly converted and civilized races except through the medium of Christian education. What the Church accomplished in this direction is told in the accounts of universities like Aberdeen, Angers and Alcalá and of ancient schools such as those of Aran and Armagh. The content of medieval instruction, apart from professional training, is exhibited under the Seven Liberal Arts, while the origin of our academic degrees is clearly traced to the Faculty of Arts and the honors conferred on Bachelor and Master. Among the institutions founded in recent times and specially devoted to the education of the clergy, All Hallows College and the American Colleges in Rome and Louvain have rendered excellent service, and the articles in which they are described will be welcome to hundreds of Alumni throughout the English-speaking world.

The educational work of the Church has not been confined to the clergy nor is theology the only department of thought which Catholics have cultivated. Science, literature and art owe much to men whose loyalty to the Faith was unwavering. The names of Agricola, Albicus, Alexandre, Alpini, Alzate, Ampère and Aldrovandi are not mentioned for the first time in the Encyclopedia, any more than

those which appear in the articles on Alchemy and Anatomy; but it is well that they find place in a work which undertakes to explain the attitude of the Church towards scientific research. A much longer list might have been given even in this first volume; and it is to be hoped that in future volumes the selective judgment will lean towards the side of inclusion.

As regards the Fine Arts, it is quite obvious that the main difficulty lay in making a choice. Happily, there is little room for contention here; it is generally admitted that Music, Painting, Architecture and Sculpture have enjoyed the patronage of the Church as they have drawn from Catholic belief and practice their best inspiration. Needless to say, Fra Angelico holds the place of honor among the great artists so far mentioned in the Encyclopedia; but there are also interesting accounts of Andrea Pisano, Amadeo, Aiblinger, Agnelli, Agazzari and Achtermann. The articles on Apse and Arch are important from the historical as well as from the technical point of view. They show how the structural elements taken over from the ancient world gradually reached their perfection under the skill of Christian builders who reared the great cathedrals of the West, like Aachen and Amiens and Angoulême, or gave to monastic life such homes as the abbeys of Muckross and Downside. Many of these structures still serve as models of solidity and grace; but even those which have yielded to time bear witness in the grandeur of their ruins to the genius and piety of their builders and to the uplifting power of religious thought.

These monuments of Christian Art were not suddenly called into existence; they were rather the final products in that long development which began in the Catacombs and culminated in the conversion of Europe. They would not have been possible without the missionary activity of the Church, nor can their meaning be fully understood except by those who appreciate the missionary spirit. In America one may see, almost side by side, the finished forms of Christian civilization and hardy attempts at new foundations. The same zeal that animated the apostles of the Old World has borne its fruits in the New. Among the Indians of this con-

continent, some of the bravest of Christ's followers have laboured; and it is well that they should be recalled in articles such as those on Algonquins, Apaches and Abenakis, and in the longer accounts of Acadia and Alaska.

While these names are familiar to the American reader, the lives of the explorers and missionaries of Latin America are not so generally known. Fortunately, a more lively interest is just now taken, for various reasons, in the affairs of our neighbors to the South, and this will probably lead to a more careful study of their history and a better appreciation of what they have achieved in the way of progress. The Encyclopedia has taken a step in the right direction by introducing to its readers men like Alvarado, Alaman, Alcedo, Alegre, Almagro and the missionaries who spread the Faith among the Abipones, Araucanians and Arawaks. These pioneers of Christianity often rendered service to science by their work in ethnography and philology, while they applied to their Indian converts the principles on which Christian society is based.

From such primitive conditions to the complex civilization which we enjoy or endure, the way is far. The course of social development is hard to follow, and it has only in these latter times become the subject of a distinct science. But as Sociology must count with religion, so, on the other hand, the Church must and does deal with sociological and economic problems. It is therefore important to have the views of Catholic scholars regarding Agrarianism, Arbitration and Almsgiving, on each of which an excellent article is contributed. No better evidence could be given of the Church's solicitude for the real welfare of humanity even in things temporal than such descriptions of her numerous philanthropic works as these few articles in the first volume lead us to expect.

These subjects, and in fact nearly all that have been mentioned above, naturally call for historical treatment. But reference should also be made to many articles that tell of the work done by Catholic scholars in the field of history. To this class belong Alzog, Natalis Alexander, Allard, Allatius

and Aschbach, besides the series of writers whose names occur in the general article on Ecclesiastical Annals.

There are two other characteristics of the work which appear at a glance, but which will surely repay more deliberate study. One is found in the bibliography which closes each article and indicates the sources, standard works and recent publications concerning the subject of the article. These lists of references will be appreciated especially by the student who is in search of those details which could at most be suggested in the article itself. Another class of readers will turn frequently to the articles on Abbreviations and Addresses, the former of which gives the Latin origin and English translations of the principal abbreviations in common use, while the latter contains practical directions concerning the proper mode of addressing various dignitaries of the Church.

In this survey it has not been possible to do more than single out the leading features of the Encyclopedia and indicate, in part, its contents. The real scope and usefulness of the work can be learned only by careful perusal. Doubtless, too, it would be hard to select any one feature which, in the judgment of all readers, possesses the greatest value. And it would certainly be a mistake to suppose that the standard of excellence is fixed in this first volume. In several respects there is room for improvement—as there is in most undertakings of this kind.

But apart from such shortcomings, the main thing is that something has been done in a large way for the cause of Catholic literature. It is not merely that a fund of information on many topics has been provided, nor that the providers write with a thorough knowledge of their subjects. The significance of the Encyclopedia lies in the fact that Catholic leaders of thought throughout the world are united in the exposition of Catholic truth. Widely separated as they are and differing as they do in nationality, office and special pursuit, they now offer the fruit of their experience and research through one and the same medium, published in one and the same language. To the millions who speak

and read this language the Encyclopedia will bring from far and near its store of useful knowledge. It will help them to realize distinctly that the Church, from its center in the Apostolic See to the uttermost ends of the earth, is Catholic in its unity and One in its Catholicity.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BATHE AND COMENIUS.

In the preface to his well-known work, *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, Comenius has an acknowledgment which deserves more than the passing mention usually accorded it by writers on the history of education. He refers there to a work published by the Irish College at Salamanca under the title *Janua Linguarum*, gives a concise description of it, and, in general, expresses his approval of the novel method of teaching languages which "some one of the Jesuits" (e Jesuitis nonnemo) had devised. It is true that he proceeds to criticize the Spanish work and to point out how the undertaking might be executed with more profit for the uses of education. But his closing remarks on the subject show that he fully appreciated the merits of its author as a pioneer: "Since those Fathers were the first to undertake such a compendium of the whole language, we thankfully give them credit for their device and with good-will overlook their mistakes." That the Jesuit publication was more than a suggestion to Comenius is evident from the fact that his own work, in name and in plan, is a fair imitation of the earlier *Janua*.

Quick in his "Educational Reformers" speaks of Comenius's acknowledgment as a "striking proof of his candour and openmindedness," and gives a rather fair account of the Jesuit's *Janua*—"one of the most interesting experiments in language teaching I ever met with."

But this honest admission on the part of Comenius is passed over in silence by most of his biographers. Compayré, for instance, who gives a lengthy account of Comenius himself, makes no allusion to the Jesuit predecessor. Professor Laurie in his excellent monograph, "John Amos Comenius" (London, 1881), has a brief paragraph stating that a member of the Irish College of Salamanca (Bateus by name) had written a *Janua Linguarum*; but no further account of Bateus is given. A note in Von Raumer's "Geschichte der Pädagogik," 7th ed. (Gutersloth, 1902), speaks of "Bat-

eus, a Theatine." And Schmid in his "Geschichte der Erziehung" (Stuttgart, 1892), while he recognizes the priority of Bateus, calls him "der englische Ordensbruder." Even Stöckl, whose "Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Pädagogik" (Mainz, 1876) is one of the most complete manuals on the subject from a Catholic author, seems to have had no acquaintance with the predecessor of Comenius. One might well imagine that the "Gate of Tongues" had never been opened until John Amos found the key.

The truth is that the two "Januæ" were much alike, not only in purpose and content, but also in the effect which they produced at the time of their publication. The importance of either work for modern education need not concern us at present. Nor is it worth while discussing the relative value of the chief works produced by Comenius, the *Didactica Magna*, the *Orbis Pictus* and the *Janua*. The last-named, at any rate, created a stir in its own day and added considerably to its author's reputation. Whether it would have held a place in history without the support of its author's other writings is, again, mere matter of speculation. But, as so much has been said in recent literature of the personality of Comenius, it seems only just that the man to whom he acknowledged his obligation should be more generally known.

The materials for the following sketch have been taken mainly from Father Hogan's "Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century" (London, 1894). Sherlock's account of Bathe was translated by Dr. MacDonald and published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, X, 527. A list of Bathe's writings is given in Sommervogel's "Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus," Vol. I. The sketch in the "Dictionary of National Biography" is inaccurate in some of its details; for instance, in the statement that Bathe "was brought up in the Protestant religion, but being placed under the care of a Catholic tutor, he imbibed the principles of Catholicism, to which he afterwards always adhered." The article, however, closes with a good bibliography.

William Bathe was born at Dublin, April 2, 1564. His

father was John Bathe; his mother, Eleanor Preston. The name of Bathe had been for several generations prominent in the legal profession and in the public service. John Bathe held the offices of Solicitor-General and of Attorney-General and finally became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The family was related to the most distinguished of the Irish nobility and, remotely, to Queen Elizabeth. Besides the Castle of Drumcondra they owned estates in different parts of the country. But their principal boast was their loyal attachment to the Church. In spite of reports circulated during the life-time of William Bathe to the effect that he was a Protestant by birth, there is ample evidence to show that he had received from his ancestors the Catholic faith which he preserved inviolate. The statements to the contrary which appear in some biographical accounts are due, probably, to the favor shown Bathe by Queen Elizabeth and to the circumstances of his university education.

Under the care of a private tutor, who was a sincere Catholic, Bathe developed qualities of mind and heart which won him general esteem. The "tradition that he was of a sullen saturnine temper" must have originated in prejudice. As a matter of fact, his exceptional gifts and genial manners made him the "delight of all circles." At an early age he manifested a special talent for music and mastered all kinds of instruments. The harp seems to have been his favorite, and by some biographers he is credited with constructing a "harp of new device." It is certain that he gave attention to vocal music also and invented a new method of singing which proved quite effectual. Speaking of his own experience he says: "I have taught divers others by these rules in less than a month what myself, by the old method, obtained not in more than two years." No doubt, a fair proportion of this success was due to Bathe's own enthusiasm and to his skill as a teacher.

From Dublin, Bathe went in his nineteenth year to the University of Oxford. The environment could hardly have been congenial to a man of his belief and training. Elizabeth, it is true, had taken an active interest in the university and had placed it on a secure basis. But the atmosphere

of the place had changed. With the "new learning" there had come new religious conditions; and the contrast between the Oxford of the past and the Oxford in which Bathe found himself a student must have been painful indeed. Nevertheless he seems to have employed his time well. It is not recorded that he received any university honors, but evidence of his progress is found in the treatise which he published in 1584 under the title: "A Brief Introduction to the Art of Music." The scope of the work was to "set down exact and easy rules for such as seek but to know the truth, with arguments and their solutions for such also as wish to know the reason of the truth. Which rules be means whereby any of his own industry may shortly, easily, and regularly attain to all such things as to this art do belong. To which otherwise any can hardly attain without tedious, difficult, practice, by means of the irregular order now in teaching." Whatever may have been the value of the treatise from the technical point of view, Bathe had evidently perceived that improvement in method is the essential factor in educational advance. This insight led to the production of his later work—"A brief Introduction to the Skill of Song" which he published in London, 1600.

His writings attracted attention and his reputation for proficiency in music opened the way to royal favour. He was received at Court where his brilliant parts ensured him the good graces of Elizabeth and afforded him splendid opportunities for position and success. But he was not for a moment deceived by the glamour that surrounded the throne. As he had passed through his Oxford experience without wavering in his religious convictions, so he withstood the influences which were brought to bear on him in the English Capital. Indeed, what he saw in London seems rather to have turned his thoughts toward a very different sort of life. In his twenty-fourth year he left what he called "the scenes of festivity and dissipation," returned to Ireland and transferred his property to his brother, John Bathe.

The next important event in his career was the occasion of the following statement taken from the novice-book of the Jesuits at Tournay in Flanders: "I, William Bathe,

was born at Dublin on Easter Sunday, the 2nd of April, 1564; my father was John Bathe, a judge, my mother was Eleanor Preston. I have studied humanities in Ireland, philosophy at Oxford and Louvain, and theology at Louvain. I have been received into the Society at Courtray by Father Duras, Provincial of Belgium, and entered the Novitiate of Tournay the 6th of August, 1595." After teaching for a short time at the College of St. Omer, Bathe went to Padua where he completed his studies. When the pope in 1601 appointed Father Manzoni Apostolic Nuncio to Ireland, Bathe was selected as his companion. He had thus a fair prospect of revisiting his native land; but as events turned out he got no farther than Spain. The matters which had rendered the embassy to Ireland necessary were adjusted by other means. Manzoni returned to Italy and Bathe remained at Valladolid. Shortly afterward, he went to Salamanca and took up his residence in the Irish College which was then under the direction of the Jesuits.

In the College itself he assisted in the training of young men for the priesthood, "many of whom became learned professors, bishops, archbishops, and martyrs. Most of these passed under Father William's direction as dean of the house and learned music and ceremonies from him." But his zeal extended beyond his collegiate duties. Upon the students of the university he exerted an influence for good which was eventually felt all through Spain. In assisting the poor, providing instruction for the children of the humbler classes and, especially, in reclaiming those who had fallen into vicious ways, he was untiring.

Meanwhile, a project to which he had given some thought for twenty years or more, now began to take definite shape. This was the preparation of a book that would facilitate the study of languages. Besides the convenience of the general student, Bathe had in view the needs of missionaries among the heathen, of confessors in places frequented by foreigners and of persons of an advanced age preparing for ordination. In constructing the book itself, as in writing his treatises on music, he was seeking to improve the methods of teaching and learning. The methods then in vogue he

declared to be inadequate. True, the study of grammar would acquaint one with the "congruities," while from authors and rhetoricians idiom and elegance might be learned. But for a knowledge of words the student had to depend on the dictionary. Here precisely was the trouble. Besides the useless words that it contains, the dictionary, says Bathe, has many compound words which might as well be learned by learning the roots; and, moreover, the words in their dictionary form cannot be remembered. To obviate these difficulties, Bathe's plan consisted in selecting a number of useful words and arranging them into sentences, without using any word more than once, except a few short words the repetition of which was unavoidable. Thus, "as it was much more easy to have known all the living creatures by often looking into Noe's Ark, wherein was a selected couple of each kind, than by traveling over all the world until a man should find here and there a creature of each kind, even in the same manner will all the words be far more easily learned by use of these sentences than by hearing, speaking or reading until a man do accidentally meet with every particular word."

Bathe realized his design in the *Janua Linguarum* published at Salamanca in 1611. It was a book of 144 pages quarto, containing 5300 words and 1330 sentences. In the first edition, only two languages were used, Latin and Spanish, and these appeared on opposite pages. Later editions took on more of a polyglot character, some of them applying the method to four, and others to eight, languages. The work was published in England (Latin and English) in 1615. It appeared again at London in 1617 as "The Messe of Tongues, Latin, French, English, Hispanish, neatly served up together for a wholesome repast to the worthy curiositie of the studious." Various editions were brought out on the Continent—e. g. at Leipzig, Venice and Milan—and these presented different combinations of Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, German, Greek, Hebrew, Bohemian, Illyrian and Hungarian. It may be said without exaggeration that Bathe's work became, for the time being, the foremost educational treatise of Europe. That it should have found imitators will cause no surprise to any one who is acquainted

with the educational tendencies of that period. Some of the imitations merely adopted Bathe's scheme and widened out its application. Others, more judicious, undertook an improvement of the method itself. Of these the most important was undoubtedly the *Janua* of Comenius, which was published in 1631.

Bathe, however, did not live to see the wide-spread interest aroused by his publication. In the closing year of his life he undertook several treatises on the Sacraments for the purpose of instructing the people and exhorting them to the worthy reception of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. At the same time he continued to labor for the welfare of souls until his final illness which closed his life June 17, 1614. According to the Annual Letters of Toledo, "he died at the Jesuit College of Madrid . . . suffice it for us to say that as long as he was here he shone forth as a model of all virtues to the members of our community and to the people of the city."

Another tribute from quite a different source is worth recording. Gaspar Schoop, known in the literary world as "Canis Grammaticus" on account of his biting sarcasm, published at Milan in 1637 his "*Mercurius Quadrilinguis*" which was modeled on Bathe's "*Janua*." In this work he says: "William Bathe, born of a knightly family in Ireland, was a man of moderate erudition indeed, but was remarkable for the highest virtue, innocence and piety, and admirable for the acumen of his genius and facility of his inventions. From his love of the Christian religion and his zeal for its propagation among barbarous nations, especially in America, he excogitated and edited the 'Gate of Tongues,' a method by which missionaries might be helped to learn the languages of the various tribes in foreign lands. Two days before he gave up to God his pious soul and his spirit which was gifted with the grace of prophecy, I saw him and was asked by him to bring out a new edition of his book."

It may be that some future historian will set in clearer light the respective merits of Bathe, the Irish Jesuit, and of Comenius, the gentle Moravian bishop.

E. A. PACE.

EARLY JESUIT SCHOOLS IN MARYLAND.

The beginnings of Catholic educational work in the English Colonies date back to the arrival of the Maryland Colony. It was a day full of significance for the future of education in America that brought to our shores the Jesuits, the most successful teachers of youth, perhaps, that Europe had yet known. Tracing things to their commencement and their causes, we must attribute to the Jesuits, more than to any other single influence, the establishment of the Catholic school system such as it exists to-day. It was the Jesuits who opened the first schools, gave them their present form, and made them a function of organized parish work. Long before the advent of the hierarchy in the person of the venerated Bishop Carroll, Catholic schools existed, flourished, and had been moulded into a system, of some sort, under the Jesuit pastors and missionaries.

The educational activity of the Jesuits may be said to have begun with their first arrival in Maryland. On March 25, 1634, the Colony sent out by Lord Baltimore landed on St. Clement's Island, in the lower Potomac, and soon after a permanent settlement was founded at St. Mary's. Two Jesuit fathers and a lay brother accompanied the expedition. At their head was Father Andrew White, one of the foremost English Jesuits of the time, a scholarly man, who had filled with applause the offices of Prefect of Studies, and Professor of Sacred Scripture, dogmatic theology, and Hebrew, in the English colleges at Valladolid and Seville.¹ Father White immediately set about acquiring the language of the Indians, and had soon prepared a native grammar and vocabulary, as well as a catechism, the latter being still extant. The conversion of the most important Indian chieftain, with many of his subjects, was the result of these zealous labors. Shortly

¹ Records of the English Province, Vol. III, p. 334.

afterwards, we are told, the newly converted King brought his daughter, who was seven years old at the time, to St. Mary's "to be educated among the English."²

It is certain that the matter of educational provision for the children of the colonists occupied the attention of the Jesuits from the very beginning. As early as 1640, when only four settlements had been formed, the question of establishing a college was discussed by members of the Order in Maryland and their higher superiors.³ It is not the fault of the Jesuits if Maryland is not able to contest with Massachusetts the honor of having founded the first American college. Writing to the Superior of the Maryland Mission on Sept. 15, 1640, the Superior-General of the Jesuits said :

"The hope of establishing a college which you hold forth, I embrace with pleasure ; and shall not delay my sanction to the plan, when it shall have reached maturity." ⁴

But the Jesuits found their plans continually thwarted. Lord Baltimore, through an unfortunate chain of circumstances, was led to assume an attitude of hostility to them, and laws were framed and measures taken which could not fail to effectually cripple their activity along educational as well as other lines. As a climax to these difficulties, the Rebellion of Claiborne and Ingle broke out in the beginning of the year 1644, resulting in the banishment of the Jesuits from the Colony and the loss or destruction of much of their property. When they returned, after an absence of three years, and set about repairing the work of destruction accomplished by the rebels, they seem to have taken up again the project of the college. But times had changed. The Parliamentarians had gained the ascendancy in England, and soon made themselves masters in Maryland. They were bitterly hostile to the Catholics, and with the overthrow of the Proprietary Government in Maryland in 1652, the Jesuits found it impossible to

² Letter of 1640, Records, III, pp. 379, 382.

³ Records Amer. Cath. Hist. Society, XI, p. 185.

⁴ United States Cath. Magazine, VII, p. 580.

do anything openly. It was not until after the Restoration in England and the manifestation of the friendly disposition of Charles II toward the Church, as we shall see, that they ventured to engage openly in the work of education and to carry out their long-cherished plan of founding an institution of higher education for the benefit of Maryland Catholics.

In the meantime, they were quietly preparing the way for this event, by encouraging elementary education, and by establishing at least one school for the teaching of the elementary branches. It appears to have been about 1640 that this school was started. In that year, Ralph Crouch, "the first schoolmaster to make his way across the Potomac,"⁵ came from Europe, and began an educational service that lasted for twenty years. He was a layman at this time, but he had been a Jesuit novice. For some reason not recorded, he left the novitiate in 1639 and came to Maryland. The official chronicles of the Order in England represent him as a man of some education, full of zeal and charity and ready for every good and pious work.⁶ He was called the "right hand and solace," of the Fathers of the Society in Maryland, and he was continually associated with them in his educational and charitable work. Having joined the Order again in 1659, he was sent to Europe to complete his noviceship, but never returned. He died a Jesuit priest in 1679.

At the time of Ralph Crouch's arrival in Maryland, the centre of Jesuit activity was at Newtown, having been shifted from St. Mary's, probably because of the hostility of the authorities there, and also because of the number of Catholics in the vicinity of Newtown. The Jesuits had a manor-house at this place,⁷ which very likely served as a church on Sundays and as a schoolhouse during the week, a not infrequent combina-

⁵ Dexter, *History of Ed. in the U. S.* This author represents Ralph Crouch as having come from Virginia, and says nothing about his connection with the Jesuits. It is not improbable that Crouch was sent to Maryland by the Jesuits, and sent for the express purpose of founding Catholic schools.

⁶ Records of the English Province, v, p. 953.

⁷ Woodstock Letters, XIII, p. 269.

tion during Colonial days. The house lay not far from Britton's Bay, and from its windows could be had a view of the distant Potomac, with some charming vistas of the bays, creeks, and forests that abound in its vicinity.⁸ Such was, apparently, the site of the first formally established Catholic school in the English speaking colonies.

It was here probably Ralph Crouch came after his arrival in Maryland in 1640, and began the work of teaching the children of the neighboring Catholic planters during the week and giving catechetical instructions on Sundays, while assisting the Fathers in visiting and caring for the sick, and in the numerous other duties in connection with their work which ordinarily fell to the lot of the temporal coadjutors of the Society.⁹ Some of the Catholics in the vicinity were wealthy, according to the standards at those times, and it was natural that the Jesuits should look to these for the means which were necessary to endow the school and insure its existence permanently. The Catholic colonists were generous, and attached to the church by ties which had been rendered stronger and more tender by persecution and suffering. The strength and depth of their attachment to the Church, as well as their practical generosity, is evidenced by the fact that no less than 42 Catholics, between the years 1650 and 1685, made the Church or the clergy a beneficiary in their wills.¹⁰ They were zealous for education, too. It is a grave mistake to assert that the sentiment in Maryland was "opposed to free schools for the people."¹¹ On the contrary, Catholics and Protestants alike were eager to provide the best facilities possible in the way of education. The more wealthy colonists frequently employed private teachers for their children; a strong desire, however, was manifested for the establishment of schools. This is proved by the fact that several generous bequests were actually made during this

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 73.

⁹ Records, v, p. 953.

¹⁰ Maryland Calendar of Wills, Vol. I; Annapolis Will-books, Lib. I, II, IV, V, IX.

¹¹ Dexter, Hist. of Education, p. 65.

period for the establishment of "free schools." One of these bequests will be given here in full; in addition to which, mention may be made of the will of John Price, Feb. 16, 1660, in which part of the estate was set aside for the establishment of a "free school;" also, of that of Thomas Pacey, May 2, 1667, in which provision was made for the founding of "free schools." Price was a Protestant, and a very prominent personage in early Maryland history, having been a member of the Governor's Council and having held important military commands. The fact that he was a soldier and an illiterate man, makes his interest in the establishment of schools all the more remarkable.¹² Surgeon Henry Hooper also, who died about the year 1650, left a legacy to Ralph Crouch for such "pious uses as he thinks fit," the intention being probably to found a school. The insecure position of Catholics in Maryland at the time made the more general designation, "for pious purposes," the more prudent form to employ in an educational bequest.¹³ Several other wills made during this period testify to the generally felt need of schools.¹⁴ Nor did the authorities in the province lack interest in education. In 1673, Charles Calvert, the Governor, wrote that he was endeavoring to found a private school at St. Mary's. Two years before this date, a bill for "the founding and erecting of a school or college within this province for the education of youth in learning and virtue," was accepted by the Catholic upper house of the assembly, but was killed by amendments added to it by the lower house, which was Protestant. The amendments had reference to the religious differences which existed between the two bodies, and were distasteful to the Catholics.¹⁵

Among the "loving friends" of Ralph Crouch, and one of

¹² Cf. Davis, *Day Star*, p. 183. The wills of Price and Pacey are to be found in the Will-book at Annapolis, Lib. I.

¹³ Neill, *The Founders of Md.*, p. 127.

¹⁴ Cf. the will of Augustus Herman, 1684, in Steiner, *op. cit.*; that of Walter Hall, made in 1678, and referred to in the Maryland Calendar of Wills.

¹⁵ Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

his most generous supporters in his educational and charitable work, was a rich and influential Catholic planter near Newtown named Edward Cotton. He was a member of the assembly in 1648, and represented 9 votes.¹⁶ He was unmarried, it would seem, and when he died, in 1653, he made Ralph Crouch one of his two executors, and left the bulk of his estate, consisting of 450 acres of land and many cattle, for the endowment of the Catholic school. His will contains the first bequest made in behalf of education in Maryland, and the first made in behalf of Catholic education, so far as is known, on this side of the Atlantic. It is given here almost in full for this reason, the minor gifts and bequests being omitted.

The Last Will and Testament of Edward Cotton made the 4th of April 1653 he having perfect sense and memory as followeth. First, I give and bequeath my soul to God my Maker and Redeemer to the fellowship of all the holy Angells and Saints and my body to the earth from whence it came to be decently buried with all Christian Rites and Ceremonies according to my quality. . . . Thirdly, I doe appoint my Loving friends Thomas Mathews and Ralph Crouch my Executors Equally to have Power to take and Dispose of all my whole Estate whatsoever in manner and form as followeth, not to be accountable unto any person or persons whatsoever. *First*, to pay all my Debts whatsoever in the first Place. *Secondly*, to sett my man David Thomas free at the time of my Death, provided that he do discharge my Executors from a bill of Fifteen hundred weight of Tobacco which I am bound for unto Walter Beane. *Thirdly*, to give unto Mr. Starkey [the parish priest at Newtown] my old Chestnutt Colloured Mare and my horse now 3 years old, this Spring . . . *Ninthly*, I doe give all my female Cattle and their Increase for Ever to be disposed of by my aforesaid Executors as they shall think fitt unto charitable uses which may be most to God's honor, the Stock to be preserved and the Profit to be made use of to the use of a schooll, if they shall think convenient, and for the Male Cattle that are or that hereafter shall encrease I doe give to the aforesaid use reserving to my aforesaid Executors the privilege to Kill for their own use some of the Male Cattle, the better to Enable them to do Charitable offices presuming that they will make no Waste contrary to this my Will and all the rest of my estate to be disposed of as aforesaid to good uses as they

¹⁶ Davis, *Day Star*, p. 144.

shall think fitt . . . *Eleventhly*, I doe give them power to appoint at their death some other faithful person in their stead whom they shall think fitt with the same power as they or he hath. *Twelfthly*, my desire is if they shall think Convenient that the Schooll be kept at Newtowne, and that the Cattle may be in the Care of John Warren upon such agreement as my Executors shall make Provided that this my desire do not hinder them from doing a greater good to the honour of God otherwise which I doe leave absolute in their power and to their Discretion. . . .

In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand.

EDWARD COTTON.¹⁷

The gift of a herd of cattle, with "their increase forever," as an endowment for a school, strange as it may seem nowadays, was natural enough in the early years of the Maryland Colony. A codicil to the will provided that the 450 acres of land, together with one of the negro servants, should be leased to John Warren for eight years, the executors to receive yearly in return "one thousand pounds Weight of good sound Merchantable leaf Tobacco and Cask." Cattle and tobacco were, in fact, the most ordinary standards of value at the time, and by the endowment settled upon the school in these two things, there was provided for it a capital which was at once the safest and the most in demand.¹⁸ A pound of tobacco at the time was worth about 3 pence in English money.¹⁹

What was the character of the school which was thus so generously endowed? Here we have little that is authentic to

¹⁷ Will-books in the office of the Register of wills, Annapolis, Lib. 1, p. 46. There is another will of Edward Cotton recorded in the same book, on page 203, but it is almost word for word the same as the above, and is evidently a misplaced copy of it.

¹⁸ In 1649 cattle were used in Maryland for the payment of soldiers. Maryland Hist. Soc. IX, p. 275. Tobacco served as a standard of value until near the Revolution. A lady who died in 1660, in Calvert Co., provided that the private tutor who was charged with the education of her children, should be paid two hogsheads of tobacco (4000 lbs.) yearly, besides his "lodging, Dyett & Walking." This was very fair pay for a private teacher.

¹⁹ Davis, Day Star, p. 49. Steiner seems not to have known of the existence of this will of Edward Cotton, for in his learned and invaluable work, "The History of Education in Maryland," the will of Augustine Herman, a Protestant, who left his estate contingently for the founding of a school, is quoted as containing "the first bequest for educational purposes made by a citizen of Maryland." Herman died in 1684.

guide us. There are only some scattered references, from which inferences must be made, and which have to be supplemented by conjecture. It can hardly be doubted that an elementary school existed at Newtown at this time and for ten years or so before, although its existence may not have been continuous at that place.²⁰ The "three R's" represented the ideal of education most in favor with the old Maryland colonists, or, as one of them put it, "Wryteing and reading and Learning to Cast accompt."²¹ The education of girls was not neglected, but the standard was not the same as in the case of boys. A Catholic who died in 1664 provided that his children

Should have such education in Learning as to write and read and cast accompt. I mean my three Sonnes, my two daughters to learn to read and sew with their needle and all of them to be Kept from Idleness.²²

The "three R's" doubtless constituted the main curriculum of studies in the Newtown school, but there can be no doubt that Latin was taught, and perhaps Greek also. Ralph Crouch, whom the English *Records* refer to as having "opened schools for teaching humanities,"²³ must have known both these languages, and good Father Starkey or another Jesuit Father was probably there to assist him in teaching the larger boys in the more advanced classes. The school must have been, in fact, a preparatory college as well as an elementary school. This is rendered the more likely from the constantly adhered to plan of the Jesuits to establish a college in Maryland, and from the fact that a college for the teaching of the classics

²⁰ Woodstock Letters, XIII, p. 73 seq.

²¹ Maryland Will-books, Lib. 1, p. 136.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 183. A curious instance, illustrative of the fervor of the devotion of the old Maryland Catholics to the Church, is afforded by the will of Jane Fenwick, which provided that "William Payne the negro boy servant in case he survive my three children shall be then free, he paying yearly to the Roman Catholic Church for Ever one hhd of tobacco, and in case the said William continue not always a member of the said Church that then he shall be forever a slave to the aforesaid Catholic Church." Lib. 1, p. 114.

²³ Vol. XII, p. 593.

or "humanities" was sometime afterward actually begun at Newtown.²⁴

The endowment made by Edward Cotton offered a good opportunity, in fact, for the starting of this long projected institution. In 1668, the neighboring manor of Mr. Britton, a wealthy Catholic, was purchased, and about the same time, probably, another story was added to it.²⁵ A chapel had been erected by the congregation at Newtown some years before.²⁶ At this time, under the administration of Father Henry Warren, the Superior, there were four Jesuit priests in Maryland and two lay brothers.²⁷ Besides assisting the priests, the lay brothers taught in the elementary school, one of them at a time having charge of it.²⁸ One of these lay brothers named Gregory Turbeville came to Maryland shortly after Ralph Crouch's departure, and remained until his death in 1684—a service of 22 years.²⁹ The superior often resided at Newtown, and it is likely that there were two Fathers constantly there. As the Jesuit priests in Maryland were, as a rule, remarkably learned men, there was thus a chance for them to lay the foundation for college work by the gradual introduction of such classes as would form the curriculum of a classical preparatory school. In the will of Luke Gardner, a Catholic, made in 1673, there is a recognition of the existence of such a preparatory school in the provision made for the education of his sons until they reached the age of eighteen:

My will is that my three sons, John, Luke and Thomas Gardner be kept at School and have such education as this country and their estates will afford them until they successively attain unto the age of eighteen years.³⁰

We are prepared, therefore, to learn that not long afterward,

²⁴ Woodstock Letters, XIII, p. 269 seq.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁶ Shea, History, I, p. 76.

²⁷ Records of the English Province, Collect., Hist. Intr.

²⁸ Woodstock Letters, XIII, p. 269.

²⁹ Oliver, Collectanea.

³⁰ Will-books, Lib. 1, p. 634.

in the year 1677, a college or "school for humanities," was officially announced as having been opened, and that two of the Jesuit Fathers had been assigned as its "directors." In the annual letter to the higher superiors in Europe of the date of 1681, this event is referred to as the one of greatest interest and importance in the recent history of the colony :

Four years ago, a school for humanites was opened by our Society in the centre of the country, directed by two of the Fathers ; and the native youth, applying themselves assiduously to study, made good progress. Maryland and the recently established school sent two boys to St. Omer who yielded in abilities to few Europeans, when competing for the honor of being first in their class. So that not gold, nor silver, nor the other products of the earth alone, but men also are gathered from thence to bring those regions, which foreigners have unjustly called ferocious, to a higher state of virtue and cultivation. Two of the Society were sent out to Maryland this year to assist the laborers in that most ample vineyard of our Lord.³¹

St. Omer's was a college established by the Jesuits in Belgium, for the education of the Catholic youth of English-speaking countries. It had a complete college curriculum, as well as preparatory studies. One of the two pupils of the college alluded to as having gone to St. Omer's to finish their studies was Robert Brooke, who was born in Maryland in 1663. He subsequently entered the Society of Jesus, being the first priest of the Order ordained from Maryland. He labored for many years in the Maryland Mission.³² The other youth was Thomas Gardner (Gardiner), a son of the Luke Gardner mentioned above. He also became a Jesuit scholastic, but left the Society before he was ordained. The sending of students to St. Omer's from the Newtown school, would indicate that the latter institution had not developed a

³¹ Records, III, p. 394. Dexter, *Hist. of Ed. in the U. S.*, p. 65, following Steiner, erroneously supposes that the college thus established was an Indian school. The term "native youth" used in the above letter is evidently used to designate those born or brought up in Maryland, as distinguished from the "Europeans" mentioned in connection with St. Omer's. It is unlikely that there were any Indian youth at the college at Newtown.

³² Shea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 84.

full collegiate curriculum at this time. The higher classics were probably not taught as yet. As a matter of fact, we have no positive evidence that a complete college curriculum was ever attained at Newtown, but the indirect evidence at hand would lead us to the conclusion that it was. This evidence centres chiefly about three points: the eager desire of the Jesuit authorities to establish a complete collegiate institution in Maryland; the need existing for such an institution there; and the actual strengthening of the faculty of the Newtown school about this time. At any rate, whether the institution ever developed a *complete* college curriculum or not, it must be admitted that a college was established at Newtown, and that this college was the second institution of the kind, in point of time, established within the present limits of the United States, being preceded only by Harvard.

The two members of the Society alluded to in the above letter as having been sent to Maryland in 1681, were a lay brother and Mr. Thomas Hathersall, the latter being a scholastic or one not yet ordained to the priesthood. He was the only Jesuit scholastic ever in this country in the Colonial Period, and he continued without orders until the time of his death, which occurred in Maryland in 1698.³³ Coming to Maryland at the age of forty-two, he was sent to the College at Newtown, where we have references to him as teaching the classics—"letters and humanities"—during a period of fifteen years, between 1683 and 1698.³⁴ In the year 1682 another Jesuit, a priest, came over to Maryland, probably to teach in the college. At this time there were nine Jesuits in Maryland,—five priests, three lay brothers, and the scholastic above mentioned.³⁵ The college was evidently prospering. It had good teachers, and even Protestants sent their sons there.³⁶

At this time also the Jesuits ventured to open a school in New

³³ Ms. records of Bohemia and Newtown, in Georgetown University.

³⁴ Ms. records, Georgetown University; Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and its Early Jesuit Missionaries*, p. 95.

³⁵ Records of the Eng. Prov., Collect., Hist. Intr.

³⁶ Shea, *Hist.*, I, p. 345.

York City, under the patronage of the Catholic Governor, Col. Dongan. The institution was begun originally as an Episcopalian school, about 1684, but it did not prosper, and after a time was closed. It stood on the site of Old Trinity Church, at Broadway and Wall Streets. One of the Jesuits who arrived in New York in 1683 or 1684 reopened the school at the Governor's instance, probably Father Henry Harrison. The classics were taught, and probably the elementary branches also. The Governor urged King James to endow it with a tract of land known as "the King's Farm,"³⁷ but it does not appear that this petition was granted. There were not many Catholics in the city, but some of them were men of influence who held high offices in the colony, and these eagerly seized the opportunity of affording their sons an education under Catholic auspices. In spite of the statement of Leisler, that "the college vanished" for lack of support, there is good reason for believing that the institution was successful and had ample support, as long as Dongan was Governor.³⁸

It was just at this time, however, when the prospects of the Church in New York seemed so bright, and the long cherished and so often thwarted hope for the establishment of a Catholic school and college in Maryland was so happily realized, that the era of most bitter persecution was about to be ushered in. The revolution which broke out in England in 1688 and resulted in the overthrow of James II, gave birth to corresponding revolutions in Maryland and New York, directed chiefly against the Catholics. In New York, the Government of Dongan was overthrown, and the Jesuits were driven out. In Maryland, the statutes guaranteeing religious freedom were repealed, and the Church of England was made the established form of religious worship for the colony.³⁹ The Jesuit Fathers

³⁷ Broadhead, *Hist. of the State of N. Y.*, II, pp. 407, 487. Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, IV, p. 490. Bayley, *History of the Catholic Church in New York*, p. 31.

³⁸ *Documentary History of N. Y.*, II, p. 22.

³⁹ Thomas, *Chronicles of Maryland*, p. 70.

soon encountered the gravest difficulties in ministering to their flocks. It was to be expected that the college and school at Newtown, as the chief nursery of Catholic life in the colony, would be the first to suffer. Whatever the nature of the practical measures taken to bring about the result may have been, it is certain that the educational establishment there, after some years, was closed. The Jesuits engaged in teaching were scattered, and the institution was never afterwards reopened, at least at Newtown. The precise date of the final suspension of educational work is not known, but it was probably not until the closing years of the century. Thomas Hathersall continued to live at Newtown until 1698, and no doubt some teaching continued to be done until about that time. By 1699, the number of Jesuits in Maryland was reduced to three priests and two lay brothers. The last specific reference we have to the Newtown school is found in the will of Thomas Rasin, made April 18, 1687, saying that "My desire is that if Mr. Pennington desires to have the educating of my youngest son that my Executors do put him to him." "Mr. Pennington" was the Rev. Francis Pennington, the Jesuit Superior in Maryland, who died at Newtown in 1699.⁴⁰ In 1704, a law was passed which provided that :

If any persons professing to be of the Church of Rome should keep school, or take upon themselves the education, Government, or boarding of youth, at any place in the province, upon conviction such offenders should be transported to England to undergo the penalties provided there by Statutes 11 and 13, William III, 'for the further preventing the growth of Popery.'⁴¹

One of the principal features of this long period of persecution, which lasted down to the outbreak of the American Revolution, was the continual effort made to prevent Catholics giving a Catholic education to their children. It was sought to render impossible the establishment of Catholic schools, the

⁴⁰ Woodstock Letters, XIII, p. 271 ; Annapolis Will-books, Lib. IV, fol. 302.

⁴¹ Shea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 358.

teacher being liable to perpetual imprisonment.⁴² That Catholics would seek to evade the consequences of such an iniquitous condition by employing teachers of their own faith, to give instruction to their children at home, or to the children of a neighborhood together in some convenient house, was anticipated, and even this was interdicted. A Catholic father was liable to a fine of 40 shillings per day if he employed any but a Protestant teacher or tutor to instruct his child.⁴³ If he sought to procure a Catholic education for his son by sending him across the sea, to St. Omer's, or one of the other Jesuit colleges in Europe founded for this very purpose, he became liable to a fine of £100.⁴⁴ Poor Catholics were thus effectually deprived of all opportunity to give their children a Catholic education, except in so far as they were able to instruct them themselves. Wealthy Catholics fared somewhat better, as it was easier for them to secure a private tutor, and it was less difficult for them to conceal the fact. They could afford, too, to send their sons to Europe to study, and, in spite of the stringency of the laws and the vigilance of the authorities, they often found means to do so without being discovered. One great help to this end was afforded by the use of an *alias*, the student assuming a new name by which he was known during the time of his journey to Europe and his stay there. This was a favorite practice of the Jesuits during times of persecution.

These harshly proscriptive measures appear all the more odious in view of the fact that the men who were so bent upon making every species of Catholic educational work impossible, did so little themselves to further the cause of public education during this period. Up to 1694, practically nothing had been done. In that year, an act was passed by the legislature for the establishment of free schools, and two years later it was

⁴² Cf. Shea, I, p. 358; Devitt, "A Dark Chapter in the Hist. of Md.," in U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag., I, p. 144.

⁴³ U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag., VII, p. 532.

⁴⁴ *Ib.*; Shea, *loc. cit.*

amended and sent to the King for his approval.⁴⁵ The act provided for the erection of a free school in each county of the colony ; but nothing came of it, except the establishment of King William's School at Annapolis, which subsequently developed into St. John's College, and even this school owed its foundation in large part to private generosity. King William's School continued to be the only public school in Maryland until the year 1723. Money was scarce, and it was found to be exceedingly difficult to raise money for schools.⁴⁶ Taxes were imposed upon all sorts of things for the purpose, but without much avail. In 1717, the Irish Servant Bill was re-enacted, a duty of 40 shillings being put upon each Irish Catholic servant imported into the Province, "to prevent the growth of Popery."⁴⁷ The duty upon negroes was also raised, and the money collected from these sources was to be devoted to the schools.⁴⁸ Catholics were to be rigorously excluded from any share in the management of the schools; the trustees were all to be Protestants; the teachers, members of the Church of England; and the Anglican rector of the parish was to be the chairman of the school-board.⁴⁹ Under the Act of 1723, schools were gradually introduced into a number of the counties, but the terms of the legislation, coupled with the spirit of bigotry that prevailed, left little hope to the Catholic parent of being able to bring up his children in his own faith, if he attempted to make use of the only educational facilities which the laws allowed him. The alternative was plain, it was, apostacy or ignorance.

Under these circumstances, when the number of Catholics in the colony had dwindled to one-twelfth or less of the population,⁵⁰ and the faith of the rising generations of Catholics

⁴⁵ Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, p. 56 ; Clews, *Educational Legislation and Administration*, p. 411 seq.

⁴⁶ Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 423 ; Steiner, *Hist. Ed. in Md.*, pp. 23, 24.

⁴⁷ Clews, p. 425 ; Shea, I, p. 373.

⁴⁸ *Report Amer. Hist. Ass.*, I, p. 250.

⁴⁹ Clews, p. 429 and *passim* ; *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, I, No. 2, *passim*.

⁵⁰ *Life and Select Letters of Rev. Thomas Bray*, p. 160.

seemed so gravely imperilled, the Jesuits again attempted to come to the rescue by establishing a Catholic school. The history of this institution is interesting, but the information that has come down to us regarding it is brief and fragmentary. Its origin is wrapped in obscurity; it was begun by stealth; its existence was precarious; and it appears to have been closed several times owing to fresh outbursts of persecution. But it did, nevertheless, a great work: it helped to keep alive some sparks of the old Maryland faith, and provided a generation of educated Catholics—small in number but strong in faith and knowledge—who were fitted to champion the cause of the Church's freedom by word and deed, in the era of universal liberty ushered in by the Revolution. It was the last educational effort of the Jesuits in Colonial Maryland, but the tattered pages of its register which still survive bear some of the most illustrious names in American Catholic History.

The spot selected by the Jesuits for the new school was Herman's Manor of Bohemia, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The place was in Cecil County, which borders on Pennsylvania and Delaware, and forms the extreme Northeast corner of Maryland.⁵¹ It is easy to understand why this comparatively remote section of the colony was chosen. Pennsylvania was the home of religious freedom in colonial times, and the new establishment, while being less liable to observation on the part of the Maryland authorities, would form a convenient base for missionary work among the neighboring Quakers. To Bohemia accordingly, in the year 1704, the Rev. Thomas Mansell, S. J., came, and soon afterwards he took out a patent for 458 acres of land. The country was a wilderness, the Catholics in the vicinity few.⁵² In 1738, the Rev. Thomas Poulton took charge, remaining there until 1745. He had one assistant, and under him the school was organized about the year 1744. The branches taught were both elementary and preparatory, that is, they

⁵¹ Shea, *Hist. of the Cath. Church in the U. S.*, II, pp. 27, 28.

⁵² Woodstock Letters, XIV, p. 347, seq.

included the "three R's," which formed the almost invariable curriculum for beginners in those days, and such subjects as latin, algebra, history, and perhaps Greek, which were calculated to prepare the pupil for college.⁵³ The charge was 40 pounds per annum for the preparatory students, and 30 pounds for the elementary.⁵⁴ This included board and other expenses, as most of the pupils came from a distance, and it was necessary for them to live at the college. The building must have been of goodly size, for at one time it held as many as forty pupils.⁵⁵ There is no evidence that anything higher than a preparatory school ever existed at Bohemia. For further studies, the students were sent to St. Omer's, in Flanders.

This school was evidently a great boon to the Catholics of Maryland, for it was patronized immediately by some of the leading Catholic families. A fragment of the record-book for 1745-6, contains the names of Peter Lopez, Edward Neale, and Daniel Carroll, who entered their sons there that year. The latter was father of John Carroll, the future Archbishop of Baltimore. John was the youngest of three brothers, and it was probably one of his elder brothers who entered the school at that time. John Carroll, according to his biographies, entered when he was twelve years of age, and this date coincides with the year 1747.⁵⁶ An entry of April 22, 1748, records that he came there a second time, having returned home, apparently, before his first year was finished.⁵⁷ In 1748, or early in 1749, he left Bohemia to go to St. Omer's, where he completed the classical course, remaining there six years. Among the other early pupils of the school were Benedict, Edward, Charles and Leonard Neale, the latter destined to become the second Archbishop of Baltimore; James Heath, Robert Brent, and Archibald Richard.⁵⁸ Charles Carroll of

⁵³ Ms. Records of Bohemia, Georgetown University.

⁵⁴ *Ib.*; Shea, I, p. 404.

⁵⁵ Shea, *ib.*

⁵⁶ Shea, II, p. 27; Boyle, Biog. Sketches of Disting. Marylanders, p. 104.

⁵⁷ Ms. Records of Bohemia.

⁵⁸ Ms. Records. Shea, I, p. 404.

Carrollton, future signer of the Declaration of Independence, was also a pupil at Bohemia about this time, entering in 1747, when ten years of age; the following year he accompanied his cousin John to St. Omer's, going thence, after six years, to the Jesuit college at Rheims, and afterwards to the college of Louis le Grand, at Paris.⁵⁹

The Bohemia school seems to have been continued during the greater part of the summer. There is a record extant of students entering during the months of April, June and August. A note in the register records the fact that on July 8, 1748, "Jackey Carroll went to Marlborough," such being the name the future Archbishop was known by among his fellow-scholars.⁶⁰ As the institution was a boarding-school, some of the pupils doubtless remained there all the time until they had finished. The uncertainty attaching to the existence of the school, owing to the laws and the attitude of the civil authorities, may have afforded a special reason for keeping up class-work during the entire summer.

There is evidence that the Maryland authorities were not lacking in vigilant determination to prevent the introduction of Catholic schools into the colony. Encouraged by the success of the Jesuits at Bohemia, several schools were opened by Catholics in other parts of Maryland. In 1752, a school was established by Daniel Connelly and Patrick Cavanaugh near My Lady's Manor. In the year 1757, Mary Anne Marsh opened a Catholic school in Baltimore; whereupon the Rev. Thos. Chase, of St. Paul's Parish, complained to the Assembly, alleging that the Protestant school-master "had lost many of his scholars, which were immediately put to the popish seminary." The magistrates were accordingly ordered "to call all persons before them who were keeping public and private schools, and to administer to them the oaths to the Government required by law, which oaths if any refused to

⁵⁹ Rowland, *Life and Correspondence of Chas. Carroll of Carrollton*, I, p. 18; Shea, II, p. 28; U. S. Catholic Hist. Mag., I, p. 72; Boyle, *Biog. of Disting. Marylanders*, p. 81.

⁶⁰ Ms. Records.

take, and afterwards kept school, they were to prosecute them according to law.”⁶¹ The “oaths” were, of course, those involving abjuration of the Catholic faith. Nor did the school at Bohemia, amid the remote fastnesses of Cecil County, escape the prying eyes of the persecutors. In 1760, the Rev. Mr. Reading, an Episcopal minister at Apoquinimick, Del., reported that there was “a very considerable Popish Seminary in the neighboring province of Maryland, under the direction of the Jesuits.”⁶² The Anglican rector of St. Stephen’s Parish, near the school, was aware of its existence, and made vigorous efforts to secure the enforcement of the laws against those who were conducting it.⁶³ Nevertheless, amid increasing difficulties, involving fines and other legal penalties, the Jesuits at Bohemia kept bravely on. One of the features of their work there, as it had been at Newtown, was a circulating library, Catholic books of instruction and of controversial character being loaned out to Catholic families for many miles around.⁶⁴

The recrudescence of the prosecution which was brought on by the French and Indian War, gave rise to the enactment of still more oppressive laws against Catholics, and, with the sharpened vigilance of the authorities, their position in the colony became well-nigh intolerable. It was during this period that a law was passed laying a double tax upon the property of Catholics. So unrelenting had the war upon them become, that a general desire prevailed on the part of Catholics to migrate from the Colony.⁶⁵ The Jesuits were the principal object against which this anti-Catholic agitation was directed. The proposition of seizing and confiscating all their property in Maryland was discussed in the papers, and a bill looking to this purpose was actually passed by the lower House of the

⁶¹ U. S. Hist. Mag., VIII, No. 10, quoted from Scharf, Hist. of Balt. City and County, Phila., 1881.

⁶² Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches, XI, p. 60.

⁶³ Shea, I, p. 405.

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, p. 405.

⁶⁵ *Ib.*, p. 416; U. S. Hist. Mag., III, p. 147.

Assembly.⁶⁶ But the bill failed to become a law, and the school at Bohemia continued for some years longer, though with a diminished faculty and a small number of pupils. About the year 1765, one of the two Fathers still remaining there was withdrawn, and the school was closed.⁶⁷

After the American Revolution, or it may be, during it, the school was opened again on a small scale. The Society of Jesus had, in the meantime, been suppressed, but the members continued to labor in the old missions as secular priests. In the year 1789, Georgetown College was founded. The institution was projected and organized by the former members of the Society, the prime mover in the matter being a former pupil of the Jesuits at Bohemia, who had become a Jesuit priest after finishing his studies in Europe and was now Prefect-Apostolic of the Church in the United States, the Rev. John Carroll. The first students were received at Georgetown in 1791,⁶⁸ and not long afterwards, it would seem, classes were discontinued at Bohemia.⁶⁹ It is important to note the coincidence, for, taken in connection with the fact that the new institution at Georgetown was founded by the Jesuits, it goes to show that Georgetown College has a close historical connection with the Bohemia school and, going farther back, with the old college and school at Newtown—the second college established within the United States. The foundations of Georgetown College were, in fact, laid long before the days of John Carroll. The new institution was, in reality, only the old Jesuit school that had existed more or less continuously, in one place or another, for a hundred and fifty years before. The change of site, the larger building, the broader plans, the open appeal to the Catholic public, the rapid development of the college—these and other things of the same kind gave to the institution an aspect of complete newness. They showed that an

⁶⁶ Shea, I, p. 417.

⁶⁷ Woodstock Letters, XVI, p. 229.

⁶⁸ Georgetown College Catalogue, Introduction.

⁶⁹ Records Amer. Catholic Hist. Soc., I, p. 119.

era of educational freedom had been ushered in by the Revolution ; but they showed also what would have been the possibilities of Catholic educational development in colonial days, had the Jesuit Fathers been at liberty to carry out the broad educational plans which they had cherished from the very beginning.

In endeavoring to arrive at a just estimate of the influence and value of the old Jesuit schools of Maryland, the words used by an eminent Protestant historian in speaking of the work in general of the Jesuits in the colony may appropriately be recalled :

“No stone marks the grave of these devoted men. Of most of them even the names have passed into oblivion, and of the rest we have little more than a few faded yellow lines of antique writing scattered among moldering and forgotten archives. The tribes among whom they labored have long since passed away. But their work has not perished with them ; and if the peaceful, equitable, and generous spirit which characterized the early days of the colony, secured its growth and permanence, and has left its stamp on Maryland institutions, is something to remember with pride, let it not be forgotten how large a part of this is due to the truly Christian example and teaching of the early missionary Fathers.”¹

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¹Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I, p. 192. The house of William Britton, at Newtown, which was purchased by the Jesuits, enlarged, and probably used as a school and college building, is still standing, and is in an excellent state of preservation. The school building at Bohemia, however, has entirely disappeared. The spot on which it stood is still pointed out, and the bricks that composed it were used in putting up the present dwelling house of the Jesuits there. Cf. Shea, *op. cit.*

IRISH TEACHERS IN THE CAROLINGIAN REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

Historians have often deplored the fact that the Irish teachers who contributed so largely to the success of the Carolingian revival of letters lacked a proper sense of the importance of the work they were doing. Indeed, the charge might with justice be brought against the medieval teachers generally that they were deficient in historical insight, that they took no adequate care that the growth and development of the work in which they were engaged should be recorded for the benefit of posterity. Important though that literary revival was which took its origin from the patronage extended to learning by Charles the Great, yet, there is not a single contemporary narrative to tell us who they were that contributed to its success, or to trace its progress through the various provinces of the vast empire over which Charles reigned. It is known, however, that the movement owes much to the Irish teachers who, under Charles and his successors, appeared here and there throughout the Continent of Europe, and were acknowledged to be the traditional custodians of the light of learning which everywhere else except in Ireland was almost totally extinguished. But, though none of those pioneers of learning thought it worth while to leave behind him a narrative of his achievements and those of his contemporaries, we have in the manuscripts to be found in the principal libraries of Germany, France and Italy a trustworthy and perfectly objective account of the literary activity of the Irish scholars of the ninth and tenth centuries. We regret that these men carried the spirit of self-effacement so far as completely to avoid the tribute of public monuments, laudatory epitaphs and state or ecclesiastical record of their public services; for that very reason, however, when we find the undying record of their intellectual work in the books which they wrote and copied, we feel that the modern world has a right to know how much it owes to them, and

we are sure that the praise which they were far from seeking will be generously conceded, once the magnitude of their work is known.

Ussher was the first to recognize that the truest record of the activity of the Irish teachers of Charlemagne's time is to be found in the manuscripts dating from the ninth and tenth centuries. In his *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*¹ he publishes valuable material from unedited letters on Irish topics. Since Ussher's time, however, much has been done towards editing the literary legacy of the early middle ages, and in all the works relating to that period attention is naturally given to the share which the Irish monks took in the Carolingian revival of letters. Dümmler and Traube, editors of the Carolingian poets, have rescued the names of many of these Irish scholars from oblivion, and given us the sometimes too scanty record of their career as teachers. Zimmer, who has contributed so much to the scientific study of the Irish language, has collected in a brief essay an array of names and facts to justify his judgment that it was the Irish teachers who "laid the foundation stone of that edifice of culture which we are still building."² Hauréau, too, a diligent student of the manuscripts, devotes a special chapter to the Irish schools in his *Singularités historiques et littéraires* (Paris, 1894). Perhaps no one has written more sympathetically than Ozanam, especially in his *Études germaniques*³ and in his *Documents inédits*.⁴ More recently, Canon Bellesheim, taking advantage of the materials furnished in the "Monumenta Germaniæ," describes at length the labors of the Irish monks in the first volume of his *History of the Church in Ireland*.⁵ The writer of the present article not only aims at summarizing and arranging the results of the foregoing studies, but also hopes to be able to add something from his own study of the manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries.

¹ *Works*, Dublin, 1847-64, Vol. IV.

² In *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Jan., 1887. Translated by Miss Edmonds, under the title *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture* (New York, 1891).

³ 2 Vols. 6me éd., Paris, 1893.

⁴ Reprinted Paris, 1897.

⁵ *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland*, Mainz, 1890.

It is beyond the scope of this article to describe the work done during the seventh and eight centuries by the missionaries who left their monastic cells in Ireland to carry the tidings of the Gospel to the newly arrived conquerors of Gaul, Germany and Italy. Their deeds are part of the history of the Christianization of Europe. It is sufficient for our present purpose to remark that they prepared the way for the teachers who were to follow in their footsteps. Columban in the country of the Jura Alps and the Appenines, St. Gall among the hills of the Allemanien, St. Fursey along the banks of the Marne, St. Foilan in what was afterwards the imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle, St. Kilian in Würzburg, St. Cataldo in Tarentum, and many others less well known, such as St. Disibod at Kreuznach on the Rhine, St. Livinius at Ghent, exercised a ministry which was educational as well as religious. They not only preached the doctrines of Christianity, but, also, as far as was possible, imparted to their converts some of that love of learning which they brought with them from their native land. Columban, for instance, is recognized to have been the greatest poet of his time.¹ Poetry, however, may have been a pastime for him; it was a profession for his successors of the ninth and tenth centuries. Their mission was different from his. They had to deal with a people completely, or almost completely Christianized, and the task which they were called on to perform was not the religious conversion, but the intellectual and literary education of the nations.

In order to avoid a confusion which, in spite of reiterated assertion on the part of historians, is still to be met in the treatment of this subject, it is necessary to point out that, in the records of the ninth and tenth centuries, "*Scotia*" meant, not the present Scotland (*Scotia Minor*), but Ireland (*Scotia Major*); that "*Scotus*," consequently, is to be translated "Irishman." Ussher proves this at great length and with extraordinary wealth of learning,² quoting from the classical writers of antiquity and the medieval writers down

¹ This is the verdict of M. Hauréau, *op. cit.*

² *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, Works, VI, 266 ff.

to Caesar of Heisterbach (13th cent.). The reader will, therefore, not be misled by the name *Scot*, or *Scottish monk*, applied to the Irish scholars by recent writers such as Traube, Dümmler and Zimmer.

In trying to account for a phenomenon which is extraordinary, if not unique, in the history of education, namely the appearance of so many Irish teachers at widely distant places on the continent during the ninth and tenth centuries, we must not only bear in mind the Celtic love of change, which has often been adduced as an adequate explanation of that extraordinary exodus, but must take into account also the peculiar conditions of the time. The organization of the Irish Church was almost entirely monastic; there were bishops, of course, but some of these, at least, were without sees, *episcopi vagantes*, it being the custom to raise to the episcopal dignity monks who had distinguished themselves by piety or learning. Perhaps we are to interpret in this light the enigmatic words of St. Gall monk Ekkehard IV (died about 1036), who in his *Liber Benedictionum* says "In Ireland the priests and bishops are one and the same: In Hibernia Episcopi et Presbyteri unum sunt." Where the Church organization was largely monastic the clergy did not feel that they were "addicted to the glebe," and, once their monasteries were destroyed, they turned naturally to the foundations which their fellow-countrymen, Columban, Gall, Fintan and others had established on the continent of Europe. It does not surprise us, therefore, to find that the date of the first invasions of the Danes is coincident with the beginning of that exodus which carried the light of learning from the ruined sanctuaries of Ireland to the monastic schools of France, Italy and Germany. Besides, it was a custom among the clergy of Ireland to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land and to Rome, and in many instances the returning pilgrim, instead of going back to his native land, was induced to settle down with his fellow-countrymen in their new monastic home on the continent. All these circumstances were added to the Irish teachers' love of learning, which outweighed their love for their native land, and sent them into voluntary exile. It was not long after the first Danish incursion into Ireland that Walahfrid Strabo

writing from the monastery of Reichenau, on the Bodensee (Lake Constance) refers to the "Irish, to whom travel has become a second nature."¹ Walahfrid was writing from personal knowledge, as is evident from the records of his monastery, in which the names of many Irishmen appear. Eric of Auxerre (about 850), who was personally indebted to the teaching of the Irish monks, writes to Charles the Bald in the words so often quoted: "Why should I mention Ireland, whose sons, undeterred by the perils of the seas, have flocked to our shores, the whole country, one might say, having emigrated with its crowd of philosophers." Alcuin, too, though not, as we shall see, a willing witness to the fame of Ireland's scholars, tells us that "it has long since been a custom for very learned teachers to come from Ireland to Britain, Gaul and Italy."²

With *Virgil*, Bishop of Salsburg, the well-known Irish scholar, and his conflict with St. Boniface concerning the existence of the Antipodes, we are not here concerned, as it falls outside the scope of this study. So also does the literary activity of *St. Kilian* of Würzburg. It must, however, be noted that these were by no means the only Irish men of learning who appeared in continental Europe during the seventh and eight centuries. *Virgil* had for contemporary a certain *Sampson*, or *Samson*, "genere Scottus," about whom, also, St. Boniface complained. He had also for companion a bishop named *Dobdan the Greek*, who accompanied him from Ireland.³ To explain the singular fact of a Greek bishop coming from Ireland, Ussher tells us that, down to his day, there was a Greek church near Trim in County Meath.⁴ A

¹ De natione Scottorum, quibus consuetudo perigrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa est: *Vita Sti. Galli*, II, cap. 47; *M. G.*, SS., II, 30.

² *M. G.*, Epp., IV, 437. On the condition of learning in Ireland at this time cf. Healy, *Irish Schools*, p. 188 ff.; Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, I, 209; contemporary witnesses are Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 27, Alcuin; *Vita Sti. Willebrordi*, cap. 33; Eric of Auxerre, *De Miraculis Sti. Germani*, lib. I. cap. ult., and, for the later period, William of Malmesbury, *Vita Sti. Dunstani*. From these and other sources it is evident that there were many foreign students in the Irish schools of the early Middle Ages.

³ "Pontificem secum habuit proprium, Dobdan nomine Græcum, qui ipsum secutus erat ex patria:" Ussher, *Works*, IV, 462 n.

⁴ Ussher, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

simpler explanation, however, is given by Zimmer, namely, that *Dobdagrecus* is merely the latinized form of the Irish name *Dubdachrich* which occurs in many of the continental annals of that time; for instance, in the Lorsch Annals for the year 726 “Martin and Dobdecric abbots died.”¹

Another contemporary and fellow-countryman of Virgil, *Thaddaeus*, Abbot of Ratisbon, tells us that St. Kilian of Würzburg was accompanied by *Colonatus* and *Totnan*, and that Virgil had for companions “seven other bishops, who, according to the custom of their venerable Irish predecessors, proposed to visit the Holy Land and to see with the eyes of the body the ground which the Lord had trodden.”² This custom, we shall see, prevailed also in the ninth century, the pilgrimage to Rome or to Jerusalem being, as has been said, the preliminary to a permanent settlement in Germany, France, or Switzerland. In the correspondence between St. Boniface and Pope Zachary we find mention of a *Clement*, an Irishman, against whom many irregularities are alleged. In view of the misunderstanding which later on arose between the Irish teachers and the Anglo-Saxons on the Continent, it is interesting to note that Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon, brings Clement, the Irishman, to task for not accepting the treatises and the teachings of “the Holy Fathers Jerome, Augustine and Gregory”—similarly, it will be alleged in the following century that the celebrated Irishman, John the Scot, inclined too much to the opinions of the Greek Fathers, and underrated the Latin Fathers.³

We come now to the reign of Charlemagne, whose enlightened efforts on behalf of education resulted in a revival of learning far more important in its consequences than that which is known as *the Renaissance*. The edict by which Charles

¹ *Martinus et Dobdecriis abbates mortui: M. G., SS., I, 24.* This may well be the Dobdan Græcus who accompanied Virgil as “his own bishop” although in the Annals he is styled Abbot, and not Bishop.

² Ussher, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. *Ep. Bonifatii Moguntii Episcopi ad Zachariam Romanum Pontificem*, read in the Roman Synod of 745, *M. G., Epp. III, 318.* To the eighth century belong the abbots and other monks mentioned in the Lorsch Annals, *Conan* (bishop, died 704), *Domnan* (abbot, died 705), *Cellan* (abbot, died 706), *Dubdecriis* (abbot, died 726), *Macflatheus* (died 729). *M. G., SS., I, 22, 24.*

commanded the establishment of schools throughout his vast empire has been called "the charter of modern education." and it may be said, without exaggeration, that never in the whole history of the intellectual life of Europe was authoritative legislation more sorely needed, and seldom, if ever, was legislative interference in educational matters more happy in its results. Alcuin, the English monk whom Charles appointed as the first master of his Palace School, deserves credit for the wisdom he displayed in advising the monarch in his educational reforms, and the ability with which he carried out the emperor's design. Whether he studied in Ireland or, as is more probable, received all his early education at the Cathedral School of York, he is justly considered as a representative of the learning which, at a time when Britain, like the rest of Europe, was plunged in darkness, was carried by the Irish missionaries to their Saxon neighbors. It is not necessary to detract from Alcuin's fame in order to do full justice to the Irish teachers who preceded him, accompanied him, or followed him to the court of Charlemagne and were, it would seem, received with special favor there. Indeed, the monarch seems to have had a special affection not only for the wandering Irish scholars who sought hospitality within his realm, but also for the Irish nation generally. If we are to believe the Monk of St. Gall, who wrote the *History of Charles the Great*,¹ two Irish scholars appeared in France before the arrival of Alcuin, were welcomed by the king, and entrusted by him with the execution of his educational schemes. One of these was named *Clement* and the other, *Joseph* (?). Too much importance, however, should not be attached to the details of the story. Still, we know from other sources that there were two Irish scholars named Clement and Joseph in France shortly after the arrival of Alcuin. We know, too, that as early as 786 Charles erected at Amarbaric, near Verden, a monastery "for the Irish," over which an Irishman named *Patto* ruled as abbot. After the death of Suibert, Bishop of Verden, Patto was promoted to that See and was succeeded at the monastery by a countryman named *Tanco*.

¹ *Gesta Caroli Magni*, M. G., SS., II, 731.

Equally certain, inexplicable as it may seem, is the fact that cordial relations of a very special kind existed between Charlemagne and the Irish princes and people. The writer known as the Saxon poet (end of the 9th century) bears explicit testimony to the fact that the Irish professed allegiance to the Frankish king¹ and Einhard, the contemporary and biographer of Charles, tells us that by his munificence he had attached to himself the Irish chiefs and that there were extant letters from them to him in which they professed their allegiance.² Whatever the explanation of these allusions, it is undeniable that during the reign of Charlemagne and his immediate successors the chief share of the literary revival which belongs to that period and is known as the Carolingian Renaissance fell to the Irish teachers in Frankland, and if we except Alcuin, Rhabanus and Fredegis, the men who founded that educational system to which the latter Middle Ages owe everything and the modern world more than it generally acknowledges were Irishmen.

Among Alcuin's associates was *Josephus Scotus*.³ He accompanied Alcuin to France about the year 790, became a friend of St. Liudger, the Apostle of the Frisians, was made abbot (of what monastery, we do not know), and, as appears from a letter of Alcuin, died before the year 804.⁴ He is author of the numerous Latin poems, some of which are addressed to Alcuin, some to Charlemagne, and some to St. Liudger.⁵ Several of these are acrostics, and very ingenious, for example, the verses in which he treats of the various titles conferred on Our Lord by the sacred writers. He also wrote a treatise consisting of extracts from St. Jerome's commentaries on

¹ "Scottorum reges ipsum dominum vocitabant
Ac se subjectos ipsius et famulos."

(Jaffe, *Bibl. Rer. Ger.*, IV, 615).

² "Scottorum reges sic habuit ad suam voluntatem per munificentiam inclinatos ut eum numquam aliter nisi dominum seque subditos et servos eius pronuntiarent. Extant epistolæ ab eis ad illum missæ, quibus huiusmodi affectus eorum erga illum indicantur." Jaffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 523. Some understand Einhard to refer to Prince Aed, who reigned from 793 to 817. It seems that at least one Irish prince attached himself to Charles' suite. Cf. Bellesheim, I, 258.

³ Cf. Dümmler in *Neues Archiv*, IV, 139.

⁴ *M. G.*, *Epp.*, IV, 31.

⁵ Published in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, Berlin, 1881, I, 149 ff.

Isaiah; the work exists in several manuscripts, the most beautiful of which is the ninth century Ms. (No. 254) in the library of St. Gall, where, however, it is officially attributed to Bede.¹ Students of the history of philosophy know of a celebrated manuscript containing *Glosses on the Isagoge of Porphyry*, belonging to the ninth century, discovered by Cousin, in which the line occurs:

Iepa hunc scripai glossans utcunque libellum.

The word "Iepa," more correctly "Iepa," which has puzzled so many critics, is acknowledged to be written on the space left by an erasure; but all attempts to restore the original name have failed. Now it is, to say the least, interesting to find that in a seventeen-line poem of Josephus which he prefixed to the excerpts from St. Jerome there are eleven lines which end with some form of the word "libellus"; from his other poems we see that he liked to introduce his own name, and the manuscripts tell us that he often spelled it "Ioseppus." It is possible that in place of "Iepa" there stood in the original copy some contraction of "Ioseppus." If this surmise be correct, we are entitled to give to Josephus a place among the dialecticians as well as among the poets and exegetes.²

A man whose name should be mentioned in this account of the Carolingian revival is *Colcu*, or *Colga*, who was Josephus' teacher in Ireland, and, according to some, Alcuin's teacher also.³ For although he lived and died at Clonmacnoise, it is no exaggeration to say that he contributed to the revival of learning on the Continent as much as many of those whose names are associated with that movement. He is mentioned in Dunelm's *History of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*⁴ and by Alcuin; the latter calls him the teacher of Josephus Scotus.⁵

¹ See Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Hss. der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Halle, 1875, p. 95. Another copy is to be found in the Paris Ms. Bibl. nat., 12154.

² Colgan and O'Hanlon are inclined to identify Josephus with the "Joseph Ua Cearnaigh" (O'Kearney) whom the *Annals of the Four Masters* mention (I, 397) as Abbot of Clonmacnoise, and who died in 789 or 794.

³ Cf. Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, Paris, 1854.

⁴ *Hist. Reg. Anglo-Sax.*, ad ann. 794—"His diebus Colcu presbyter et lector ex hac luce migravit ad Dominum." The *Annals of Ulster* give the year 796: "Mors Colga nepotis Dumectae." Cf. Ussher, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

⁵ *Sanus est magister vester Colcu, et sani amici tui qui apud nos sunt: M. G., Epp.*, IV, 31.

Colcu is known to be the author of the collection of prayers entitled "Scuab Crabhaigh" or "Besom of Devotion."¹

More immediately connected with the literary revival inaugurated by Charlemagne was *Clement the Irishman*. He was, as we have seen, one of the teachers who, according to the monk of St. Gall, landed in France "about the time when Charles began to reign alone," that is, after Karlman's death in 791. Apparently he was not long in acquiring a reputation as a grammarian and a teacher; for, when Alcuin left the court of Charles to become Abbot of the monastery of Tours Clement succeeded him as Master of the Palace School. (This is the incident to which Alcuin is understood to refer when he speaks of the "Egyptians" having taken the place of the "Latins" at the Court).² After the death of Charles he seems to have retained his prominent position under Louis the Pious, to whom he dedicated his work on grammar. The esteem in which he was held is evident from the complimentary reference to him in the poems of Prudens, a contemporary,³ and from the fact that scholars were sent to him from the monastery of Fulda, among whom was Modestus (Reccheo) the friend of Candidus (Bruun), the latter being, probably, the author of the celebrated *Dicta candidi de Imagine Dei*.⁴ Clement was present at Ingelheim in 826, when the court celebrated with great pomp the baptism of the Danish King Harald.⁵ At the end of his career he retired from his duties as teacher at the Palace School and went to spend his last days with his countrymen at Würzburg, where lay the remains of St. Kilian. From an entry in the Würzburg Necrology⁶ it may be inferred that he died there. Clement wrote a grammatical work,⁷ remarkable for its erudition and for the extraordinary range of reading which it shows. Especially inter-

¹ Cf. Colgan, *AA. SS. Hib.*, 378; Boll., *AA. SS.*, Feb. 20th. Contemporary annals style Colcu "chief scribe and master of the Scots;" the *Annals of the Four Masters* mention him, I, 397.

² Cf. his letter to Charles in Jaffe, *Bibl. Rer. Ger.*, VI, 408; Migne, *P. L.*, C, 266.

³ *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, I, 581; see Simson, *Jahrbücher Ludwigs des Frommen*, II, 257.

⁴ *M. G.*, *SS.*, XIII, 272.

⁵ Cf. Simson, *op. cit.*, I, 260.

⁶ "IV Kal. Junii, Clementis Magistri Palatini."

⁷ Published by Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, Leipzig, 1857, I, p. xix.

esting is the allusion to "the Greeks who are our teachers in every branch of learning."¹ This is a precious testimony to the knowledge of Greek among the Irish scholars at a time when that language was almost unknown in Latin Europe.

A contemporary and fellow-countryman of Clement was the grammarian *Cruindmelus*,² who wrote a treatise on the art of versification, *Tractatus de Metrica Ratione*. The work is published by Keil, and in a special edition by Huemer.³ It is found in a great many manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries.

These grammarians, useful as their literary activity was, must be assigned inferior rank in comparison with the poets, astronomers and philosophers of Charlemagne's time. First among these is *Dungal*, who flourished between the years 811 and 827. We find mention of him in 812 as an Irish priest and scholar at the monastery of St. Denis under the protection of Abbot Waldo. We still have the letter which he wrote in 811 to Charlemagne in order to explain the eclipse of the sun which occurred, or was believed to have occurred, in 810. It is published by Migne⁴ and in the *Monumenta Germaniae*.⁵ It is remarkable for the expression of astronomical views which at that time were considered to be advanced because they seemed to call in question the truth of the Ptolomaic system. In 823 Dungal is mentioned in a *Capitulary* of Lothair, in 825 he was appointed by imperial decree⁶ to the position of teacher, or "Master" at Pavia; in 828 he appeared in controversy against Claudius of Turin who had written against the veneration of images. This is the last that we hear of Dungal except that he presented his library to the monastery of Bobbio, and from this fact we may, perhaps, infer that he spent his last years among his countrymen there. His library, or, at least, a part of it, is still preserved among

¹ *Græci quibus in omni doctrina utimur.*

² Cf. Dümmler, in *Neues Archiv*, IV, 258.

³ *Cruindmeli sive Polcharii Ars Metrica*, Vienna, 1883.

⁴ *P. L.*, CV, 477.

⁵ *M. G.*, *Epp.*, IV, 570 ff.

⁶ *M. G.*, *eges*, I, 249.

the most precious treasures of the Ambrosian at Milan, and several volumes have the inscription, possibly in Dungal's own handwriting:

Sancte Columba, tibi Scotto tuus incola Dungal
Tradidit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur.
Qui legis ergo, Deus pretium sit muneris ora.¹

Besides this Dungal there was, possibly, another scholar of the same name at Charles' court. Indeed, the name Dungal was common enough in the Irish records of the time; it occurs, for instance, twenty-four times in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and it occurs once in the letters of Alcuin, where apparently, the Pavia teacher is meant. Writing to some monks in Ireland, Alcuin says: "Audiens per fratrem venerabilem vestrae eruditionis doctorem, Dungal episcopum etc.;"² this, if it refers to our scholar, is the only place in which he is called a bishop. We shall not here delay to discuss the question agitated by Muratori, Tiraboschi, and, more recently by Dümmler, Simson and others, as to the existence of two Dungals at the court of Charlemagne. Dungal was a poet as well as an astronomer. He is the author of the poem which bears his name, and, according to the editor of the *Poetae Aevi Carolini*, probably also of the poems usually ascribed to "The Irish Exile" (*Hibernicus exul.*) Some of these poems are addressed to Charlemagne and some to members of the imperial family, for instance, to Gundrada, the emperor's cousin. In a poem addressed to this royal lady, Dungal, or the exile, shows that he could turn a neat compliment: "Quae ore nitens pulchro pulchrior es merito;" which is not at all clumsy for a ninth century astronomer-poet.³ Here and there, too, a reflection of the mood of the writer appears, which is somewhat unusual in the ninth century author; he refers to his exile, to his poverty, to his lowliness.⁴ Dungal

¹ E. g. on verso of title page of codex I, 89 sup. Traube, *O Roma Nobilis* (Munich, 1891), p. 40, maintains that the Dungal who donated the books lived in the eleventh century.

² *M. G., Epp.*, 437.

³ *Poet. Carol.*, I, 396. See also his lines to Theodrada, the emperor's daughter, *Mon. Carol.*, 429, 430.

⁴ Cf. *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, I, 411, 413; *Mon. Carol.*, 429.

was something of a philosopher, at least, as the word was then understood; among his poems are two which treat of the "seven liberal arts," the seven branches of science taught in the schools of that age.¹

Among the poets of the Carolingian age is to be reckoned the author of the verses inscribed "*Planctus Caroli*," which is sometimes published as a work of Rhabanus Maurus (for example, by Migne), but which is now acknowledged to have been written in the Irish monastery of Bobbio. Some critics have sought to connect the poem with the name of a certain *Columban*, Abbot of St. Trond; this, however, is obviously a mistake arising from the mention of the Saint of that name towards the end of the poem. We must, therefore, be content with the somewhat vague identification of the author as an Irish monk of Bobbio.²

One of the most interesting of the Irish poets on the Continent during the Carolingian age is *Donatus*, who was bishop of Fiesole from 829 to 875. He was not only a poet, but also an ardent lover of learning and patron of the liberal arts. His *Life*, published in part by Ozanam from an eleventh century manuscript in the Laurentian Library of Florence, is interspersed with poems composed by the saintly bishop himself. Among these is the well-known description of Ireland.³

¹ Cf. *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, I, 408, 544; Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, III, 163; Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, III, diss. 43; Dümmler, in *Neues Archiv*, IV, 254; Simson, *Ludwig der fromme*, I, 237.

² Cf. Migne, *P. L.*, CVI, 1257 ff.; *M. G.*, *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, 434 ff.; Dümmler, in *Neues Archiv*, IV, 151.

³

Finibus occiduus describitur optima tellus,
 Nomine et antiquis Scottia scripta libris;
 Dives opum, argenti, gemmarum, vestis et auri,
 Commoda corporibus, aere, putre solo.
 Melle fluit pulcris et lacte Scottia campis,
 Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris.
 Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi: saeva leonum
 Semina nec umquam Scottica terra tulit.
 Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpit in herba;
 Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu.
 In qua Scottorum gentes habitare merentur,
 Inclita gens hominum milite, pace, fide.

Cf. *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III, 691; Ozanam, *Documents inédits*, 50 ff.; Dümmler, *Neues Archiv*, IV, 515.

There is also extant the epitaph which Donatus composed and in which he describes himself as "Scottorum sanguine cretus," and tells how he united to his duties as a bishop those of a teacher of grammar and poetry.¹

After the death of Charlemagne and the dismemberment of the Empire the political conditions did not always favor the development of the educational system which the great emperor had inaugurated. The invasions of the Northmen and the Saracens disrupted many a school and scattered many a group of learned men. Nevertheless, the successors of Charles were, as a rule, favorable to the new learning, and continued to extend to the teachers from Ireland the welcome which he had always accorded to them. Thus, during the reign of Louis the Pious (814-840), flourished the famous astronomer and geographer, *Dicuil*, who dedicated an astronomical treatise to the emperor. That *Dicuil* was an Irishman is perfectly certain; he alludes more than once to Ireland as his country and to the "Scots" as his countrymen. The name, indeed, was a common one in Ireland at that time: at least seven persons of the name *Dicuil*, *Dichul*, or *Dichull*, appear in the Irish Annals of the seventh to the ninth century. The astronomer and geographer is, perhaps, the same as the *Dicuil* who was Abbot of Pahlacht in the ninth century. All that we know about him is: 1. That he is the author of (a) a celebrated geographical work entitled *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*;² (b) a poem, twenty-seven hexameters which he prefixed to a copy of a short treatise by Priscian;³ (c) an astronomical work in prose and verse, still unpublished. (The work is found in the Valenciennes Codex 386, pp. 73 to 76; it contains a dedication to Louis the Pious and mentions *Dicuil* by name). 2. That he had for teacher *Suibneus*. Now there were many Irish ecclesiastics and teachers who bore the name *Suibhne* (Sweeney); the person whose date seems to render it probable that he was the teacher of *Dicuil* is the abbot who died in

¹ Cf. *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, *ibid.*

² Edited by Walcknaer, Paris, 1807, by Letronne, Paris, 1814, and by Parthey, Berlin, 1870. Cf. *Dublin Review*, Oct., 1905; *Neues Archiv*, IV, 256; *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, II, 666-7.

³ Edited *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, *loc. cit.*; Keil, *Gramm. at.*, III, 390.

776, unless we admit with Ussher that Dicuil's master lived at a later period and was Suibne MacMailehuvai "anchorite and scribe," who died at Clonmacnoise.¹ 3. That he wrote his geographical treatise in the year 825.² The work by which Dicuil is best known, his geographical treatise *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, is more than a mere compilation from the writings of the ancients. It draws, of course, from the works of Pliny and Solinus, but it makes use also of the surveys of the Roman *agrimensores*, and, what is of more importance, of the personal observation of the author and his friends. Thus, Dicuil is the first geographer to speak of Iceland, which he calls Thule, and which he describes from the account given him by the (Irish) monks who had dwelt there from the first of February to the first of August. He describes the Faroe Islands according to the account of "a cleric on whom I can rely," being in this case also the first to mention those regions. Again, when describing the Nile he introduces the narrative of a "Brother Fidelis,"³ who, with a party of priests and monks made the journey from Ireland to the Holy Land. Our author was not more critical, however, than were his contemporaries. Still, he was a more than usually conscientious writer. For, when Pliny's figures seemed to him to be unreliable he left a blank space, so that the reader could fill it in according to the extent of his credulity. And who can blame him if he repeats without contradicting it the saying of Solinus that so great is the fertility of the soil of Ireland that the cattle had to be driven off the land at times for fear of overfeeding? It is easy, of course, to point to the mistakes and inaccuracies of Dicuil's work. We must, however, be just, and judge it, not by modern standards of scientific accuracy but by the standard which prevailed in the ninth century. "Antioch," writes Professor G. Stokes, "was the centre (about 600) of Greek culture and Greek tradition, and the Chronicle of Malalas, as embodied in Niebuhr's series of Byzantine historians, is a

¹ Cf. *Britann. Eccles. Antiq.*, in Ussher's *Works*, VI, 278.

² This is expressly stated in the lines with which the work concludes:—

Post octingentos viginti quinque peractos
Summi annos domini, &c.

³ According to some of Dicuil's editors, we should translate "a brother on whom I can rely."

mine of information on many questions; but, compare it with the Irish work of Dicuil, and its mistakes are laughable.”¹

Under the Emperor Lothair (840-855) there was formed at Liège a colony of Irish teachers and writers, the best-known of whom is *Sedulius* (Siadhal, or Shiel), sometimes called Sedulius the Younger, to distinguish him from another Sedulius, also an Irishman, who lived in the fifth century, and is the author of the famous *Carmen Paschale* and other sacred poems.² Sedulius the Younger flourished from 840 to 860. He was beyond doubt an Irishman; it is difficult, however, to say with which of the six Siadhals he is to be identified who are mentioned by the *Annals of the Four Masters* between the years 785 and 855, certainly not with Siadhal, son of Fearadhach, who was Abbot of Kildare and died in 828. Of his life on the Continent we know merely that he was a teacher at St. Lambert at Liège about 850, that he enjoyed the favor of Lothair II (840-855), that he was a scribe³ and a poet.⁴ He had for patron and protector Bishop Hartgar of Liège (840-855), to whom he dedicated many of his poems. He wrote a very important treatise on the theory of government entitled *De Rectoribus Christianis*⁵ and a commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, (or Introduction to the Logic of Aristotle) for which the basis may have been the Greek text, though the work was known to other Christian logicians only in the Latin translation.⁶ It is possible that towards the end of his days he went to Milan, as his countryman Dungal had gone to Pavia, and continued to teach there under the patronage of Lothair II. When contemporary writers, such as Dicuil and the author of the *Annals of St. Gall*⁷ mention Sedulius it is not always easy to say whether they meant the Older or the Younger. The former ranks high

¹ Quoted by Douglas-Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 222.

² Cf. *Catholic University Bulletin*, April, 1898.

³ Montfaucon, *Pal. Græca*, p. 235, describes the Greek Psalter, now No. 8047 in the library at the Arsenal at Paris, transcribed by Sedulius.

⁴ About ninety of his poems are published by Traube, *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III.

⁵ First published by Cardinal Mai in his *Specilegium Romanum*, and more recently by Hellman, Munich, 1906. The poems with which it is interspersed are published by Traube, *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III.

⁶ Cf. Traube, “O Roma Nobilis,” Munich, 1891, p. 98.

⁷ Dicuil, *über Mensuræ*, ed. Parthey, p. 20; *Annales Sangall.*, in *M. G.*, SS., I, 76.

among the Latin poets; the latter, too, though he is often referred to as a mere grammarian, shows in his verses that he had the true gift; many of the poems he addressed to Hartgar exhibit a playfulness of imagination and lightness of touch that would have done credit to a writer of the most cultured period. His work *De Rectoribus Christianis* is a remarkable contribution to the medieval theory of the duties of a Christian prince, and deserves to be ranked with the classics on that subject, such as St. Thomas' *De Regimine Principis* and Dante's *De Monarchia*.¹

From incidental references in Sedulius' poems we infer that there was at Liège a regular colony of Irish scholars. We find, for example, mention of *Fergus*,² a poet who wrote in praise of Charles the Bald, a scribe to whom we very probably owe one of our oldest copies of the great work of John Scottus Eriugena. We find mention also of *Dermot*.³ These, judging by their names, were Irish. The name, however, was not always a sure indication of the nationality of the monk, in those days. Many, like Clement, changed their Irish names into Latin equivalents, which could be more easily pronounced by their French or German contemporaries. Thus, we read of two Irish clerics, *Caidoc* and *Fricorius*, who went to France before the time of Alcuin. Caidoc, we are told, retained his name, but Fricorius changed his into "Hadrian," because "Fricorius" sounded barbarous to those not accustomed to the Irish language. How often did it happen that an Irish missionary, teacher, or scribe, by assuming a Latinized name, blotted out forever, as far as the records of the time are concerned, all trace of his nationality? ⁴ Sedulius mentions in

¹ On Sedulius, cf. *Neues Archiv*, II, 188, and IV, 315.

² Ferge, decus vatum, formosa gloria musae,
Glorificum Karoli decorasti carmine sceptrum.
(*Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III, 200).

³ Christe, tuo clipeo Dermoth defende precamur. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴ Miss Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, London, 1895, p. 254, gives the names of sixty companions and disciples of St. Columban who spread the Columban rule from Luxeuil in the seventh century. Not more than three or four are distinctively Irish, although the percentage of Irishmen among the followers of Columban must have been much larger than this. The epitaphs of Caidoc and Fricorius are to be found in *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, I, 365; cf. Alcuin, *Vita Sti. Richarii*, cap. 1; *Chronicon Centulense*, quoted *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, *ibid.*

one of his poems *Fergus, Blandus, Marcus and Beuchell*, "the foursman of the Lord, the glory of the Irish nation."¹ Since the publication of Sedulius' poems further light has been thrown on the Liège colony by the discovery of a collection of letters written in the ninth century and addressed, for the most part, to Franco, Bishop of Liège or of Tongres (854-901).² The first of these is from an Irish cleric, perhaps *Electus*, to some bishop, possibly Franco, and offers no special problem. The second is from an Irish pilgrim, "Pauperculo et Scotto peregrino," who says that he is not a grammarian, that he is without skill in Latin, that he has returned "tired" from Rome, and that he will appreciate any favor granted him in Christ's name. The third is a petition on behalf of an aged Irish priest (the name, unfortunately, is illegible), who is foot-sore from his journey and unable to accompany his brethren in their pilgrimage to Rome; the petitioner begs that this pilgrim be kindly received by the Franks and given hospitality. The fourth letter is the most interesting of the collection. It is written by an Irish priest named *Electus* and addressed to Bishop Franco. It begins by setting before the bishop the sad mishap which took place during the petitioner's return from Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage ("orationis causa"). His belongings, it seems, were seized and carried off by certain subjects of the bishop, who had been his fellow-travelers on a ship. The belongings included vestments and various other articles, among them four garments ("osæ") of Irish cloth ("Scotticæ vestis"). He knows the culprits, and, since they reside near Namur, within the jurisdiction of the bishop, he begs that they be punished and compelled to restore the stolen property. There is nothing further known about *Electus*, though it is natural to suppose that he was a companion, or perhaps, a pupil of Sedulius.

WILLIAM TURNER.

(To be continued)

¹ *Quadrige domini, Scottensis gloria gentis: Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III, 200.

² The letters, discovered by Bethmann, are described in *Neues Archiv*, XIII, 360-369; the full text is published in *M. G., Epp.*, VI, 195-197.

THE FUNCTIONS OF PERCEPTION.

In mental life perception performs two functions: through the first of these the mind gains definite information concerning objects and conditions in the external world; through the second, former sense experiences are revived and other items of the previous mental content are called up into consciousness. In the one case the object perceived is itself the centre of interest; in the other, it serves only as a means of calling up into consciousness a representation of some related object which then becomes the centre of interest.

Every actual perception, as we have seen, combines in itself these two functions, but the relative activity of each varies indefinitely. In order to secure the best results in the upbuilding of mental life, it becomes necessary at times to restrict perception, as far as possible, to the performance of one or the other of these functions.

In the acquisition of the primary data and of the raw materials of mental life, perception should be restricted as far as possible to its first function. In all the subsequent elaboration of the cognitive materials and in the lifting of them into the structures of mental life, the second function should dominate in our perceptions.

In the nature study and in the objective work of the primary and of the grammar grades, as well as in the laboratory work of secondary and of higher education, we may readily distinguish three stages.

In the first stage of the work the effort is made to secure, through as many channels as possible, direct sensory experience of the objects and of the conditions under investigation. The more closely perception is restricted to its first function in this stage of the work the better will be the results. The reasons for this are obvious. They are not unlike some of the reasons that determine the selection of a jury. Men with previous knowledge of the case are rejected in order that the verdict may not be influenced by opinions

and judgments founded on evidence that has not been brought before the court and properly tested.

In the second stage of the work the meaning of the sensory experience is sought in a comparison of it with similar past experiences and in the light of the whole previous content of the mind. In this process many other cognitive elements blend with the primary percepts and enrich them.

In the third stage of the work the endeavor is to render these percepts functional in the subsequent growth of the mind. This involves three things: first, the discovery of the weaknesses and of the limitations of the percepts; second, the subsumption of the percepts under appropriate classes; third, the association of each percept with convenient symbols, such as pictures and words, by means of which it may be recalled to consciousness whenever the circumstances require.

The various processes mentioned above may be illustrated by means of a lesson sometimes given to children in the first grade.

On the teacher's desk there is a covered basket of fruit, containing apples, pears, peaches, lemons, oranges, and grapes. The children are lined up with their hands behind them, while the teacher allows each child to touch the surfaces of the various fruits and to name them to the class. Whenever the correct name is found the teacher praises the child. The fruit is then placed in the hands of the children and they are allowed to exercise upon the various specimens the temperature senses, the muscle sense, and the sense of pressure, as well as the sense of touch. The children are again required to name the fruits before being allowed to look at them. The fruit is then divided and given to the children to eat.

Children accustomed to eat these fruits will usually be found to possess mental pictures of them in which the gustatory and the visual elements dominate, and in which the other sensory elements are but vaguely represented.

In the class exercise to which we have just referred the other sensory elements are brought into prominence and strengthened. The children will thereafter possess mental

images of these fruits that are rich in detail and strong in their tendency to enter into combination with other cognitive elements that are already in the mind or that may enter it subsequently.

Where exercises of this kind are properly conducted and repeated a few times, all the sensory qualities found in the perception of the fruits will be so strengthened that any one of them may, on occasion, become the dominant element in the representation of the several fruits. The value of these representations as units in the building of mental structures is correspondingly enhanced.

After the children have eaten the fruit, the teacher endeavors to ascertain how many of them have seen these fruits grow. She leads them to tell all they know about fruit trees, and orchards, and grape vines. The differences between trees and vines are brought out and illustrated with pictures (colored if possible).

The children are brought to the blackboard and shown a picture of an apple tree with a green apple hanging to one of the topmost branches and a child gazing up at it. When the children have all recognized the pictured apple, the teacher writes the word apple on the blackboard and explains to them that it stands for the word, just as the picture on the board stands for the apple.

The imaginations of the children are then exercised in sympathy with the child who is trying to get the apple from the tree. The child is supposed to call upon her friend, the little bird sitting on another branch of the tree. He comes to her aid, and the teacher now sketches the bird endeavoring to release the apple by pecking at its stem. The children are drilled on the pronunciation of the word stem. The object is shown to them on an apple which is passed around. Their attention is called to the picture of the stem on the blackboard; the word is finally written on the board and the relation between its oral and written forms emphasized.

When the bird fails in its efforts to release the apple, because the stem is too hard for its little bill, the child appeals to another one of her friends, the sun, which is also

sketched on the blackboard. The children are asked how the sun is going to help the child; and after they have puzzled their little heads and exercised their imaginations over the problem for a few minutes, the teacher, with red chalk, illustrates the effect of the sun's rays in ripening the apple. After which the children are drilled on the word red before it is written on the board.

Finally, the child calls upon the wind to come to her aid. This is the signal for a drill in physical culture. One child plays the part of the wind and finds exercise for his lungs in vigorous blowing, and the other children, with swaying arms and bodies, imitate the movements of the tree under a strong breeze until the apple is supposed to be shaken from the branch.

Omitting for the present the consideration of the motor element in this lesson, it will readily be seen that in the first exercise the children's percepts of the various fruits were developed. Sensory elements that heretofore had been present in a vague way in the consciousness of the children were brought out and strengthened. Direct experience was substituted for mere representation elements in the case of several of the subordinate sensations.

In the second exercise, the strengthened percepts were correlated with other cognitive elements that had been previously in the minds of the children: their summer vacations in the country were recalled; their experiences in plucking fruit from trees and vines were revived; the likenesses and the differences between the various fruits and their modes of growth were brought into consciousness.

In the third exercise, the imaginations of the children were called into play and new combinations of the previous contents of their minds were secured. Their information concerning processes in nature, such as the effects of the sun's rays and of the wind on the ripening fruits, was enlarged. Symbols for the apple and for some of its parts were developed in their minds and linked to the actual percepts.

Thus in a single brief period, the children, acting in obedience to natural laws, enlarge their stores of actual information and improve the quality of some of the information

which they already possessed. They built up several new thought combinations and became acquainted, to some extent, at least, with the play of certain natural forces in their environment. The pleasureable affective state which was maintained throughout the lesson kept their minds constantly active and in a receptive attitude. Their imaginations as well as their senses were exercised in a healthy manner and trained to act along right lines. In addition to all this they made the acquaintance of several written words and improved their use of spoken language, besides getting an exercise in physical culture that was calculated to impart strength to their muscles and grace to their bodies.

The individual laboratory method so generally employed at present in intermediate and in technical education, as well as the experimental methods of the investigator in the fields of natural science, rest on the same principle as does the method employed in the work of the primary grade, to which I have just referred. In each case the endeavor is to confine perception to its primary function and to substitute direct sensory experience, whenever possible, for recall images.

It is now generally recognized that a pupil cannot be given a mastery of any of the physical sciences through books and lectures alone. He would have as poor a chance of becoming a geologist, a physicist, a chemist or a biologist by listening to lectures and by reading the literature of the subject as he would of becoming a musician by listening to lectures on music.

Nor will the lecture supplemented by demonstrations suffice. In this procedure the student's percepts are gained through the eye and the ear alone, and in consequence they lack the strength, the validity and the many-sidedness required for the building up of a vigorous mental life and for imparting to the student resourcefulness and control over the phenomena in question.

There is a vast difference between the content of the mind of the pupil who merely observes a demonstrator as he pours a colorless liquid, which he calls sulphuric acid, into a test tube containing what appears to be copper filings, and who sees the green, foamy liquid fill the test tube, and the

content of the mind of the pupil who has actually performed the experiment, and who has the testimony of all his senses concerning the nature of the chemical phenomena in question.

In the mind of this student the weight and the odor of the sulphuric acid, the weight and the feeling of the copper filings, the sudden rise in the temperature of the test tube, and the change of color and of odor that results from the chemical activity of the substances in the tube, all unite to produce a percept that is rich in detail and vigorous in its tendency to combine with the previous content of his mind and with similar experiences in the past or in the future.

The history of laboratory methods is full of suggestion for the intelligent teacher. Liebig introduced the individual laboratory method in the teaching of chemistry and the result was a transformation of the modern world. Before the introduction of the individual laboratory method into educational institutions an occasional genius appeared who made notable additions to his chosen science, but these men were supposed to be "born, not made." The laboratory method, however, soon made it evident that effective research workers in the various fields of science could be trained in our schools. The occasional genius was soon succeeded by an organized army of investigators that made more progress in the knowledge of nature and in the control of her forces in a single generation than had been made in all previous time.

In the elaboration of the raw materials of cognition and in the building up of the various mental structures, the secondary function of perception is the one that is usually employed. The word, or the symbol, is the immediate object of the perception, but the object of interest is the thing symbolized and this should be called into the focus of attention by the symbol which in the meanwhile should remain in the outlying field of consciousness.

When I hear the word orange, or when I see it written, the picture called into the center of my mental vision is not that of the word but that of the orange. There is no effort required to image its various qualities; its color, its size, its shape, the pitted texture of its surface, its yielding to the

sense of touch, the thickness of its rind, the arrangement of its carpels, its fragrance or its taste.

But the case is otherwise when I hear or see the word "pomegranate." I have never seen a pomegranate nor have I any definite idea of what it is like, although, from the frequent reference to it in the Old Testament, I know that it is a fruit that grew in Palestine before the birth of Christ.

The word seems to be derived from two Latin words: "pome" from *pomum*, fruit, and "granate" from *granatus*, grained or seeded. From this I infer that it is a fruit with conspicuous seeds.

My dictionary confirms this derivation and further informs me that the pomegranate is the fruit of *Punica Granatum*, a tree which is native in the Orient and successfully cultivated in warm climates, that it is as large as an orange, that it has a hard rind, and that it contains many large seeds each of which is separately covered with crimson acid pulp. I also learn that the garnet is so named from its resemblance in color to the seeds of the pomegranate.

For further information I turn to my Old Testament, where I find such phrases as these: "Thy cheeks are as a piece of pomegranate" (Cant. IV, 3). "Thy plants are as a paradise of pomegranates" (Cant. IV, 13); "Thy cheeks are as the bark of a pomegranate" (Cant. VI, 6); "To look if the vineyard had flourished and the pomegranate budded" (Cant. VI, 10); "And I will give thee new wine of my pomegranates" (Cant. VIII, 2) "And beneath at the feet of the same tunic round about thou shalt make as it were pomegranates of violet, and purple, and scarlet" (Exod. XXVIII, 33); "Saul tarried under a pomegranate tree" (I Sam. XIV, 2). From this I conclude that the fruit has red cheeks, that it grows on trees, that it was much prized by the Israelites, and that its juice was used as a beverage.

All this in no way conflicts with the picture of the fruit which I had formed from the derivation of the word. Its resemblance to an apple is prominent in my mind. Apples grow on trees, the fruit is much liked and its juice is used as a beverage. The one point of difference that is marked is the size and color of its seeds.

I consult a friend who has lived in the South. He is fond of pomegranates and informs me that my idea of a pomegranate is all wrong. He says: "The resemblance between the pomegranate and the apple is very remote. The pomegranate is about the size of a peach, the rind is thick and hard, its color is a deep red when the fruit is ripe, its surface is not as smooth as that of the apple nor is it pitted like that of the orange, all the fleshy part of the fruit is arranged in thick crimson capsules each of which encloses a single white seed, which, coming near the surface at the pointed end of the capsule, imparts to this portion of it a white color. The flavor of the fruit is acid and more nearly resembles that of a lemon than that of an apple."

I have now succeeded in building up a mental picture of the pomegranate that is more or less accurate but in which there is not a single element that has been derived from the fruit through immediate sense experience.

The difference between this mental picture and my mental picture of the apple is pronounced and many-sided. I would never be tempted, for example, to say of any other fruit that it is like a pomegranate in color, in shape, in size, in taste, in smell, in texture, or in the arrangement of its parts. My mental picture of the pomegranate is, in fact, entirely lifeless. It has been constructed by the activity of the mind out of imagined resemblances to other fruits and is a sort of manikin that is functionless in the building up of subsequent mental structures and in the interpreting and in the integrating of new experiences.

My mental picture of the apple, built up through direct sensory experience, is strong, vigorous and fecund, whereas my mental picture of the pomegranate is vague, indefinite and illusive. Moreover, when the word apple, either spoken or written, is the object of my perception, it remains in the indirect field of consciousness while the representation of the apple appears in the focus of attention, unless this arrangement is reversed by a direct act of the will. The converse of this is true of the word pomegranate. Whenever the word becomes the object of my perception, it occupies the center of the field of consciousness and the mental image of the fruit

assumes its place in the indirect field of mental vision where it remains unless it is called into the focus of attention by an effort of the will.

There is another noteworthy difference between these two mental pictures which may be seen in their relationship to their verbal symbols. From the fact that the word pomegranate has dwelt in my consciousness for a time and that it has repeatedly appeared in my sense experience, we may conclude that it has made for itself a place in my mental life from which it cannot easily be dislodged. Even if at this time I should visit the fruit market and purchase a pomegranate and eat it, it would not be likely to change the established precedence in my consciousness of the symbol over the object.

Does it not follow from this that an education which lays undue emphasis on the three R's and which neglects the training of the senses and the building up of vital percepts through the employment of objective methods tends to disinherit the children and to sterilize their minds?

It has often been said that Shakespeare escaped from school before his mind had been paralyzed by its formal drills and its lifeless drudgery. It is not improbable, indeed, that the world is indebted for his genius to the fact that many of the pleasantest hours of the boy's life were spent in the woods listening to the songs of the birds and to the murmur of the breezes in the treetops, with his senses bathed in the perfume of the wild flowers, while he chased the squirrel to his nest or watched the wounded fowl creep in among the sedges.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

THE WORD *CELT*.

(CONCLUDED.)

Plutarch (continued), *Fabius Maximus*, 17: As in the misfortunes suffered at the hands of the CELTS. *Marcellus*, 3: The Insubrians, a CELTIC tribe inhabiting Italy at the foot of the Alps and powerful even by themselves. . . . The CELTIC war was not carried on at the same time as the Punic war. 6: The CELTS put but little value on his (Marcellus') cavalry. 7: Marcellus returned to his colleague who was with difficulty holding his own against the CELTS below the walls of the largest and most populous city of the Galates. Its name is Mediolanum (Milan), and the CELTS on this side of the Alps consider it their metropolis. . . . Mediolanum was taken and the CELTS of their own accord turned over everything they had to the Romans. *Comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus*, 1: Against the CELTS. 2: He (Marcellus) routed the CELTS without the help of his colleague. *Marius*, 11: The CELTS possessed the best part of Italy which they had taken away from the Tyrrheni. . . . Others, however, hold that *CELTICA* extends over a wide, extensive tract from the outer sea (the Atlantic) and the northern regions to the rising sun near where Lake Maeotis turns to border on Pontic Scythia, and that it is from that region that those races (the Scythian and Celtic) were mingled. 27: Above all, many proclaimed him (Marius) as the third founder of Rome, since they considered that the danger that had been averted was not less than the CELTIC danger. *Sertorius*, 3: Having put on CELTIC clothes and having made himself familiar with the ordinary expressions of the language for the purpose of conversing with them when occasion might offer, he (Sertorius) mingled with the barbarians. *Comparison of Nicias and Crassus*, 4: When Cæsar had subdued the West and the CELTS and the Germans and Britain.

Pompey, 7: When the CELTS rode out from the side of the enemy, Pompey was first to strike the leader and strongest of them with a spear and bring him down. The rest turned and threw the infantry into confusion, so that all were put to flight. 8: Sulla immediately sent Pompey into CELTICA where Metellus held command and seemed to be doing nothing corresponding to his preparations. . . . When he (Pompey) had entered CELTICA. . . . 51: During this time the CELTIC wars raised Cæsar to distinction. *Caesar*, 14: Pompey assigned to Cæsar for five years all CELTICA, both on this and the other side of the Alps, besides Illyria and four legions. 15: The expeditions by which he (Cæsar) subdued CELTICA. 18: His (Cæsar's) first war with the CELTS was against the Helvetii and the Tigurini. 19: His next contest was fought with the Germans and directly in defence of the CELTS. 20: For, the river named Rubicon separates the rest of Italy from CELTICA that is below the Alps. . . . When he heard that the Belgians, who were the most powerful of the CELTS and in possession of a third of all CELTICA, had revolted. 22: Cæsar, having returned to his forces in CELTICA, found much war in that country. 29: For the CELTIC contests. 32: Ariminum, a large city in CELTICA. 34: In the CELTIC wars. 58: Having overrun the lands bordering on the Germans and Germany itself, to return through the territory of the CELTS to Italy. *Cato*, 51: Neither the children of the Germans nor of the CELTS. *Antony*, 37: Ten thousand Iberians and CELTS. 41: The CELTS formed their horse into a compact body and rode upon them and dispersed them. *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 22, p. 113 A: For, indeed, grief is effeminate and a sign of weakness and cowardice. For, women indulge in mourning more than men, and the barbarians more than the Greeks and inferior more than superior men. And of the barbarians themselves, grief is not found among the noblest of them, the CELTS and Galates and all those that are imbued with a more manly courage. *The Virtues of Women*, sub CELTIC Women, p. 246, B-D: Before the CELTS crossed the Alps

and settled in that part of Italy which they now occupy a serious sedition broke out which went unchecked until it grew to a civil war. But the women went into the midst of the fighting warriors and, when they heard the cause of the strife, settled the dispute so equitably that the warriors separated and, as a result of this intervention, a most remarkable friendship sprang up both among the cities and the families. Hence, in deciding matters of war and peace and in disputes with their allies they were advised and directed by their wives. Even in the treaty which they made with Hannibal it was stipulated that if the CELTS should bring any charge against the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian commanders and generals in Spain should be the judges of the dispute, but if it should be the Carthaginians who lodged the complaint, the wives of the CELTS should decide it. (*Cf. sub Polynaëus, infra.*)

Pseudo-Plutarch, On Rivers, VI, 1: The Arar is a river in CELTICA.

Dionysius, Description of the Earth, 288-293: Next them (the Iberians) are the Pyrenees mountains and the homes of the CELTS, near by the spring of the clear flowing Eridamus, by whose waters of yore in the silent night the daughters of the Sun mourned for Phæthon. There the children of the CELTS sit under the poplars and press out the tears of gold-gleaming amber.

Arrianus, On Hunting, 1, 4: Ignorant of the CELTIC breed of dogs. 2, 1: The CELTIC breed of dogs. 2: One may conclude from this that he (Xenophon) did not know any breed of dogs that equals the CELTIC dogs in fleetness . . . for if he had known of the CELTIC hounds, I think he would have said the same thing about them, that if any hares escape in the chase it is because of some defect in the hound or owing to some particular circumstance. 3, 1: The CELTS that do not live by the chase hunt without using a net, but simply for the sport of hunting; their dogs are no less keen in following the scent than the Carian and Cretan hounds, but their way of pursuing the game is troublesome and savage. 3:

These dogs are called Segusii from a tribe of that name, where, I fancy, they were first raised and became popular. 5: The best bred of these hounds are the most good for nothing, so that there is a popular saying among the CELTS which compares them to beggars on the road. 6: The swift-footed CELTIC hounds are called *vertragi* in the language of the CELTS, not from the name of a people, as is the case with the Cretan, Carian and Laconian hounds, but just as the *diaponoi* or "hardy" of the Cretans are so called because of their liking for work, and the *itamai* or "eager," because of their swiftness, and those that are crosses of both kinds, so these dogs are called *vertragi* because of their fleetness. 19, 1-21: The wealthy CELTS that live in ease engage in hunting. 34, 1-3: It is the practice of some of the CELTS to sacrifice annually to Artemis, but others appoint a treasure for the goddess. 35, 1: I, too, with my fellow hunters follow the custom of the CELTS, and I maintain that nothing turns out well for mortals without the assistance of the gods. *Tactics*, 33, 1: For, many (of these military terms) do not belong to the language of the Romans, but to that of the Iberians or CELTS, since the Romans adopted those very tactics that were CELTIC because they valued the CELTIC cavalry highly in battle. 43, 2: That manœuvre is called *toloutegon* in CELTIC. 37, 4: In riding by, the cast in wheeling to the right is necessary, but, in the complete wheeling about the cast that is called *petrinos* in the language of the CELTS is to be employed. 42, 4: The cast that is called *xynema* in the language of the CELTS is not easily employed unless with an iron javelin. 44, 1: The emperor (Hadrian) gave orders that his soldiers should practice the tactics of the barbarians, such as the horse-archers of the Parthians and Armenians use, and the wheeling about and sudden turning back of their horses when running at full speed which the Sarmatian and CELTIC pike-bearers practice; besides their various skirmishings and their different native cries, the CELTIC horsemen to learn the shouts of the CELTS, the Getan those of the Getæ and the Rhaetian

those of the Rhaetians. *Acies contra Alanos*, 2: Then will come the CELTIC cavalry in two ranks. It will be under the command of a centurion just as in camp. *Ind.*, 16, 10: The Indians' horses are not loaded with packsaddles nor are they checked by bridles such as the Greeks and CELTS use. *Voyage*, 11, 5: We beheld the Caucasus which, in height, resembles most the CELTIC Alps. *Anabasis*, I, 3, 1: Alexander came to the river Ister, the most considerable of all the streams in Europe, both in respect of the territory through which it flows, and of the very warlike nations inhabiting it, among whom the CELTS, in whose lands it takes its rise, hold first place. The remotest of these are the Kouadi and the Marcomanni. 4, 6: Ambassadors came . . . from the CELTS who inhabit the country near the Ionian Gulf. The CELTS are large of body and of an arrogant spirit. They all said that they had come for the sake of Alexander's friendship. 8: Pledges were made and accepted on either side and Alexander asked them what they dreaded most of all things in the world, imagining that, as his great name and fame must have reached the CELTS and even farther, they would answer that it was that they feared most of all. 8: But, the answer of the CELTS was not what he expected; for, as they lived far removed from Alexander and their country was difficult of access, and they regarded Alexander's expedition from another point of view, they told him that their only fear was that the skies should fall upon their heads. He thereupon treated them as friends and enrolled them among the number of his allies and dismissed them, saying that the CELTS were a boastful nation. V, 7, 2: In the same manner as the Romans made their bridge over the Ister and over the CELTIC Rhine. VII, 15, 4: The Carthaginians also are said to have sent ambassadors at that time. Ambassadors came also from the Ethiopians and from the Scythians in Europe, as also from the CELTS and Iberians, asking his friendship; the names and manner of dress of these last mentioned were then made known for the first time to the Greek Macedonians.

Cleomedes, On the circular Motion of the celestial Bodies, II, 1, 88, p. 160 Z.: It is said that at Meroe, which is in Ethiopia, the summer night lasts eleven hours, at Alexandria ten, at the Hellespont nine, at Rome less than nine, at Marseilles eight and a half, among the CELTS eight, at Lake Maeotis seven, and in Britain six.

Appianus, Prooemium, 3: As far as the country of the CELTS whom the Romans call Galates, and of the tribes of CELTS, some look toward the Mediterranean, others toward the southern ocean, and still others dwell along the river Rhone. 4: On the other side of these rivers, some of the CELTS living beyond the Rhine, and, beyond the Ister, some of the Getæ, whom they call Dacians, are subject to the Romans. 14: The rest (of the work) will be named according to its subject, the CELTIC, Sicilian, Iberian, Hannibalic, Carthaginian, Macedonian chapters of Roman history, and so on. *Ital.*, 8: For, when the CELTS took the city, the people fled for protection to Camillus and again chose him Dictator, as has been narrated in the work on CELTIC affairs. 9: When Marcus Manlius the patrician saved Rome from destruction at the time that the CELTS were invading the city, he was thought worthy of the highest honors. *Gall.*, 1, 1: The CELTS first waged war against the Romans and took Rome, except the capitol, and burned it. But, Camillus overcame them and drove them off. After some time, they made a second invasion, but he conquered them again and, in consequence, enjoyed a triumph, being then in his eightieth year. A third army of CELTS moved into Italy, whom likewise, the Romans, under the leadership of Titus Quintius, destroyed. Afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the CELTIC tribes, attacked the Romans, and Gaius Sulpicius, the dictator, marched with his army against them . . . 2: Again, another force of CELTS was defeated by Popillius, and afterwards Camillus, son of the Camillus just mentioned, defeated the same tribe. Aemilius Pappus raised some trophies won from the CELTS. Before the consulship of Marius, a very numerous and warlike horde of CELTS, and very formidable because of their

great bodily strength, invaded Italy and Galatia and overcame some of the Roman consuls and cut their armies to pieces. Marius was sent against them and destroyed them all . . . Before Marius, Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, with a very small army, waged war upon the CELTS and killed 120,000 of them in one battle, losing only 15 of his own men. . . . c. 2: In the ninety-seventh Olympiad of the Greeks, since the territory of the CELTS did not suffice for their multitude, a considerable number of them who lived along the Rhine moved off in search of new land. They crossed the Alps and fell upon the land of Clusium which is a fertile part of Etruria. . . . The Romans sent along with the ambassadors of Clusium the three Fabii who were to order the CELTS to withdraw from the country that was in alliance with Rome, and to threaten them if they did not obey. The CELTS replied that they feared no man whether in threat or in war, that they were in need of land and had not yet meddled in the affairs of the Romans. The ambassadors, the Fabii, urged the inhabitants of Clusium to attack the CELTS while they were off their guard plundering the country. They (the Romans) combined with them and killed a great number of the CELTS in the foray. 3: After the Fabii, the Roman envoys, had slain many CELTS, Brennus, king of the CELTS, (=Livy, V, 38, 3: Brennus, king of the Gauls, and Plutarch, *Camillus*, 17: Brennus, king of the Galates) although he had not received the Roman ambassadors, nevertheless, for the purpose of frightening them, selected as his envoys to the Romans certain CELTS who exceeded their comrades in stature as much as their people exceeded all other peoples; these he sent to Rome to accuse the Fabii, while serving as ambassadors, of having made war on them contrary to the law of nations. He demanded that they be delivered up to him for punishment, unless the Romans wished to make the offence their own. The Romans admitted that the Fabii had done wrong, but, because of the respect which they enjoyed at home, they urged the CELTS to accept a pecuniary compensation from them. As they did not agree to this, the Romans elected

the Fabii to office for that year, and told the ambassadors of the CELTS that they could not do any thing to the Fabii now that they are military tribunes. They told them to return the next year if they were still wroth against them. Brennus and the CELTS under him took this as an insult and were sorely offended, and they sent around to the other CELTS asking them to join with them in the war. A large number collected at the summons and marched on to Rome. 6: When the CELTS found that there was no way by which to scale the Capitol they remained quiet in their place in order to bring the defenders to terms by famine. 7: The CELTS took their fill of wine and other luxuries, being intemperate by nature and accustomed to inhabit a land that produced only cereals and no other fruits. Their huge bodies were weakened and became distended and flabby with soft flesh by reason of excessive eating and drinking. They came to be quite incapable of running or toil so that when any exertion was required of them they soon broke down because of perspiration and shortness of breath. 9: But the CELTS, being worn out and coming into contact with fresh opponents, fled in disorder. 10: The CELT, in a rage and exhausted from loss of blood, pursued Valerius, trying to throw him. But Valerius always escaped just in front of him and the CELT fled headlong. The Romans boasted highly of this second single combat with the CELTS. 11: Britomaris the CELT. 15: Two nations, the Tigurini and the Helvetii, made an incursion into the Roman province of *CELTICA*. *Sicil.*, 2, 3: When this war was over, the CELTS demanded of the Carthaginians the pay due to them for their services in Sicily, together with the bounties which Hamilcar had promised to give them. *Hispan.*, 1: The Pyrenees extend from the Tyrrhenian sea to the northern ocean. The eastern part is inhabited by the CELTS, who are also called Galates and, more recently, Gauls. Toward the west dwell the Iberians and the *CELTIBERIANS*. 2: It is not very important for me who am writing merely Roman history to enquire who were the first inhabitants of Iberia, and who came after them. It

seems, however, that the CELTS crossed the Pyrenees at some former time and mingled with the natives, and that the name CELTIBERIAN arose in that way. 4: When Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, was in command of the Carthaginians in Sicily he promised large prizes to the CELTS who were at that time in his pay and to the Libyans who were allied with him, which, when he returned to Libya, they demanded, and in this way the Libyan war was kindled. 37: Mago, the admiral, giving up all hope of success in Iberia, sailed to the country of the Ligurians and the CELTS to levy mercenaries. 39: Later, when the Romans were at war with the CELTS along the Po and with Philip of Macedon, the Iberians took advantage of their occupation and made another attempt at a revolution. *Hannibal*, 4: Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees into CELTICA, which is now called Galatia. 5: He attacked Taurasia a CELTIC city and took it by storm. He put the prisoners to death in order to strike terror into the rest of CELTICA. Then, marching to the river Eridanus, now called the Po, where the Romans were engaged in war with the tribe of CELTS called Boii, he encamped. 6: Hannibal crossed the Po on bridges which he had built, and these exploits, following upon his passage of the Alps, raised his fame among the farther CELTS as an invincible general and one most highly favored by fortune . . . and when the CELTS saw him passing among their bands, now in the form of a youth, now of an old or middle-aged man, they were astonished and believed that he possessed a divine nature. 8: A part of the Apennines, near the Ionian promontory, is occupied by Greeks, the rest by CELTS who in former times had attacked Rome and burned the city, etc. 10: He gave the booty to the CELTS who were in his army to conciliate them by hope of gain, and then marched forward. 12: He encouraged the CELTS who were still friendly. 52: Hasdrubal was received in a friendly way by the CELTS. 54: Nor did Mago, who was levying mercenaries among the CELTS, send him any aid. *Pun.*, 5: But the Libyans who were subject to the Carthaginians and had taken part with him in the war in Sicily,

and the CELTS who had served as mercenaries and had certain grievances against the Carthaginians because their pay had been withheld and that promises had not been kept, made war on the Carthaginians in a very formidable manner. 17: While Mago was enlisting Ligurians and CELTS to attack her (Italy) on the flank. 17: Some of the CELTIC and Ligurian mercenaries arrived. 40: The third part of the army was composed of CELTS and Ligurians. 44: The CELTS and Ligurians who were on the enemy's side . . . Hannibal rode away to the assistance of the Ligurians and CELTS. 46: Seeing that the Iberians and CELTS had come together. 47: Hannibal returned accompanied by the Iberians and CELTS from the hill. 49: Mago, who was still collecting mercenaries among the CELTS. 54: You shall no longer collect mercenaries from the CELTS and Ligurians. 59: Mago, who is leading many other bands of CELTS and Ligurians. *Illyr.*, 2: It is said that the Cyclops Polyphemus and Galatea had three sons, CELTUS, Illyrius and Galas all of whom set out from Sicily and that from them the nations called CELTS, Illyrians and Galates took their origin. 4: (The Autarienses) joined with Molistomus and with the CELTIC peoples called Cimbri and marched on Delphi, but the greater part of them were soon destroyed just before the attack . . . The god shook the land of the CELTS with an earthquake and destroyed their cities, nor did the calamity cease until the inhabitants, abandoning their abodes, made an incursion among the Illyrians who were equally guilty with themselves and were weakened by pestilence. Their lands were plundered and the invaders, contracting the plague, fled and laid waste all the way to the Pyrenees. As they were turning back towards the east, the Romans, mindful of their former encounters with the CELTS, and fearing lest these too should cross the Alps and invade Italy, set out with both consuls but were defeated with their entire army. This defeat of the Romans brought great fear of the CELTS to all Italy until the Romans elected Gaius Marius to lead their army. He had just overcome by force the Numidians and the Mauritanians of the Libyans, and as I

have related when speaking of the CELTS, had defeated the Cimbri several times with great slaughter. By this time the CELTS, being reduced to such weakness that they were excluded from every land, turned back home inflicting and suffering many hardships on the way. 5: Such was the punishment which the god inflicted upon the Illyrians and the CELTS for their impiety. But, again, certain Illyrian tribes, especially the Scordisci, the Maedi and the Dardani, along with the CELTS overran Macedonia and Greece at the same time and pillaged many temples, including that of Delphi, although they suffered great losses that time also. It was then thirty-two years since the Romans had had their first encounter with the CELTS.

. . . 8: The Romans being engaged in a three years' war with the CELTS along the river Po. 12: While Caesar was in command of the CELTS. 15: It is a wonder to me that so many great Roman armies should have crossed the Alps to descend among the CELTS and Iberians and should have overlooked these (Illyrian) tribes, and that even Julius Caesar, who was such a successful general, did not destroy them in the ten years he was at war with the CELTS and wintering in that very country. It seems, however, that the Romans were intent only on crossing the Alps and accomplishing what they had set out to do, and Gaius seems to have deferred putting an end to the Illyrians both because he was busy with the CELTIC difficulties and because of his strife with Pompey which stopped the CELTIC war. It appears that he was appointed ruler of Illyria as well as of the CELTS—not of all Illyria, but of as much of it as was then under Roman control. 29: I think that the Rhaetians and the Noricans were subdued by Gaius Caesar when he was at war with the CELTS. *Mithr.*, 95: (He assigned) Marcus Pomponius to the territory around the Ligurian and CELTIC seas. 109: He (Mithradates) planned to go to the CELTS, whose friendship he had for a long time cultivated for this reason, and with them to invade Italy . . . Having formed this plan, he was eager to hasten to the CELTS. 111: Then, seeing Bituitus a leader

of the CELTS. 112: He formed alliances with the Samnites and the CELTS. 119: He established friendly relations with the CELTS with a view to the invasion of Italy. *Bell. Civ.*, I, 29: Apuleius brought forward a law to divide the territory which the Cimbri, a tribe of CELTS lately driven out by Marius, had taken possession of in the country which the Romans call Galatia and which was regarded as no longer belonging to Galates but to the Romans. 109: The Rhone flows through the country of the Transalpine CELTS and empties into the Tyrrhenian sea. 117: While Spartacus was endeavoring to hurry across the Apennines to the Alps and thence to the CELTS, one of the consuls anticipated him and checked his flight while the other drove him on. 2, 17: Meanwhile, Caesar, who had accomplished among the CELTS and Britons the many brilliant exploits which I have told of when speaking of the CELTS, had come with vast riches to that part of Galatia which borders on Italy about the river Po. 32: Caesar had just crossed the sea from Britain and, setting out from the country of the CELTS who live along the Rhine, he passed the Alps with 5,000 foot and 300 horse and arrived at Ravenna. 41: Caesar took away some of the money which was said to have been deposited in early times because of the CELTS, with a public curse upon whoever would remove it except in case of a CELTIC uprising. He said that by getting complete power over the CELTS he had released the city from the curse. 49: At that time, Caesar had ten infantry legions and 10,000 CELTIC horse . . . Some CELTIC cavalry and others from Galatia in the east. 50: Our own forefathers abandoned their city when the CELTS invaded it, and Camillus hastened from Ardea and saved it. 73: (Caesar addresses his soldiers) We who have added four hundred nations of the Iberians, the CELTS and the Britons to our country. 134: Will they (Caesar's soldiers) consider the rewards of their victories over the CELTS and the Britons secure when he who gave them is outraged? 140: (Brutus speaks) The people gave you to Caesar to conquer the CELTS and Britons, and you should be honored and rewarded for your brave

deeds . . . but, since neither envy nor time nor the forgetfulness of man can extinguish the fame of your valor against the CELTS and Britons, you should have the rewards due to it. 141: They distributed among you the property of your own people who had enrolled you in Caesar's army and had sent you forth to fight the CELTS and given thanks at your festival of victory. 150: He (Caesar) fought thirty pitched battles in the country of the CELTS alone, until he had subdued four hundred nations which, up to that time, had caused such fear to the Romans that, in the law which exempted priests and old men from military service, it was written: "except in case of a CELTIC invasion" . . . And then they (Caesar's troops) were badly beaten by the CELTS, when his great defeat took place under his generals Cotta and Titurius. III, 2: They had gone to their prefectures, Decimus Brutus to CELTICA which borders on Italy . . . 27: (Anthony asked for) Cisalpine CELTICA which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus, remembering that it was from that CELTICA that Caesar had set out when he conquered Pompey, and he thought it would seem as if he was calling his own army back to CELTICA and not to Italy. But the Senate, considering that part of CELTICA as its own stronghold, . . . So he planned to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for the province of CELTICA by a law. 29: Now, Antony, needing also the favor of Caesar (*i. e.* Octavianus) himself to procure through the people the exchange of CELTICA. 30: The law concerning CELTICA was at once proposed. . . . But, there were some who held that that province should be made free in every respect for they had great fear because of the nearness of CELTICA. 31: The law concerning CELTICA. 37: As I know that he (Decimus Brutus) was more daring than the rest, I took CELTICA from him and, for the appearance of the Senate, I promised to give him Macedonia in exchange when it would lose its army. 38: What a strife there is to take CELTICA from me, which has already been given to me. . . . To have a change made in the law concerning CELTICA. 43: Antony would lead the army to the province

assigned him, namely to prosperous *CELTICA*. 45: Since Decimus had refused to surrender *CELTICA*. 46: Thus he (Antony) was conducted in splendor to Ariminum which is at the frontier of *CELTICA*. . . . Plancus in the rest of *CELTICA* had three legions. 49: Antony ordered Decimus, who was in *CELTICA*, to pass over to Macedonia. 50: He (Antony) had overpowered *CELTICA* by force of arms contrary to the wishes of the Senate, and made it a stronghold against the country. 57: They knew that the people had given him (Antony) *CELTICA*. . . . Nevertheless, they voted commending Decimus for not yielding *CELTICA* to Antony. . . . He (Antony) marched upon *CELTICA*. . . . He turned his course to *CELTICA*. 53: To remain in *CELTICA*. 55: We did not vote the command of *CELTICA* to Antony. . . . Into *CELTICA*. 59: Whether, as a matter of policy or for the sake of the people, we should permit Antony to hold *CELTICA*. 60: Antony accepted *CELTICA* from the people. 61: He (Piso) was not able to secure for him (Antony) the command of *CELTICA*. . . . They voted to order that Antony be given Macedonia instead of *CELTICA*. . . . Antony shall relinquish *CELTICA* to Decimus, and, on a certain day, shall retire to the hither side of the River Rubicon, which forms the boundary of Italy and *CELTICA*, and shall refer himself in all matters to the judgment of the Senate. 62: He (Cicero) favors a man (Decimus) who took *CELTICA* after Cæsar's death without anyone's permission, and makes war on one (Antony) who took it by the authority of the people. . . . And if I withdraw from *CELTICA*, then I am neither an enemy nor a monarch. 63: The people gave me (Antony) *CELTICA* according to law. 64: The appointment of Decimus to the province of *CELTICA* had been confirmed . . . 70: He (Hirtius) pitched his camp without palisades in a village near the plain, called "Celts' Market-place." 73: He read aloud the letters of the Senate giving him command of *CELTICA*. 74: Thanksgiving festivals of fifty days were decreed for the victory over Antony,—a greater number than the Romans had ever

voted, even after the victory over the CELTS or any other victory. 88: Having crossed the river Rubicon from CELTICA into Italy. 97: Except the body-guard of CELTIC cavalry . . . He (Decimus) changed his clothing for the CELTIC dress, and, as he was acquainted with the language, escaped with the rest just as any CELT. . . . 98: Having been captured by robbers and bound, he enquired who was leader of this tribe of CELTS. Learning that it was Camillus, for whom he had done many kindnesses, he asked them to lead him to Camillus . . . Decimus, who had governed Old ("Farther," Schweighäuser) CELTICA under him (Cæsar) and had been appointed by him to the consulship for the next year and to the governorship of the rest of CELTICA. IV, 1: Trebonius in Asia and Decimus in CELTICA. 2: Antony was to have all CELTICA except the borderland of the Pyrenees, which was called Old CELTICA; of this, together with Iberia, Lepidus was in command. 9: The great work which we (Lepidus, Antony and Octavianus) have accomplished and have under control in Iberia and CELTICA and at home; one thing, however, remains for us to do, to go after Cæsar's murderers beyond the sea. 33: Let war come then, with the CELTS or Parthians. 38: He (Messalla) was in command of a fleet at Actium against Antony, and Octavianus sent him as a general against the CELTS who had revolted, and, when he had conquered them, granted him a triumph. 58: While Antony was besieging (Brutus) in the country of the CELTS. 88: Brutus had 4,000 CELTIC and Lusitanian horsemen, Thracians and Illyrians, and 2,000 Parthians and Thessalians; Cassius had 2,000 Iberians and CELTS . . . The kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him as allies. 95: It is said that the city (Rome) was once taken by the CELTS, the wildest kind of barbarians, but it has never been said of them that they cut off the head of anyone, neither did they insult the dead nor begrudge their enemies to escape. V. 3: It was decreed with the consent of Cæsar (Octavianus) and carrying out the intention of the elder Cæsar that the CELTS on the hither side of the Alps should be independent. 22:

For **CELTICA** (i. e. *Gallia*) which had first been given to Antony is now set free because of his great deceit. 31: Lucius opposed Salvidienus who was returning to Cæsar (Octavianus) with a large army from the land of the **CELTIS**. 33: Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius and Calenus to go from **CELTICA** to the aid of Lucius. 51: Cæsar went and got control of the army and of **CELTICA** and Iberia besides, which were in Antony's command. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrified and surrendered himself and everything to him without resistance. 53: When Cæsar returned to Rome from **CELTICA**. 75: Cæsar set out for **CELTICA** which was in a state of disorder. 78: He sent around rapidly an army and other equipment from **CELTICA** to Brundisium and Puteoli. 92: While he (Octavianus) was thus dejected, the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance and that a splendid victory had been gained by the commander Agrippa over the Aquitanians, a tribe of **CELTIS**. 117: Some of his soldiers held a **CELTIC** shield over his (Octavius') head the whole night.

Maximus of Tyre, Dissertations, VIII, 8 p. 30: The **CELTIS** (meaning the Germans) worship Jupiter, but the **CELTIC** statue of the god is a tall oak. [Likewise, in *Dio* and *Libanius* the Franks are regarded as a **CELTIC** people:

Libanius, Oratio III: There is a **CELTIC** people beyond the Rhine who extend even to the ocean and they are so well fortified by nature for works of war that they have been given a name from their deeds and are called *Φρακτοί* ("hedged in, protected"), but many call them *Franci*. Compare also,

Claudian, Praise of Stilicho, I, 228-231: So that, far away through the wilds of the Hercynian Forest, the hunter roams without fear, and the groves, grim with the ancient superstition, and the oaks which stood for barbarian gods are felled with impunity with our axes.]

Apuleius, De Mondo, c. 7: The two Britains, Albion and Hibernia, are situated on the boundaries of the **CELTIS**.

Polynaëus, Stratagems of War, VII, 42: The **CELTIS** were engaged in a long war with the Autariatae and having poi-

soned their food and wine with noxious herbs the CELTS left them behind in the tents and fled during the night. Then the Autariatae, concluding that they had retreated out of fear of them, took possession of the camp and gorged themselves with the wine and food so that presently they fell sick with violent cholics and the CELTS coming up slew them as they lay there. (Cf. below, *sub Athenaeus, Theopompus*, fr. 41, FHG 1 p. 284.) 50: (*sub CELTIC Women*) An intestine discord broke out among the CELTS and the two sides had already armed themselves against each other, when the women taking a place between the two armies judged of the dispute and settled the difficulty so amicably that the men became friends and were reconciled throughout their towns and villages. Ever afterwards, when the CELTS held deliberation of war or peace or concerning matters that pertained to the different tribes or their allies, the question was decided by their wives. Even in the treaties which they made with Hannibal it was specified that if the CELTS should have any charge to bring against the Carthaginians, the commanders and generals of the Carthaginians should be the judges, but, if the Carthaginians should urge any charge against the CELTS, the dispute should be referred to the wives of the CELTS (Cf. above *Plutarch, The Virtues of Women*, p. 246 B-D). VIII, 7, 2 (*anno 367*): The CELTS under the leadership of their king Brennus took Rome by assault and kept possession of it for seven months. Camillus gathered together the Romans who were outside the city, drove out the CELTS and recovered the city. Thirteen years later, the CELTS again mustered up courage to attack the city and encamped near the river Anio, a short distance from the city. Camillus . . . took command of the army and ordered that helmets all iron and smooth be forged to stand the broadswords of the CELTS with which they were wont to strike from above and cut down, so that their swords would glide off and be broken; and he ordered that their shields be bound with a thin rim of bronze, since the wood would not stand the strokes. Besides, he taught the soldiers how to use the long spear at

close quarters and to intercept with their swords the blows of the enemy. Thus, the steel of the CELTS, being soft and ill-tempered, was soon turned and their swords bent double and made useless in the fight, so that they were easily overcome and most of them fell, the rest saved themselves by flight (From Plutarch's *Camillus*, 40). 25, 1: When the CELTS had taken possession of Rome, the Romans concluded a treaty with them by which the Romans bound themselves to pay tribute, leave a gate of the city open at all times and give them cultivated land. Thereupon, the CELTS pitched their camp and the Romans treated them as friends, sending them a variety of presents and large quantities of wine, in which the barbarians indulged so freely, as the CELTS are by nature immoderately fond of intoxicating drink, that they were overcome by it and the Romans fell upon them and slew them all.

Pausanias, I, 4, 1: Of late, the name Galates has prevailed for them. For formerly they called themselves and were also called by others CELTS. 9, 5: With the exception of the country of the CELTS, no country is to be compared in population with the whole of Thrace. . . . All Thrace is subject to the rule of the Romans, but, of the land of the CELTS, only so much is in their control as they judge worth holding. Those parts they possess, but they have overlooked those that they suppose worthless, either because of the excessive cold or the barrenness of the soil. 30, 3: Those Ligurians who live beyond the Eridanus in the CELTIC territory. 33, 4: The Iberians and CELTS do not dwell near the river of the ocean, but near the most distant sea that men can sail, where lies the island of the Britons. 35, 5: I am not surprised at the magnitude of the CELTS who are the farthest inhabitants of those lands that are almost deserts because of the extreme cold. They are called Cavares and they do not differ at all in size from the corpses which one sees in Egypt. VIII, 50, 1: More oblong shields like the long, large CELTIC shields. X, 19, 5: The CELTS made their first expedition beyond their own frontiers under

the leadership of Cambaules. They marched as far as Thrace but did not dare continue their journey because they were aware that they were but few and no match for the forces of the Greeks. 5 fl.: But, when they decided to make war again in foreign lands, they were urged on especially by those who had taken part before with Cambaules and having had a taste of the pleasures of a robber's life, were incited by a desire for plunder and depredation. A large force of foot-soldiers was got together and an equally numerous body of horse. Then their leaders divided the army into three parts and each division was ordered to march into a different country. 7: But, as the CELTS had not then the courage to proceed into Greece, their second army likewise returned home. 11: This mode of fighting they call in their native language *trimarcisias*, for it is to be remarked that the word for horse in the language of the CELTS is *markas*. 20, 7: For, the CELTS are, besides, far taller than other men. 21, 1: He (Brennus) employed no Grecian prophet nor did he perform any of the sacred ceremonies of his own country, if, indeed, there is such a thing as a CELTIC form of divination. 4: But, as the CELTS were far more exhausted than the Greeks and were not making much progress in the confined space, but were suffering twice and four times as much, their commanders gave the signal to return to camp.

Aelianus, On the nature of Animals, XII, 33: In the war that the CELTS carried on with the Romans they drove away the defenders, entered the city and took possession of Rome with the exception of the Capitolian Hill, etc. . . . But, when the CELTS found that there was no approach from any side, they decided to wait until the dead of the night when the defenders would be sound asleep and then attack them, for they hoped to find an unguarded passage where the Romans least of all expected the Galates to attack them. XIII, 16: I have been told that the CELTS and the Marseillais catch the tunny-fish with hooks that are of iron and very large and thick. XV, 25: I have been told that the CELTS likewise feed

their horses and cattle on fish. They say, too, that their horses running away from the scent of man come to the southern parts of Europe, especially when the south wind blows. *Various Histories*, II, 31: At all events, no Indian, CELT or Egyptian ever had such a conception (of the existence of the gods) as Euhemerus of Messina or Diogenes the Phrygian or Hippon or Diagoras or Sosias or Epicurus had. For, these barbarians maintain that the gods exist and that they watch over us and that they announce coming events through birds and portents and entrails and that through various sciences and observations men can learn these things by providence of the gods. And they say that in dreams and by the stars many things are made clear beforehand. And, because they have a firm belief in these things, their worship is sincere and they make it a point of religion to keep themselves pure; they fulfill the rites and observe the law of their sacrifices and practice other things, from all which it will be granted that they honor and worship the gods. 12, 23: I have heard it said that the CELTS are the most adventurous of all men. Even the subject of their songs is the death of warriors who fell bravely in battle. They advance to the fight wearing crowns and they erect trophies, by which both to magnify their deeds and, in the manner of the Greeks, to leave a monument to their valor. They consider it such a disgrace to flee that they do not attempt to escape from falling walls or collapsing buildings; they even permit themselves to be entrapped by the fire in a burning house. Many of them take their stand against the rising sea and some even take their arms and attack the waves and meet their rush with broad-swords, brandishing their spears just as if they could frighten or wound them.

Pollux, Onomasticon, 1, 149 (10, 13): A CELTIC sword (= *ensis Noricus*). 5, 37 (5, 1): CELTIC hounds.

Galen, Comment. 3 in *Hippocr., de epid.*, III, 70. K. 17. A, 726. Comparing with them infants, Scythians, CELTS and Germans who are known to be of more humid, but not colder temperament. *De Temperamentis*, II, 6, K. 1, 627:

The CELTS, the Germans and all the race of Thrace and Scythia have cold, damp skin which is consequently soft, white and hairless. For, all the natural heat of the body is discharged with the blood into the inward parts where it is crowded and stirred up and where it boils, and, consequently, the men are passionate, daring and quick to anger. *De Sanitate tuenda*, 5 p. 339: The κέστρον which grows in the country of the CELTS.

Irenaeus, Against Heresies, I pr. 3: You are not to expect from me, who am living among the CELTS (at Lyons) and accustomed to use most often the barbarous dialect, any skill in diction which I have never learned, nor faculty of composition which I have never practiced, nor ornamentation of style and persuasiveness of which I am ignorant. I, 10, 2: For, the churches which have been established in Germany do not believe nor hand down any other teaching, nor do those which have been planted among the Indians, the CELTS, in the East, in Egypt, in Libya and in the central parts of the world.

Lucian, Apology, 15: When, on your way to see the western ocean, you cross *CELTICA* (Gaul), you will come upon us who are reckoned among those sophists who are deserving of receiving high pay. *How to write History*, 5: If some day there should be another war, for example of the CELTS against the Getae, or of the Indians against the Bactrians. 19: Such a coldness was there that was colder than Caspian snow or *CELTIC* ice. 31: The third legion and the CELTS and a small division of Moors under Cassius had already crossed the Indus. *Alexander, or The False Prophet*, 27: When, then, the foolish *CELT* (i. e. Severianus) had allowed himself to be persuaded and had undertaken the expedition, he was destroyed and cut down with his army by Othryades. 51: (Alexander the prophet) often answered the barbarians in Syriac or *CELTIC* if either happened to be the native language of those consulting him, since it was not always easy to find persons staying in the city of the same race as those who might ask him questions. *The Eunuch*, 7: A certain Academician

who was a eunuch from the country of the CELTS and who flourished in Greece a little before our time. *Jupiter the Tragedian*, 13: They do not all understand Greek, Jupiter, and I am not such a polyglot as to be able to make myself understood to the Scythians, Persians, Thracians and CELTS. *Twice Accused*, 27: I journeyed with him even to CELTICA and I made him rich. *Hercules*, 1: The name by which the CELTS call Hercules in their native language is Ogmios, but they represent the god in an entirely different and monstrous form. 2: I really thought that the CELTS had given Hercules that form maliciously as an insult to the gods of the Greeks, to punish him in the painting for having once invaded their land and taken booty when, in his search for Geryon's oxen, he raided many of the western peoples. 4: But a certain CELT standing by, not unacquainted with our literature it seemed since he spoke excellent Greek . . . (said) "We CELTS do not represent Eloquence as Mercury as you Greeks do, but as Hercules." 7: The CELT told me so much. *Pseudologista*, II: For, the word did not properly belong to the language of the Greeks, but was brought in through their intercourse with the CELTS, the Thracians or the Scythians.

Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, II, 2, p. 186 Pott.: the Scythians, the CELTS, the Iberians and the Thracians, all of them warlike nations, are above all addicted to intoxication which they regard as a good and happy habit to practice. III, 3 p. 267: Of the nations, the CELTS and the Scythians wear their hair long, but they do not adorn themselves. The flowing hair of the barbarians has something fearful about it and their reddish hair threatens war since that hue resembles blood. Both these barbarian nations hate luxury, as may be shown clearly from the case of the Germans and the Rhine, and the Scythians and the waggon. 4 p. 269: There are many CELTS who bear aloft women's litters and carry them about.

Athenaeus IV, 36 p. 151^e-152^d: Poseidonius . . . says that the CELTS spread grass for their guests to sit on and

place before them food on wooden tables raised a little above the ground. The food consists of a few loaves of bread, and a good deal of meat in water and cooked on the coals or on spits. They eat in a cleanly manner enough, but like lions, taking up whole joints in both hands and biting off pieces, and any part that is not easily torn away, they cut it off with a small knife which they keep for the purpose in a sheath in a separate box. Those who live near rivers and near the Mediterranean and the ocean eat fish also, roasted with salt and vinegar and cummin seed: they throw cummin seed also into their drink. But they use no oil because of its scarcity, and it is unpleasant to their taste because they are not used to it. When many of them dine together, they sit in a circle, and the most powerful sits in the middle like the leader of a chorus, for he excels the rest either in military skill, or in birth, or in riches. Next him sits the host and so on in order on each side, according to the prominence of the rank of each guest. The soldiers with their large oblong shields stand behind while the spear-bearers sit opposite in a circle and fare the same as their masters. The drink is served and passed around in vases which look like beakers and are made either of earthenware or of silver. Some have platters of the same material on which the food is served, but others have them of bronze and still others have wooden or plaited baskets for that purpose. Among the rich the drink is wine which comes from Italy or from the environs of Marseilles. This is drunk pure, but sometimes a little water is mixed with it. Among the lower classes the drink is a beer made of wheat prepared with honey, but most drink it unmixed; this is called *corma* (the Modern-Irish *corm*, "beer, ale"). They all drink out of the same cup, in small draughts, not more than a wine glass, at a time. This is repeated rather frequently. A boy carries the liquor around first on the right hand and then on the left. This is the way they are waited on, and this is the way they worship their gods, always turning

towards the right hand.' 37 p. 152^{d-f}: Poseidonius continues and describes the riches of Lyernius the father of Bityis, who was subdued by the Romans. He says that he, aiming to curry favor with the populace, used to drive in a chariot over the plains, and scatter gold and silver among the thousands of CELTS who followed him; and that he had a space a mile and a half square fenced in, in which he had vats filled with very costly wines and such an abundance of eatables that for many days any one who wished might go in and enjoy what was provided and be supplied without cessation. And once when he had fixed upon a time for a banquet, a certain poet from the barbarians arrived late and, meeting him on the way, sang a hymn in praise of his excellencies, at the same time lamenting that he had come too late: and Lyernius was so pleased that he asked for a bag of gold and threw it to him as he ran by. The poet picked it up and continued his song, saying that the very prints upon the earth over which he passed brought riches and benefits to men. These things have been narrated in the third and in the twentieth books. 40 p. 154^{a-c}: In the third and also in the twentieth books of his histories, Poseidonius says that the CELTS sometimes have single combats at their banquets. For they come together in arms and spar and wrestle, and sometimes go so far as to wound one another. Then they are roused to fight and, if the bystanders do not restrain them, they will even kill one another. In olden times, he says, the strongest man took as his share the hind quarter when the porker was put before them. If another man laid claim to it, they rose up to fight to the death. Others of them in the theatre will take silver or gold, and some, even for a few earthen jars of wine, will accept a promise that the gifts shall really be given. They will then distribute them among their nearest relatives and will lie on their shields and allow some bystander to cut their throats with a sword. VI, 23 p. 233^a: Since, on the edges of the inhabited earth also are

streams bearing down gold dust; and the women and the feeble-bodied men scratch among the sands and separate the particles which they wash and bring to the melting-pot, as my authority Poseidonius says is done among the Helvetians and among certain other tribes of CELTS. 49 p. 246^{c-d}: Poseidonius of Apamea says in the twentieth and in the third book of his histories that the CELTS, even when they are going to war, take with them certain companions whom they call "parasites." VIII, 38 p. 347^b (quoting the comic poet Ehippus, fr. 5, 21 vol. 2, 253 K. about the year 332 B. C.): Put out the fire, CELT, and do not burn them more. X, 60 p. 443^{b-c}, quoting Theopompus, *The History of Philip*,—frg. 41 FHG I p. 284 ff): (Theopompus says) that when the CELTS went to war with them (the Ardiaei), knowing their intemperance, they ordered all the soldiers to prepare as magnificent a feast as they could for them in the tent, and to put in the food certain herbs which had the power to cause severe pains and diarrhoea. When this had been done some of them were taken by the CELTS and put to death, the others threw themselves into the river, being unable to endure the pains in their stomachs. XII, 79 p. 603^a (From Poseidonius; cf. Diodorus, V, 32, 7): Κελτοὶ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καίτοι καλλίστας ἔχοντες γυναῖκας παιδικοῖς μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν. ὧ πολλάκις ἐνίοις ἐπὶ ταῖς δοραῖς μετὰ δύο ἐρωμένων ἀναπαύεσθαι.

Dio Cassius, XXXIX, 49, 1: The Rhine issues from the CELTIC Alps a short distance beyond Rhaetia, and flowing westward leaves Galatia and its inhabitants on the left; it bounds the CELTS on the right and finally empties into the ocean. 2: This boundary which occasioned the difference in names is observed even to this day since, in very ancient times, the nations dwelling on each side of the river were called CELTS. XL, 31 (*anno* 54 B. C.), 2: Ambiorix summoned a force of mercenaries from the CELTS. 4: Before the CELTS came to their aid. 39: Vercingetorix' defeat was due partly to the CELTS that were allied with the Romans; for to their attacks with un-

wearying bodies they added the strength of daring and thus broke through the surrounding ranks. XLVII, 48, 2 (*a. u.* 712): Some of the CELTIC troops deserted from them (Cæsar and Antony) to Brutus. LI, 20, 5 (29 B. C.): For, the Treveri who had brought in the CELTS (=Germans) were still under arms as were also the Cantabri the Vaccaei and the Astures. These last were subdued by Statilius Taurus, the former by Nonius Gallus. 21, 5: On the first day, Cæsar celebrated the victories over the Pannonians and the Dalmatians, the Iapudes and their neighbors and some CELTS and Galates. For, Gaius Carinas had subdued the Morini and some others who had revolted with them and had driven back the Suevi who had crossed the Rhine prepared for war. 22,6: (At the dedication of the Curia Julia) bands of Dacians and Suevi fought with each other. The latter are CELTS, the former a kind of Scythian tribe and dwell across the Rhine . . . LIII, 12, 5 (*anno* 27): All the Galates, both of Narbo and of Lugdunum, the Aquitani and the CELTS, both themselves and the colonists among them. 6: Some of the CELTS, whom we call Germans, had occupied all that part of *CELTICA* which is near the Rhine, and caused it to be called *Germania*, the upper part extending to the sources of the river and the lower part to the ocean of Britain. 26, 4 (*anno* 25): It was about this same time that Marcus Vinicius, who was prosecuting certain CELTS because they had seized and put to death some Romans who had gone to their country to have dealings with them, himself gave the title of Emperor to Augustus. LIV, 20, 4 (*anno* 16): The greatest of the wars which at that time fell to the Romans to wage, which was also perhaps one of the reasons why Augustus left the city, was with the CELTS. 21, 2 (*anno* 15): For, much harm had been done by the CELTS and much too by a certain Licinius. 32, 1 (*anno* 12): Drusus, having observed the CELTS (=Germans) crossing the Rhine, drove them back. 36, 3 (*anno* 10 B. C.): Tiberius was summoned from Galatia, whither he had gone with Augustus and quelled them (the Dalmatians). Of the

nations of the CELTS (= Germans) and other tribes and the Chatti, who had gone over to the Sugambri, having abandoned the land which the Romans had given them to dwell in, some were weakened, others subdued by Drusus. 4: After that they returned with Augustus to Rome, while he himself (the Emperor) delayed in Lyons where he would be near the CELTS and could keep close watch on affairs. The victorious soldiers were paid what had been voted them for their successes and they performed such other duties as belonged to them. LVI, 23, 4 (*anno* 10 A. D.): Since there were a great many Galates and CELTS in Rome (Κελτοί = Germani, but distinguished from Γαλάται), some of them living there for various purposes, others serving in the guard, Augustus, fearing that they might revolt, sent off some of them to the islands and ordered the unarmed to leave the city. LIX, 21, 2 (*anno* 39): Caligula set out for Galatia, (i. e. Gaul) under pretext that he was to open hostilities with the CELTS on the ground that they were causing trouble, but in fact to squeeze money from them and from the Iberians, for they were prosperous and rich. LX, 28, 2 (*anno* 46): Sabinus, who had been in command of the CELTS (= the German body-guards) in the reign of Gaius (Caligula). LXV, 17 2 (*anno* 69): And, falling in with the CELTS (i. e. Germans on the right hand side of the Rhine) who were guarding him (Vitellius), they escaped without difficulty. 21, 1: A certain CELT seeing this would not endure it, but taking pity on him (Vitellius) said: "I will help you as well as I can alone." LXXI, 3, 2 (*anno* 172): Large numbers of CELTS from beyond the Rhine advanced as far as Italy and caused many sufferings to the Romans. LXXVII, 13 (*anno* 213): The CELTIC nations afforded him (Antoninus) no pleasure nor any pretence of cleverness or courage but showed him to be nothing more nor less than a trickster, a fool and an arrant coward.

Julius Africanus, The Egyptians drink beer. the Paeonians Κάμων, the CELTS *cervesia* (beer)

Philostratus, Life of Apollonius, V, 3: Day follows night and night follows day among the CELTS the darkness or the daylight disappearing little by little just as here, but, it is said that in the neighborhood of Gadeira and Stelae light and darkness fall upon the eyes all at once just like flashes of lightning. VIII, 7: Among the Scythians and CELTS who live along the Ister and the Rhine there lies a city of not less magnitude than Ephesus in Ionia. *Lives of the Sophists*, 1, 25 p. 43 K.: While he himself (Polemo) rode in a chariot adorned with silver-studded reins belonging to a certain Phrygian or CELT. 2, 1 p. 60: He was commonly known as the Hercules of Herodes and was a young man just growing his first beard. He was like some huge CELT and was eight feet tall. 5 p. 82: Some say that Alexander (nicknamed "Mud-plato") died in the country of the CELTS while still secretary; others, that he died in Italy when he had ceased to be secretary.

Herodianus, I, 10, 2: The country of the CELTS and of the Iberians.

Eusebius, fragm; 2 p. 203 Dind.: At another siege I learned of a contrivance which served as a protection against those fire-bearing missiles, at the time that the CELTS remained behind at the city called Tours (?) . . . For, at the time that the CELTS beyond the Rhine (i. e. Franks, Germans) were on their march, a small detachment of them remained behind at the city just mentioned, and when a number of them had been struck down they began to plan means of defence behind the engines; they dug reservoirs which they filled with water, etc.

Porphyrius, On the Cave of the Nymphs, 28: In the northern lands the bodies are large, as is evident in the CELTS, the Thracians and the Scythians, the country of these peoples being humid and abounding in pastures.

Eumenius, Panegyric on Constantine Augustus 3: Thus, all the peoples of the CELTS and of the Belgias were united in one peace and whatever they had taken from the barbarians they gave to the Romans.

Anonymi Physiognom., p. 109, 14 Rose: He is like a CELT, that is, a German. The CELTS, however, are indocile, brave and fierce.

Liber generationis, 1, 60 p. 96 M.: Magog, from whom are the CELTS and Galates. 83, 38 p. 97; 197, 60 p. 107: The Gauls, who are also CELTS. *cf.* 88, 39 p. 99.

Trebellius Pollio, Life of Gallienus, 7, 1: Postumus, having received heavy reinforcements of CELTS (= Gauls) and Franks. *Claudian*, 6, 2: Finally, the various peoples of the Scythians, the Peuci, Grutungi, Austrogoths, Ter-vingi Visi, Gepidi, CELTS (*cf.* Mommsen, *Hermes* 25, 255) and the Heruli, spurred on by the desire for booty, broke into Roman territory and made great ravage. 9, 6: And the great number of CELTIC mares that are so famous.

Anthologia Palatina, 9, 125: The daring CELTS try their children by suspending them in the jealous Rhine. For, as soon as the child is born it is bathed in the sacred stream. When just brought forth and while yet it sheds its first tears, the pitiless father, for he knows not yet a father's love, lifts the child on his shield and tries in the waters his wife's virtue. She who has just given birth has this torment to suffer together with the pains of travail for, though she knows the real father of her child, she awaits in trembling the decision of the inconstant river.

Theophylactus Simocatta, Epistola, 10, p. 236: The equal of the CELTIC river which is the most unerring judge of the base-born son, of virtue and of vice.

Georgius Pisida, Persian Expedition, I, 41 fl.: Be thou a judge more powerful than the CELTIC Rhine.

Julian, Oratio I to Constantius, II. p. 12 A Sp.: Your father was disposed to entrust to you the command and the guard of the tribes of CELTS. p. 29 CD: It is worth while mentioning that in ancient times Rome had a similar fate. I refer to the time when the Galates combined with the CELTS and bore down upon her like a sudden torrent. p. 34 C (referring to the army of Magnentius; see Mommsen, *Hermes* 24, 228¹): The CELTS and Galates, nations whom even our ancestors considered hard to contend with and who, more than once, streamed like an ir-

resistible torrent over Italy and Illyria and even fastened themselves upon Asia by the strength of their arms, have been finally compelled to submit to us. They have been enrolled on the roster of our armies and have provided us with a considerable income through the taxes laid upon them by your father and your forefathers. After having enjoyed a long peace and the benefits which result therefrom, when their country had increased in population and wealth, after having furnished your brothers with excellent soldiers, they were finally constrained, much against their will, to take part *en masse* in the expedition of the tyrant (Magnentius). p. 36 B: After their line had been thrown into disorder, the soldiers gathered together in groups and reopened the battle, ashamed to be seen fleeing and that it might be said of them what, up to that time, no mortal believed possible, that a CELT or a soldier from Galatia had ever turned his back to the enemy. *Oratio* 2 p. 56 B: Numerous bands of heavy-armed foot and an equal number of horse followed him (Magnentius), and these the bravest, CELTS and Iberians and those Germans who live near the Rhine and the western sea. p. 81 D—82 A: It is said that the CELTS have taken their river (the Rhine) as the inflexible judge of the legitimacy of their children and that neither the tears of the mothers who implore him to conceal their crime nor the fear of the fathers who wait in trembling for the fate of their wives and offspring, are able to affect the sentence of a judge so strict and upright. *Oratio* 3 p. 124 A: So that Galatia and *CELTICA* became for me, thanks to her (the Empress Eusebia's) gift of books, a Greek museum. *Letter to the Senate and People of Athens*, p. 277 D: I was ordered to set out with 360 soldiers for the country of the CELTS where disturbances had broken out. p. 278 D—279 B: Afterwards, Constantius, thinking that the charge he was about to entrust to me was of only slight importance and not supposing that the situation among the CELTS would change much, gave me command of the army at the beginning of spring. The corn was in full

bloom when I took the field. Large bands of Germans were encamped unmolested around the cities which had been sacked in the country of the CELTS. There were perhaps forty-five of those cities whose walls and towers and citadels had been demolished. The amount of land on this side of the Rhine occupied by the barbarians was as great as the territory which extends from the sources of the river to the ocean. Those who lived nearest to us were 300 stadia distant from the banks of the Rhine. There was, besides, a space three times as great which the depredations had left so waste that the CELTS could not even pasture their cattle there. Certain other cities near which the barbarians had not yet settled were already abandoned. p. 279 C: And yet, even though I might not enjoy the glory of a triumph, I had it in my power to slay the enemy and there was no one to prevent me from leading Chnodomarius all over *CELTICA* and showing him in their cities and making a mock of his misfortunes. p. 282 D: He (Constantius) wrote letters full of invectives against me and threatened ruin to the CELTS. p. 283 B: In a city near which I lived some one wrote an anonymous paper to the *Petulantes* and the CELTS. Those were the names of the two legions. P. 287 A: For the well-being of all and the freedom of the human race, and especially of the CELTS whom he (Constantius) had already betrayed twice to their enemies. *Caesares*, p. 320 D: The soldiers of Europe who so often brought war into Asia have been put to flight, I mean the bravest of these, the Italians, Illyrians and CELTS. And, since I mention the CELTS, are we to place the deeds of Alexander among the Getae on the same level with my conquest of *CELTICA*? *Misopogon*, p. 340 C: I was passing the winter in the neighborhood of my dear Lutetia which is the name by which the CELTS of the Parisians call their little city. P. 342 A: Thus, while I was living among the CELTS, like the discontented man in Menander, I imposed sufferings upon myself. But this conduct of mine caused no inconvenience to a rough people like the CELTS. P. 348 C: But if they (the Athenians) preserve

the memory of the virtues of their forefathers, it seems to me that we ought to expect the same of the Syrians, Arabs, CELTS, Thracians, Paeonians and the Mysians who dwell between the Thracians and the Paeonians on the banks of the Danube. P. 349 D: Have you forgotten that we (of Antioch) are neither CELTS nor Thracians nor Illyrians? P. 359 B: But, for me just at the beginning of manhood, my lot fell with the CELTS, the Germans and the Hercynian Forest, and I passed much time with savages like a hunter among wild beasts, and the manners I found were not those of men used to flatter nor to adulation, but of men who lived simply and without restraint and on an equality in their dealings with the world. P. 360 A: The CELTS had never seen a mimic actor. C: The CELTS loved me because my mode of life was like their own. *Epist.* 16 p. 383 D—384 A: The Rhine is not altogether unjust in his judgment of the CELTS; for, he keeps hidden in the eddies of his stream the illegitimate babes, as though he would avenge in the sight of all the sullied bed, while the child of unpolluted blood he holds on the surface of the water and restores to its trembling mother's arms. Thus, by giving back the child safe, he gives unbought testimony to the purity and blamelessness of her married life. 38 p. 415 A: How I trembled for thee (Maximus) as I returned from the country of the CELTS to Illyria. *Epigram, On Barley Wine*, in *Anthologia Palatina*, IX, 368, 3-6: That (wine) savors of nectar, but there is the smell of a goat from you. It must be that the CELTS for want of grapes made you of ears of corn. *Ceres* should be your name, not *Bacchus*, *Bromos* "of wheat and oats," not *Bromios* "sparkling." *Themistius, orat.* 3 p. 52, 25 Dindorf: The remnants of the sudden inroad of the CELTS. 9 p. 149, 25: Fearful to the CELTS and Germans. 22 p. 324, 30: A CELTIC hound. 27 p. 404, 21: CELTIC and Laconian puppies. *Servius, to Vergil, Aeneid*, X, 179: Pisus, a king of the CELTS. *Ausonius, Order of Celebrated Cities*, 160: Divona, in the language of the CELTS, a spring dear to the gods. *Grammaticomastix*, 5 ff: Tell, what is the meaning in Vergil's

Catalepta of the word *al* in the language of the CELTS and the equally unintelligible word *tau* which follows?

Ammianus XV, 9,3 (*a* 355): Some say that the very first natives ever seen in those parts (Gaul) were called CELTS after the name of a king who was greatly beloved by them, and also Galates after the name of his mother, that being the Greek translation of the Latin *Galli*. Others hold that they are Dorians who, following a more ancient Hercules, settled in those regions which border on the ocean. 11, 1 (from Cæsar): In former times when the country was still unknown, as being barbarous, it is supposed to have been divided into three parts, occupied by the CELTS, who are also called Gauls, the Aquitani and the Belgæ, all differing from each other in language, institutions and laws. 2: The Gauls, who are CELTS, are divided from the Aquitanians by the river Garonne. XX, 4, 2 (*a*. 360): The tribune and secretary Decentius was sent to bring away at once the auxiliary troops, the Aeruli and the Batavi with the Petulantes and the CELTS, and three hundred picked men from the other divisions. 5, 9: And straightway, that no time might be afforded to disturb the plan decided upon, the Petulantes and CELTS besought him, on account of their commissaries, to give them the rule of any province he pleased, and when this request was not granted, they retired without being either offended or ill-humored. XXI, 3, 2: He (Julian) sent a certain Count Libino with the CELTS and Petulantes who were in winter quarters with him. XXII, 12, 6: (*a*. 362): Especially the Petulantes and CELTS whose audacity at that time had increased beyond measure. XXXI, 10, 4 (*a*. 377): The CELTS approaching with the Petulantes. *ND occ.* 5, 17: CELTAE (*seniores*). 161, 7, 12: CELTAE *seniores*. 5, 56. 205. 7, 141: CELTAE *juniores*.

Nonnus, Poems on the legend of Bacchus: XXIII, 91: The Eridanus did not drown the Galate nor become the grave of the CELT. 298-300: I (Ocean) will bring down from the skies to wander again over the land of the CELTS the fiery Eridanus who walks among the stars,

and I will bring him to a watery end. XXVII, 201-203: Let her (Astris) go, if she wish, to roam in the land of the CELTS that she, too, may become a tree and mourn with the daughters of the Sun, weeping streams of tears. XXXVIII, 93: (Phæthon) was drowned in the CELTIC river (the Eridanus). 97-98: He (Bacchus) wishes still more to hear that Olympian tale (of Phæthon) dear to the CELTS of the west. XXXIX, 4-5: He (Bacchus) wondered at the tale, how Phæthon, burnt in the fire, fell with a crash into the western river of the CELTS. XLIII, 292-294. The Iber follows in swelling waves to the CELTIC ocean and the Bosphorus mingles the winding waters of its double sea. XLVI, 54: I call happy the land of the CELTS with its rude laws. (Referring to the practice quoted above *sub Anthologia Palatina*, 9, 125.)

Sozomenus, Church History, II, 6, 1: For, already, tribes on both sides of the Rhine professed Christianity, as likewise the CELTS and the Gauls who are the most distant inhabitants near the ocean. VII, 13, 10: In the meantime Maximus, having raised a large army of Britons and the neighboring Galates and CELTS and other nations in those parts, marched into Italy.

Stobaeus, Elegant Extracts, I, 29, 2 p. 610: For example, in lands that are snowy and cold and, on the other hand, in such as are burned by the sun, lightning does not strike the ground. If it should happen to, it is regarded as a wonder, as among the CELTS and the Egyptians.

Hesychius, sub ἄβράνας (read ἄββάνας): The name the CELTS give the long tailed apes. *Sub Ἀδριαῖοι*: The CELTS who live near the Adriatic. *Sub βαράκακαι* (read βράκκαι· αἰγείοι διφθέραι): Breeches, the goatskin trews of the CELTS. *Sub Κελτοί*. Another race of CELTS. *Sub κυρτίας* (wicker shields): So the CELTS call their shields (cf. *sub καιτρέαι*, "Iberian arms. Others call them κυρτίας") *Vd.* also *sub μαδάρεις*.

Praxagoras fragm. p. 438 Dindorf: The CELTS and the Germans, neighboring and barbarous tribes, he (Valerius Maximianus) subdued.

Sulpicius Severus, Dialogues, I, 27, 4: Well, said Postumianus, talk CELTIC, or, if you prefer, Gallic (i. e. Romance) provided you tell of Martin. (He distinguishes here between the dialect of Aquitania and that of the center of Gaul.)

Orosius, Against the Pagans, V, 8, 1: When Scipio had destroyed Numantia and had pacified the other peoples of Spain, he consulted with Thyresus a CELTIC chief.

Sidonius Apollinaris, Epist. III, 3, 2 (referring to the Arverni): I will pass over this, that it was for your sake when a boy that men of letters flocked here from all quarters, and that it was out of respect for you that our nobility put aside the roughness of their CELTIC speech (i. e. the Celtic or Gaulish, not the popular Latin or Romance) and cultivated oratory and poetry.

Priscian, Geographic Description, 79 fl.: On this side comes the Gallic Gulf which beats upon the CELTIC shore. 84 fl.: The Island of Corsica is washed by the nearer waters which flow between the Sardinian and the CELTIC sea. 279-285: Then come the Pyrenees, and next, the CELTIC land that borders upon the blue stream of Eridanus' fount. There his loving sisters mourned for Phæthon, and there the CELTIC women who drag away the straw and fallen leaves gather the amber that trickles from the alders. This they call *sucinum*, and it is of the color of honey and wine.

Stephanus of Byzantium, p. 70, 1M.: Another city named Alea belongs to the Carpetani, a CELTIC tribe. p. 143, 19: There is another city of the Boii, a CELTIC tribe. p. 156, 4: Baitarra is also a CELTIC city. A citizen is Baitarrites. p. 183, 8: Bourchanis is an island in CELTICA, as Strabo says (VII, 1, 3). p. 213, 2: The Grammitæ are also a people near CELTICA. p. 270, 15: Emporium, a CELTIC city, is a colony of Marseilles. p. 303, 18: Heracleia, a city of CELTICA. p. 322, 9: Iapodes, a tribe of CELTICA near Illyria, according to Dionysius, XVI, p. 323, 3: The Ibæi and the Ibeni are CELTIC peoples. p. 332, 15: The Insobares are a CELTIC race near the Po, according to Polybius who calls them Insobres. p. 417,

6: Limenotis, the **CELTIC** peninsula. p. 426, 4 (from Ephorus): Mace, a **CELTIC** city. Mainace, a **CELTIC** city, is also found. The tribal name is Macenus. p. 435, 18: Marseilles is a city of Liguria ["near **CELTICA**," added by Stephanus] and a colony of the Phocæans, according to Hecataëus' work on Europe. p. 474, 22: Nicæa, the seventh of the name, is a city of **CELTICA** and a colony of Marseilles. p. 479, 5: Nyrax ["a **CELTIC** city," either an addition of Stephanus, or something has fallen out before the name Hecataëus], according to Hecataëus in his work on Europe. The tribal name is Nyracius, as at Narice, Narycius. p. 549, 4: Sabbatia is a **CELTIC** village. The tribal names are Sabbatianus and Sabbatius. p. 555, 5: Santis, a **CELTIC** city. The tribal name is Santites, as Leptis, Leptites. p. 562, 17: Sene, a **CELTIC** city. A citizen is Senaeus and Seno. p. 572, 18: Sisigylyis, a large city near **CELTICA**. The tribal name, Sisigyrites. p. 631, 5: Transalpini, tribes of **CELT**s beyond the Alps. p. 632, 1: Trausi, a city of the **CELT**s. The tribe whom the Greeks call Agathyrsi.

Zosimus, I, 15, 1 (*a* 237): When Maximinus heard of these things he set out in all haste with the Mauritanian and **CELTIC** troops for Rome. 28, 3 (*a* 253): Aemilianus sent Valerianus to fetch the legions which were among the **CELT**s and Germans. 30, 2 (*a* 253): Gallienus saw that of all the nations the Germans were the most difficult to deal with and dangerous and caused most annoyance to the **CELTIC** tribes that lived near the Rhine. 38, 2 (*a* 260): Postumus, who had been entrusted with the command of the soldiers in the country of the **CELT**s (*i. e.* commander of one of the two parts of Germany, or of all Germany). 52, 3: Besides the Norici and Rhæti, which are **CELTIC** legions (*i. e.* the troops from Noricum and Rhætia, the latter at that time comprising Vindelica). II, 15, 1 (*a* 312): Constantine raised an army out of the barbarians whom he had conquered, both Germans and other **CELTIC** nations, and the troops whom he had collected from Britain. 17 (*a* 312): Constantine set out for the **CELT**s and Galates . . . (*a* 313) he

marched on toward the CELTS. 33, 2 (*a.* 332) · The CELTS who live beyond the Alps and the Iberians near the island of Britain. 42, 4 (*a.* 350) : Meanwhile, some of the Illyrian horse, who had come to supply the CELTIC legions, joined with those who had assembled for this business. 43, 2 : While Magnentius was still busy among the CELTS. 50, 2 : (*a.* 351) : Where (in the woods) he had concealed four companies of CELTS. III, 3, 1 (*a.* 357) : But Julian, finding that the military establishment in the country of the CELTS was utterly destroyed. 7, 1 (*a.* 358) : To go over to the CELTS who were under the Romans. 8, 3 (*a.* 359) : Being stung with the success of what has been done among the CELTS and Iberians he devised pretenses . . . he urged that two legions of the CELTS be despatched to him. 10, 3 (*a.* 361) : Shortly after, when the army which had followed him (Julian) from the land of the CELTS arrived. 11, 1 : He (Julian) marched forward with the army which he had recruited among the CELTS and another army from Sirmium itself and the legions stationed among the Pæonians and Mysians. IV, 12, 1 (*a.* 369) : The Emperor Valentinian, having brought matters to a satisfactory conclusion among the Germans, thought to make provision for the future security of the CELTIC nations. 17, 1 (*a.* 374) : Valerian marched out of the country of the CELTS into Illyria. 19, 2 (*a.* 375) : The CELTIC countries, all Iberia and the island of Britain fell to the share of Gratian. 34, 2 (*a.* 378) : To press upon the CELTIC tribes. . . . If they would leave the CELTS alone. 47, 2 (*a.* 388) : Theodosius sent Valentinian to attend to affairs in Italy and whatever concerned the CELTS and such matters as fell to his share in the Dominion. 51, 1 : Rufinus, a CELT by birth and master of the court guards. 54, 3 (*a.* 392) : The Emperor (Theodosius) was then passing the time in Vienna a CELTIC town. 59, 4 (*a.* 395) : The Emperor Theodosius left the nations of Italy and the Iberians and CELTS besides all Libya to his son Honorius. V, 26, 3 (*a.* 405) : A certain Rhodogaisus, having collected an army of 400,000 men composed of CELTIC and German tribes

from across the Danube and the Rhine, made haste to pass over into Italy. 37, 5 (a. 408): They went on board ship and sailed for the land of the CELTS and Galates. VI, 1 (a. 409): From Constantine who was ruling with despotic power over the CELTS. . . . To return with the entire army mustered among the CELTS, in Iberia and in the island of Britain. VI, 2 (a. 407): Constantine, having appointed Justinian and Nevigastes commanders of the troops among the CELTS, crossed over . . . (a. 408) The three ranges of Alps, which obstruct the roads from the country of the CELTS into Italy and on the other side as well, are called the Cottian, the Pennine and the Maritime Alps. VI, 5: The General Gerontius with the soldiers from Galatia, guarded the pass from the land of the CELTS to Iberia. . . . He incited the barbarians among the CELTS to rise against Constantine who could not cope with them since the greater part of his army was in Spain. Then the barbarians beyond the Rhine overran the whole country without restraint and brought the inhabitants of the island of Britain and some of the tribes among the CELTS to such necessity that they revolted from the sway of the Romans and lived in their own way, no longer obedient to the laws of the Empire. VI, 6, 1: This defection of Britain and of the tribes in the land of the CELTS happened when Constantine usurped the government and, because of his neglect of the office, the barbarians gained the ascendancy.

Paulus Silentarius, Description of Saint Sophia, 637-639 (220-222): Marble from the deep icy Celtic crags (i. e. white and black marble from France) with black shining surface and with milk white veins spreading out here and there and winding in every direction.

Laurentius Lydus, De anno et mensibus, 8 p. 104 Ræther: In the river Arar, which is in CELTICA, is found a fish which the natives call *clopias*.

Jordanus, History of the Goths, 36, 191: And some other CELTIC or Germanic nations.

Procopius, War with the Goths, I, 1: The river Po, which is also called the Eridanus and flows from the CELTIC

mountains, and other navigable rivers and lagoons surround the city (Ravenna) on every side. IV, 5: The river Ister flows from the CELTIC mountains along the Italian frontier and, after a course through the country of the Dacians, the Illyrians and Thrace, empties into the Euxine Gulf. *The Edifices of Justinian*, IV, 5: The Ister rises in the mountains of the land of the CELTS, who are now known as Gauls, and traverses a vast tract most of which is completely desert, except that here and there some barbarians live a wild kind of life without any intercourse with other men.

Inscriptions containing the word CELT have been found at Alexandria in Egypt (first century A. D.), at Frascati and at Bonn (dating from the reign of Commodus).

JOSEPH DUNN.

NOTES ON PRIMARY EDUCATION.

No matter how thorough the antecedent professional training of a teacher may have been, both theory and experience lead to the conviction that his efficiency will rapidly decline unless he continues his study of matters that lie beyond the routine of his classroom. In the university the professor who does not continue his own researches soon loses his power to stimulate and inspire his students. Similarly, a teacher in a primary school who confines her attention to the preparation of daily lessons and to the hearing of recitations soon becomes wooden. The teacher in any grade or department of educational work exerts a vitalizing influence on the minds of his pupils only so long as his own mind is growing and this growth demands constant contact with fresh matter and new views.

This truth is frequently insisted upon by school superintendents and it is rarely questioned by the teachers themselves. Whenever friction arises over the matter between the superintendent and the teachers it may be traced to some objectionable feature of the plan proposed by the superintendent to secure the continuance of this outside work on the part of the teachers. This principle is well illustrated in the Chicago school situation, a brief account of which may be found in the *School Review* of February, 1907.

Some years ago Superintendent Cooley introduced a system of promotional examinations by which the teachers' eligibility to advance in salary, after seven years of service in the Chicago schools, is conditioned upon her successful examination in subjects pursued outside the schoolroom, or upon credits received for courses pursued in degree-giving institutions. This plan has led to a bitter and long-continued struggle between Superintendent Cooley and a large proportion of the five thousand five hundred teachers under his jurisdiction. With this contention we are here concerned only in so far as it serves to illustrate a truth that is of

vital importance to the schools of the country, whether they be public or parochial.

“The superintendent’s interest in the examinations lies in the fact that these can be used as spurs to incite the teachers to study outside the schoolroom. The teachers’ objection to examinations lies in their demand to be judged by their work, and their failure to find any relation between the outside study and their immediate vocation. They consider the examinations artificial and not germane to their teaching. . . . The conclusion that can be drawn from these premises is that a vital and organic connection should be found between the outside study of the teacher and her work in the schoolroom. There is no reason to believe that the intelligent teacher would be hostile to courses of study which she felt were assisting her where she recognized that her work was weak. It is in the nature of any genuine workman to be grateful for assistance. Nor is it conceivable that the superintendent could do otherwise than welcome motives for study which should be more effective, and which would be free from the charge of artificiality that can be made against any system of mere examinations. This vital connection between study and schoolroom work is not far to seek. The method of teaching all subjects in the curriculum is constantly changing, and, we hope, improving. The subject-matter itself is constantly growing in richness and interrelationship. The reading and studying that any teacher should carry on is demanded, not simply that she may keep from ossifying, but that she may keep up with the demands of her profession. Given libraries, the laboratories, the courses of lectures—in other words, the opportunities—and there is no limit to the amount of profitable work that would greet the teacher who would improve in her calling.” (*The School Review*, February, 1907, p. 162.)

Among the various means proposed to secure the continuance of professional study on the part of teachers the correspondence system has many features to recommend it. The classroom is, for the most part, the teacher’s best laboratory; suitable literature is also within easy reach; the teacher’s chief needs are stimulation and competent direction, and these can be supplied through this system from sources that

would otherwise be quite inaccessible. Moreover, the correspondence system enables the teacher to turn to advantage leisure moments that would otherwise be lost; it develops her powers of expression and cultivates her style; it secures for her individual direction and answers to the practical problems of the schoolroom.

In this department of the BULLETIN it is proposed to publish a few of the papers written by teachers as a part of their work in regular correspondence courses, and also to publish answers to some of the questions asked by them.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS

What advantages accrue to the teacher from the study of the history of education ?¹

It is only within the past quarter of a century that the history of education has attained to the position of importance which it now holds in the curricula of normal schools, colleges, and universities. In 1879 the University of Michigan was the only institution for higher education in the United States that offered this course to its students. The necessity of a knowledge of this subject on the part of the teacher was gradually realized, and efforts were consequently made to introduce it into the schools. By the year 1902, two hundred colleges and universities, including most of the prominent institutions in the country, were giving courses in the history of education.² This ready adoption of the subject proves that the need once proposed, was recognized by all persons interested in the preparation of teachers.

The prominence given, therefore, to the history of education at the present day, is sufficient evidence of the advantages accruing to the teacher from this study. Mr. Levi Seeley, Ph. D., Professor of the Science and Art of Education in the New Jersey State Normal School, not content with merely making the history of education one of the required subjects, places it first in the professional education course, and gives the following reasons for doing so:

- 1) It is semi-academic in character. The academic studies should be placed first and professional ones near the end of the course.
- 2) It presents some of the great problems that have interested

¹ Correspondence Course in the Psychology of Education, Lesson III, Q. 2.

² Cf. Arthur O. Norton, *The Scope and Aims of the History of Education*. Educational Review, May, 1904.

thoughtful men of all past ages, and shows how far these problems have been solved.

3) It indicates the theories that have been promulgated, and shows which are sound and which unsound.

4) It studies systems of education, and selects the good while it rejects the bad.

5) It makes the student acquainted with the great and thoughtful educators of the past, with their teachings and their theories, and thus introduces him directly to the great pedagogical questions which have influenced the world and are still influencing it.

6) By furnishing the student with the material indicated above, it prepares the way for a better understanding of the subjects which follow. It thus makes his later studies more intelligible so that he works to better advantage.¹

Whether we agree with Professor Seeley or not, as to making the history of education the first professional study for the future teacher, we must admit its importance in the curricula of higher educational institutions and in training schools. While this study is of great value to all students because of its general, cultural influence, it possesses particular advantages for such as intend to adopt the profession of teaching. For this second class of students, it will be of great benefit to consider more in detail the following advantages of the study of the history of education, some of which have already been set forth in the above quotation from Professor Seeley. 1) This study impresses upon the student's mind the dignity of the teacher, by bringing to his notice the great work that has been done in the field of education from early times to the present day, and the great minds engaged therein. 2) It brings to his notice the educational ideals of the different nations. 3) It reviews the many theories that have been held, and the methods used, at various times, recounting the successes and failures that resulted from their application. The student is thus prepared to make a prudent choice in the selection of methods for practical purposes. 4) It aids him in tracing the improvements in the systems of education and in the training of teachers.

It is important that every teacher should realize the dignity of the position which he holds. If he recognizes the fact that his work is a continuation of the labors of so many great and noble men, whose entire lives and every ambition were devoted to the instruction of youth, that he is, as Mr. Norton expresses it, "the dignified maintainer and perpetuator, within his sphere, of whatever is honorable and enduring in

¹ The Foundations of Education, p. 143.

educational tradition," he will then also be more thoroughly penetrated with the sense of the responsibility which such an education involves. This realization will result from a study of the history of education, wherein we find recorded in detail, the efforts and labors of all who have been interested in this great work of education. The many hardships and sacrifices which these educators underwent for the cause of education should encourage and strengthen the young teacher to follow their noble examples, and not permit himself to sink down under the weight of trifling difficulties, as to-day too often happens.

The study of the history of education is, therefore, a bountiful source from which the young teacher derives inspiration from the great educators of past ages, their labors and self-sacrificing lives. He becomes acquainted with Froebel, Herbart, Basedow, and Comenius; with Edward Thring, T. Tate, and Horace Mann; and with the great teachers of the Catholic Church in every age. But he has *still* a nobler example than these. Every Christian history of education will not fail to direct the attention of its readers to the Great Teacher, to His life and labors, to the pedagogical principles underlying the practical teaching of our Divine Savior, and point to Him as the model to be continually held before the teacher's eyes. Such a study will indeed convince the teacher of the dignity of his position; for he will realize that he is continuing not only the work of great men of past ages, but the very work to which Christ Himself devoted the greater part of His public life.

Besides gaining an acquaintance with the great educators, the student of the history of education derives therefrom a knowledge of the ideals entertained by them and by the different nations in general. This is an important item of information for the young teacher. In presenting these ideals, the history of education will first show how children were regarded by the different races. The ancient Jews, for instance, looked upon their little ones as gifts from the hand of God; the Spartans considered children as the property of the state; the Romans thought them the special property of the parent, to be cared for or abandoned at will. Whether the child was to be educated at all, or how this education was to be carried on, would necessarily depend entirely upon the different views of the different races. Some considered the aim of education to be the adjusting of the individual to his material and immaterial environment, others the fitting of the child for complete life upon earth, while others looking beyond this present world, entertained as their ideal of education the preparation of the individual, not only for this life but also for the life to come. The suggestion of these different ideals will impress upon the young teacher's mind the necessity of acquainting himself with the true purpose of education, and of employing in his work those means which will lead to the desired end.

It is true there is not at the present day such a diversity of opinion regarding children as in the past, yet the results which the parents look for from the education of their children are widely different in different families. This variation is due largely to environments. The influence of climate, of prevailing occupation, of neighbors, of political conditions, of religion, are powerful in shaping the education of a people. This is as true to-day as it was centuries ago; it is as true as regards education in the world at large, and also in its special application to our own country. It is well for the teacher to have a general knowledge of these influences and their bearing upon the education of the different nations. It will enable him to pronounce an unbiased judgment upon the early theories and methods of education, and it will broaden his views in regard to his own work in the schoolroom. It will further impress upon his mind the necessity of meeting each child as it emerges from the home, and of giving to each a special kind of treatment, with due consideration for the influences exerted upon that child by its home life, whether they be good or bad.

Another benefit of the study of the history of education is that it acquaints the student, not only with prominent educators, but also with the theories held by them, and the methods by which they attempted to accomplish the desired end. The prospective teacher will thus acquire a professional knowledge of the subject which is to be the basis of his profession. He will learn the processes of reasoning that led to the conception of those theories, the peculiar conditions that called them forth; and by comparing one with the other and tracing their effects when put into practice, he will be able to distinguish the sound from the unsound, those which have stood the test of time from those which have been eliminated as impracticable, and will thus be guided in the formation of his judgment concerning education and its processes. The student as he pursues his study, will be led to notice the relation between the educator's theories and his methods, the change that these methods have undergone year after year. He can apply some of these methods in his own classroom if he will, and can then make a judicious choice of such methods as are worthy of adoption. This knowledge will also prevent him from falling into the absurd error of believing himself the originator of a successful method, which was in reality in use long before his time.

The last, but not the least, of the benefits accruing from the study of the history of education which we have proposed to treat in this paper, is the knowledge gained thereby of the different educational systems. By considering the first meager attempts to establish national systems of education, then noting the gradual growth and improvement in succeeding years, the young teacher is enabled to trace the progress in education of each separate nation, and to compare one nation with another, study-

ing at the same time the relative merits and defects of the various systems. After this has been done, it will be advantageous for the student to turn his attention to our own educational system, and examine it with an unbiased judgment. Has it no defects? Is there nothing in the system of other nations which could be introduced into our own to suit the conditions of the times? If weaknesses are detected, perhaps a knowledge of other systems gained through a study of the history of education, will suggest a remedy. Such questions as the proper training for teachers, the duties of supervisors, etc., might through this study be more easily answered.

These advantages are the most important accruing from the study of the history of education. They serve to show how necessary it is that this subject be given an ample place in all institutions that prepare teachers for their profession. If the young teacher be well convinced of the necessity of this study and learn to apply himself thereto, he will find it interesting and profitable, and will not restrict his study to his years of training. The benefit he derives therefrom will urge him to read current literature on the subject both in book form and in good educational magazines, will make him eager to follow out educational problems, and render him better prepared to pronounce an unbiased opinion upon the subject in question.

TRINITY COLLEGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Children usually manifest a liking for some subjects and a dislike for others; to which of these classes of subjects should they be encouraged to give the greater amount of time? Why?¹

Experience has repeatedly shown the evil of allowing children to follow the line of least resistance in study to the exclusion of other subjects. When one or a few lines of mental activity are taken up exclusively or almost exclusively, lop-sided mental development is the result and we get pieces of men, but never a man. This is what Emerson had in mind when he wrote (in the *American Scholar*) "Man is not a farmer, or a professor, or an engineer, but he is all. Man is priest, and scholar, and statesman, and producer, and soldier, . . . But, unfortunately, this original unit, this mountain of power, has been so distributed to multitudes, has been so minutely sub-divided and peddled out, that it is spilled into drops and cannot be gathered. The state of society is one in which the members have suffered amputation

¹ Correspondence Course on the Psychology of Education, Lesson VI, Q. 3.

from the trunk, and strut about so many walking monsters—a good finger, a neck, a stomach, an elbow, but never a man.”

It is the duty of educators to prevent the possibility of those “walking monsters” increasing, and the duty is performed when children are given an adequate, harmonious mental development. The teacher must encourage his pupils to study all the subjects assigned, because they are assigned; he must encourage the pupils to give special attention to the lessons they like less, because progress is more difficult along the lines of greater resistance: but whether or not he should encourage the pupils to give a greater amount of time to the subjects they like less is a question to which I do not venture to give a definite and general answer. It seems to me that the relative amount of time to be given to agreeable and to disagreeable subjects varies so considerably in specific cases that not even an approximate result can be reached.

One thing, however, it is important to insist on: encouraging the pupils to study objects repugnant to them must never be done, as I know that in many cases it is done, by discouraging them from studying subjects they like. Books on pedagogy do not give this phase of the subject the emphasis it deserves. The surest way I know of to disgust children with all study and to make a classroom as hideous as a nightmare, is to scold and ridicule them for following their God-given attraction to this or that group of studies. Scott was called a dunce because he didn't like the classics and was fond of history and stories; Gray was given to understand that he was not worth his salt because he detested mathematics and liked verse-writing; Thompson was reprov'd by his master because he found the simplicity of the Scriptures little to his taste and dabbled in poetry. These men and thousands like them, recall their school days with bitterness, because instead of finding in the teacher a guide and inspiration to better things, they found him an intellectual steam-hammer, striving to crush all in them that was destined to make them great.

BROTHER LEO.

Sacred Heart College, San Francisco.

What reasons may be assigned for the motor training of children and for the manual training of older pupils.¹

Manual training cannot be neglected, if the whole child is to be educated. This is an accepted conclusion among educators, and one,

¹ Correspondence Course on the Psychology of Education, Lesson III, Q. 3.

too, which has been established beyond a doubt both by argument and experiment. A general education in this line will have an important bearing on the pupil's future vocation and on his success in life. Mind and hand are trained together, and there is thus begun a connecting link between the world of thought and that of action. By its means energies which might have always remained latent are aroused, interested and held. Through it result or should result aesthetic products of handicraft which satisfy even the spiritual wants of mankind. Those things which please the sight, kindle the emotions and feed the soul, lift common life up from rudeness and barbarism. It also socializes school life, establishes bonds between it and the outside world and contains within itself the fundamental elements of all industry. It is needless to say that such training is the cause of sympathy between the home and the school and that the child's interest in the things of life easily becomes a great source of pleasure to the parents, for in the lines generally pursued in this kind of school work are expressed the needs of mankind, such as food, clothing, shelter, etc. In the school kitchen are learned lessons regarding hygiene and nutrition, and in the sewing-room lessons in care, thrift, economy and neatness.

Manual training stands for *physical* education and, at the same time, it gives opportunities for self-expression. Many persons have great success working in material when they could never feel at home with books. This training being both of hand and brain, the mind is also developed. In fact the hand is the great executive of the mind. Such practice removes awkwardness, puts one in sympathy with the working world, and affords the change from mental to physical employment which is so much needed in our present school curriculum. It also makes the whole education more practical, renders the body a more ready and delicate server of the mind and makes all arts artistic. In fact it dignifies manual labor and makes education *democratic* rather than *aristocratic*, and it attends to the *needs* of the *many* rather than to the *culture* of the *few*. If this branch were properly taught everywhere, the schools would no longer be blamed for increasing discontent and for merely cultivating capacity to feel wants, without providing means for satisfying them.

Manual training, then, also means *mind* training. It is the business of education to prepare a pupil to become a self-supporting citizen and this is done by means of training the hands to work with the mind, rather than by training the mind alone. Powers of thought expression are thus developed, the judgment is trained and executive powers called out while confidence is given in dealing with actual material. Such exercise also serves to illustrate much that is learned in science and mathematics.

We have considered the advantages resulting to body and mind from motor and manual training, but more important still are those afforded the soul.

In the reformatory and prisons even, this training plays an important part in the corrective discipline of these institutions. He whose nature impels him to destroy, is taught how to produce. The energy of nerve and muscle which might otherwise break out in unruly conduct, is directed into useful channels. Labor is always a cure for the many evils of which idleness is the mother. Every time a human being accomplishes a piece of work successfully, he has become more perfect. Thus a few more dollars a year expended in the kindergarten, or in manual training in the grammar schools, may prevent far greater prison expenses. Children coming from neglected homes may become family missionaries through such an education. If it be true that the adult can be educated into integrity, (and we have the example of the Elmira Reformatory as a proof of this) how much easier would it be to reform the child by such training. In case of the negro and Indian schools it has often been the only hope of the teacher. This was really the secret of the Mohammedans having greater success than the Christians formerly in their work among the pagans of Africa. An unused muscle is a moral infirmity, and every morbid nerve is an invitation to crime. Through manual training are also formed mental and moral habits of accuracy, precision and honesty. The pupil's mind is bent on the character of his work rather than on its worth in dollars and cents.

Manual and motor training are, therefore, efficient weapons in the hands of the reformer, the teacher and the missionary.

A DOMINICAN SISTER.

St. Clara College, Sinsinawa, Wis.

What services do habits render in the conduct of life by free will ?¹

While the lower animals are governed by instincts which they can no more change or control than they can change their anatomical characteristics, man is largely controlled by self-made habits which in their inception and in their development are subject to his will and which as they are good or evil prove a help or a hindrance to him.

Many authoritative writers agree that the great thing in all education is to make our nervous system our ally. From this it follows that an important part of the work of education consists in the firm establishment of right and useful habits and in the elimination of evil

¹ *Psychology of Education, Lesson XV, Q. 3.*

or of disadvantageous habits. Habits of will should be carefully cultivated as they constitute the foundation of character. Good habits implanted in early life, strengthened and developed through the exercise of a will that grows in strength and freedom with their growth,—such habits become at maturity man's most trusted servants. They are his safeguard in unguarded moments and his mainstay when great temptations try his soul. Speaking of their value Professor James says: "The man who has daily inured himself to habits of concentrated attention, energetic volition, and self-denial in unnecessary things will stand like a tower when things rock around him, and his softer fellow mortals are winnowed like chaff in the blast."

Professor Angell, convinced of the importance of the early formation of good habits, says: "To make the body, in which our habits are conserved, one's friend and ally and not one's enemy is an ideal which should be strenuously and intelligently held out to every young person. One never can say at what precise moment it may become literally impossible to shake off a bad habit. But we know with perfect certainty that our nervous tissues are storing up every day the results of our actions, and that the time is, therefore, sure to come when no amount of merely pious intention can redeem us from the penalty of our folly" (*Psychology*, p. 62). Exemplifications of this truth are so frequently met with in daily life that they need not be dwelt on here.

All those who are interested in the upbuilding of the child's character should make a careful study of the physical basis of consciousness and of the role which consciousness plays in the formation of habits and in this connection they should not fail to note the great importance of the presence in consciousness of appropriate feeling. Repetition of action or process at times produces a path or furrow on inanimate objects that is related to the object in question in a manner somewhat analogous to that in which habits are related to living organisms. In man the inherited pathways or even those newly formed in the nervous system could not be built up if consciousness did not take an active part. Thus a child entering upon his career in life, endowed with only a few co-ordinations such as reflex, instinctive and automatic activities, can make but little progress until his stock of inherited adjustments are reinforced by habits.

The first habits to appear in a child are based on inherited pathways the development of which belongs to the plastic period of life. These pathways are incipient means of adjustment which the individual receives from the race. They are marked out in the nervous system and contain great possibilities, but their final establishment as habits

depends on several things: the lessened resistance caused by the repeated passage of nerve currents; the accompanying affective states of consciousness, and the play of imitation and suggestion.

The progress of events in a child's life is marked by the following stages: consciousness appears and is occupied for a while in creating and in the establishing of quasi-reflexes, often called habits, it then disappears only to reappear in the role of a greater architect.

Without habits consciousness would be continually engaged in directing daily routine duties, such as walking, talking, etc., and thus all our time would be devoted to keeping alive. Aided by habits, however, the needed co-ordinations are made and consciousness is left free to attend to our mental, moral and social activities. Man is thus enabled to attain a high state of development.

Considering as we must the physical basis of habits and the importance of their early formation, we immediately realize their significance for morality. Every repetition of a nerve current over a pathway in the central nervous system, if accompanied by pleasurable feelings, deepens the channel until finally all resistance is removed and as a result given stimuli cannot do otherwise than produce the appropriate reactions which are good or evil as the nature of the case may be. If the habits thus firmly imbedded in the nervous system are evil, they are likely to be permanent and the consequence to the victim, thus chained in a bondage too strong to be broken by a mere penitential attitude, are far from desirable, to himself, while society suffers from the evil engendered by his influence and example. On the other hand, if good, the benefits of deeply imbedded habits to the individual and to society are beyond measure.

Many people on reaching maturity find that they are not fitted for the positions in the social or in the business world which they wish to hold: they are awkward, unskillful, without accuracy, reliability or stability,—in short, they do not fit. Then, not enjoying what is aptly called "getting knocked around in the world," and, seeing desirable places filled by their better educated fellow men, they decide upon a course of action in order to build up the necessary adjustments and to get on a level with their surroundings. Although the proper time for this work is past, and they have a difficult task before them, but it is not an impossible one. If they pursue their object resolutely and unremittingly, they will be successful. Here *will* is the chief factor. It is aided by the stimulus of something in view to be gained which is a strong support in weak moments. Ideas contrary to the habit under cultivation must be kept out of the mind; repetition here is valuable. The beginning is the critical time; no exception may be tolerated

until the habit has become an organic memory. By so doing some of the evil caused by defective education in early life may be remedied.

SR. M. GENEROSE, O. M. C.

Sacred Heart School, South Kankanna, Wis.

What has been the attitude of the Church towards the training of teachers ?¹

The first teachers of the Church were most carefully trained by Our Divine Lord. Realizing the import of the divine commission, the apostles and disciples gathered about them students whom they "familiarily instructed." Thus the first work in the training of teachers was peculiarly an individual personal training. The work of St. John and St. Paul may be cited as an illustration of this phase in the history of education. There can be no doubt of the thoroughness of the training nor of the efficiency acquired, for the results are abundant proof.

With the spread of Christianity came the conflict with heathen culture and consequent needs on the part of the Church. But at all times, owing to the prayer and the promise of her Founder, the Church meets the needs of the hour. In this instance, the catechetical schools, having for one specific object the training of teachers, arose. In these were studied not only Christian philosophy and science, but also pagan beliefs, systems and philosophies. Thus the teachers acquire the ability to solve scientifically the problems before them. An especial care was exercised in selecting subjects for this training; those who had a "peculiar fitness to guide and instruct others" were chosen. How well the work was done is abundantly proved by the history of the famous catechetical schools established at well known centers of learning, such as Alexandria, Caesarea and Rome, and by a large number of equally famous teachers whose achievements glorify the work of the early Church.

Episcopal schools, in which the clergy were trained under the immediate supervision of the bishop, were found in all parts of the Christian world and at all times in the Church.

With the coming of monasticism in the early fourth century, the training of teachers became somewhat more systematic. This is especially true of monasticism under the influence of the rule of St. Benedict. With the exception of the work done by the Irish monks, the education of Europe was controlled, during the period from the

¹Shields' Correspondence Course in the Psychology of Education, Lesson I, Q. 1.

sixth to the ninth century inclusive, by the Benedictines and educational thought was largely moulded by their methods.

All teaching orders of religion gave, and are today giving their subjects a very careful preparation for the work of teaching. The training of teachers has employed and still employs the best minds and the earnest activities of religious leaders. The Dominican order may be cited as an illustration of the interest manifested in regard to the training of teachers. The ultimate aim is broad scholastic knowledge combined with intelligent, skillful method. The two years' novitiate is given to regular systematic study; then follows a two years' course entitled "*Studium Naturalium*," giving a knowledge of the sciences of the day; next a three years' course in the "*Studium Theologiae*," imparting the knowledge and mental power that result from the study of philosophy. The work would be scientific and scholarly. In addition to these courses the Dominicans maintained schools to which their more gifted members were sent. These schools, "*Studia Solemnia*," point to the present-day idea of special training in chosen subjects and departments of study. Further, teachers of long experience found opportunities for greater culture, for enriching their knowledge by pursuing advanced courses and for research work in the "*Studia Generalia*." Only teachers of experience were in the "*Studia Generalia*." It is safe to infer that much would be done by a mature student both to systematize and advance the scientific expression of the work of the teacher. It is certainly evident that these teachers set a high value upon training and that they felt the necessity of continuous study to increase their usefulness as scholars and religious teachers.

Education owes much, too, to the Jesuits, who elaborated with extreme care a distinct system. Their teaching body was excellently trained, disciplinary in method, scientific in principle and earnestly devoted to the cause of education.

Still another illustration is to be found in the order of the Christian Brothers. To De La Salle and his co-workers history credits many of the ideas so prominent in education today. The work of De La Salle differs from that of the monastic orders in that his efforts were directed in a large measure towards fitting secular teachers for the work, and in that sense it reaches the masses in another way. Under his direction the Brothers studied zealously for their especial work, gaining for themselves a reputation as educators which is worthy, indeed, and which the Brothers maintain at the present day. Perhaps no higher tribute in praise of their work could be given than the demand from the east and the west, the north and the south for the Brothers to take up the work in these sections. And is not this very demand a proof of their

ability as educators, and a proof of training? Realizing the importance of this training for teachers, De La Salle founded the first normal school at Rheims, in 1685. The success of this called for others, which were established in various cities of France and Germany. De La Salle understood also the value of experience as part of a teacher's equipment, and so organized in connection with the normal schools, model or practice schools, in which theories could be tested and principles of education be thoroughly mastered through practice in teaching, under careful supervision.

Manual training found an important place in the scheme of education. The idea was not new, for it had been successfully used by St. Basil and others in the fourth century and seems to have been a clearly defined tendency in all monastic education, whether as a part of the training of subjects for the religious life or seculars who came to the cloistral schools. But De La Salle gave technical education, perhaps, a fuller and more practical expression. Then, too, the economy of gradation and "simultaneous teaching" was demonstrated by him, and given a place in the work of education.

The work of the Dominicans, Jesuits and Christian Brothers may be regarded as typical of the work of religious orders in general. All these orders received the approbation of the Church. In the very approval of the purposes for which the religious orders were founded and in the subsequent approbations of their labors, the Church clearly shows a most favorable attitude towards the training of teachers.

With succeeding ages came varying ideals of the meaning of education. The Christian Church holds constantly to the thought of her mission. "To advance the kingdom of God on earth." This she does in an especial manner through her teachers, whom she honors by special blessings and other signs of her approval.

But aside from the approbation of religious orders having for their special purpose the work of teaching, the meeting of the demands made by the various schools founded under the patronage of the Church for teachers would be a proof of the zeal of the Church in regard to the training of teachers. The history of this phase of zeal alone furnishes material for a lengthy discussion. Every need has been ministered to by the Church in the variety of schools founded or encouraged by her. In the very variety is to be seen the wisdom of the Church and the realization of promise. Catechetical schools trained teachers to solve the problem of Christianizing a pagan world; cloistral schools diffused learning among the masses, preserved letters, and prepared for the work of higher education. Even in the period of history known as the "Dark Ages" but not truly so called, there was well-directed preparation of

teachers. Higher education as a special field in education came with the rise of the universities under the fostering care of the Church. The universities, too, while broad in scope and culture, tended somewhat towards specialization; e. g., at Salerno medicine was emphasized; Bologna gave prominence to law, and Paris regarded theology as the basis of work. Paris was certainly the most influential and the results of her work were far-reaching. Schools of all kinds, from the simple parochial school to the university, schools of general character, for special and professional education, and even schools for defective classes show the zeal of the Church; for where she finds a need she tries to meet it.

In the case of the universities the needs were mutual. The universities needed the approval of the Holy See, the Church, the assistance of the universities. The universities needed the express approbation of the Holy See for protection and for the recognition of the validity of degrees conferred by the universities. Without the sanction of Rome the universities could not thrive. The interest of the Church with reference to the training of teachers was shown in the degrees conferred. The degree "Magister" or "Doctor" was conferred on those who had completed a course designed to fit them for the work of teaching and who had demonstrated their ability by actual practice. Further, the Popes encouraged special training by the recognition of a federation of teachers in 1209; by protection against the tyranny of the chancellor in directing that the chancellor could not refuse a license to teach to one who had been adjudged worthy of such a degree by the council of masters or faculty; that he could not exercise his power of excommunication without the concurrence of the Holy See; also in granting the privilege of the use of the seal (1246); and again and again in honors accorded to teachers.

The universities became, under the direction of the Church, centers in which were associated the best thought of the age, and from which radiated a powerful and far-reaching educational force. Famous scholars went out from these, especially from Paris, to found in the various countries schools in which was exemplified the value of thorough training. As a proof of the very favorable attitude of the Church toward the training of teachers the names of a few of her great teachers may be given: Clement and Origen, St. Basil and St. Benedict, Venerable Bede, Alcuin, John Scotus Eriugena, William of Champeaux, Lanfranc are but a few of the students, teachers and organizers of the work of education.

With the different ages there have been somewhat different ideals, causing emphasis to be put upon a specific phase. The scientific basis of training, while not at all times receiving the stress given it in our day, was by no means neglected. The study of methods and principles

is clearly and continuously traceable in the work of all teachers and schools. All have been earnestly seeking to do the work in the best way. Guiding principles are not only suggested but clearly stated.

The thought of the Church has been and is to-day expressed in the completeness of the education she expects to give. Her teachers must be trained well to accomplish the work. "Mankind freed by truth must be preserved by truth. Towards the accomplishment of this purpose bishops bestowed their care and labors; towards this councils make laws and decrees; this is the subject and daily care of pontiffs."

The pontificate of Leo XIII summarizes the thought of the Church in this matter. All phases of education were studied by him and the results of his study were given to the world in vigilant personal care over seminaries, in the founding and encouraging of schools, in scholarly encyclicals on education in the broadest sense, and in his sublime conception of the Church as the teacher of mankind.

THE NOVITIATE.

St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul, Minn.

Trace in detail the channels through which discoveries in pure science reach and modify the work of primary and intermediate education.¹

Coeval with the history of the race, has been man's desire to achieve a lasting purpose by learning to do things and to transmit this knowledge to posterity. These attempts at establishing rules of art were of necessity crude, as may be seen from the existing handicrafts of earlier civilization; but they were handed down from generation to generation—a precious inheritance, growing and developing here and there, under the occasional touch of individual genius until in the life-history of the race, we come to the epoch of nation-makers. In this period, the fine arts became as important as the art of warfare had formerly been; and man looked for the real development of the State to be accomplished best, not through force of arms, but in the perfect development of the individual citizen. This turned his attention to things of the mind, to ethics, to all that makes for general culture, and herein we see the beginnings of the history of education.

Each generation became in turn the possessor of the accumulated knowledge of the past, striving at the same time to widen its horizon, to take a broader outlook, and to adjust its methods to present needs. The science of education was thus slowly evolved but made little progress until the forging ahead of the physical sciences, due to our changed con-

¹ Shields' Correspondence Course in the Psychology of Education, L. iv, Q. 2.

ditions, during the latter half of the nineteenth century created an investigating turn of mind that is never satisfied with taking things as they are found, but must needs go back to the primal cause. This is not effected by analysis but by synthesis. It is not a mere tearing away the externals to get at the root, but rather a natural upbuilding or growth of a vital fact. The process is the same whether it be a rose-seed or a life-cell, a cosmos or an eternal truth, that claims our interest. We start with the germ, follow its developmental phases, its structural unity, its varied relations, thus gaining a symmetrical view of the whole from the unit-cell to the unit plant or animal, system or dogma.

These laboratory methods completely revolutionized our modern educational system. The old idea that a teacher, like a poet, is born—no longer obtains; the last word on the subject is that he *must be made*. He too is the product of our laboratories. Science has decreed—and there is no gainsaying her—that it is not enough for a teacher to have natural aptitude or supernatural motive; a personal love for the work or an all-absorbing enthusiasm. He must be trained. If he possesses these qualities, it is well; but they alone will never take the place of scientific training.

Modern pedagogy demands much from the teacher and to meet this constantly growing demand is the *raison d'être* of our training schools and normal colleges. The child in the primary and grammar grades today does not have to repeat, in detail, the development phase of the human race along educational lines; he comes at once into his full inheritance; he has at hand the latest results of the investigator; the last piece of finished laboratory work is his, inasmuch as it guides his teacher in treating the child-mind. The trained teacher stands between him and the past, interpreting it in the light of the present. The accumulated wisdom of the ages is the child's; the sciences have few secrets that he cannot wrench from them through persistent inquiry; the arts have no beauty that will not spring into life at the sure touch of a capable hand. Eye and ear, hand and mind, are all equally developed in the perfect man. This is the ideal—the educational ideal—to-day, and we can plainly trace its origin to the recent investigations in research work.

A stream can rise no higher than its source; nor can its waters be purer than the initial spring—although they gather force and strength, power and volume, on their long journey to the sea. The teacher's daily work will rise no higher than the ideal which he has formed during his days of probation in the training school, although he may adjust his point of view to meet the requirements demanded by the latest psychological developments in our university laboratories, and at the same time, strengthen his position in the class room by perfecting his art through

daily experience. The importance of the normal school system can scarcely be overestimated in these days of physical research and discoveries in pure science. Such schools draw their faculties from the best universities where they have been trained in methods, while their students are the future grade and high school teachers. In this peculiar relation, the normal schools form a connecting link between the universities and the grade schools, and are thus enabled to transmit the message received from the specialists in the one to the pupils in the other by perfecting the teacher's art and formulating a future working plan based upon these discoveries.

Reference is here made to the ideal normal school. Unfortunately, there is another kind where instructors who are unchanging in their methods, who adhere painfully to old traditions, who have long since outlived their usefulness by isolating themselves from the great educational movements, are nevertheless placed in charge of our future teachers. Such directors of the mental life and growth of young aspirants stifle every new thought, kill outright every effort at originality. Their enthusiasm died an early death, easily traced to mental starvation; they have not kept in touch with the latest developments along educational lines; they continue to teach the theories and methods in vogue when they themselves were under normal school instruction—perhaps a generation or two ago. There might be no evil results in pursuing such a course in law or in theology; but in pedagogy, where even fundamental principles undergo a complete revolution in a few years, the injury done by such a system is incalculable.

Those preparing for the position of teacher should be under the direction of specialists, the product of our best university training; men keenly alive to the great importance of the noble work entrusted to them; steeped, as it were, in the new methods of investigation; men fully aware of the possibilities of the science and art of education in the school room; sympathetic to the struggle in every true teacher's soul between the ideal and the real conditions that hold in modern school life; men realizing fully the power in a school or in a community of even one live teacher thoroughly prepared for scientific work. Granted, then, that the ideal teacher, thus equipped, presents himself in the class room; is his past training all that is necessary to cope effectually with the problems of school life? Is it a sufficient guarantee of success? Will it carry him on by its own momentum? Will not his daily experience, his actual contact with his pupils, at times, seem to offset all his well-conned theories? Because he has received a teacher's certificate or a degree in pedagogy, is there nothing more to learn? Have the investigations in pure science ceased? Only too well does the average teacher know the

difficulty of keeping up with the times. To obviate this he attends lectures and special courses, teachers' institutes and summer schools. Through these he comes in contact, yearly at least, with university professors; he receives new life and fresh courage; he goes back to the grind of the class room with a view-point that changes his perspective; he has a clearer vision and a firmer hold.

The university in this way continues the scientific training of the teacher even after he has passed the experimental stage and has acquired experience. This is as it should be. The ordinary teacher engaged in class work has little or no time for research work in psychology—useful and interesting as these discoveries may be. The specialist, on the contrary, is lifted above the confining atmosphere of the school room, treats its problems in the abstract, substitutes the mathematical for the personal equation; and so, from his clear heights, he can direct the teacher—coming down to him at times with a new-born message of truth and beauty and light.

Since the present day conditions change rapidly, and in consequence, only that school which adapts itself readily to the change is considered successful, the teacher must be on the alert to keep abreast of the times and fully measure up with the constantly shifting standards. Much is learned, not only from the careful laboratory work in the universities, but also from the men and women in the homes and in the streets, in the banks and in the marts, in the fields and on the farms, in the shipping districts and in the shopping districts, in the court and in the church, since these create the demand and consequently regulate the supply and quality of labor whether of the hand or of the brain. If the school is to fit its Alumni to take their places in the world, it must recognize what the business world needs and so train its men and women efficiently. Scientific training goes a long way, and the man who can *do* things is sure to succeed. The psychologists were the first to advance this theory that the child learns by doing, and since then the trend of modern education has passed over into the dynamic.

Lastly, all these vitalizing changes have to be recorded in a permanent form and so a vast storehouse of pedagogical literature has been created. This serves admirably to keep the teacher posted on all the new discoveries in pure science; to make him familiar with the lives and works of the leaders in the new movement along educational lines; to arouse interest in his work; to suggest to him various plans by which he may get better results from his pupils. In fact, by this means alone, he might be said to continue a post-graduate course in pedagogy.

SISTER ANTONINE.

HOLY CROSS ACADEMY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Query: The conviction grows upon me that the work of the memory is undervalued in the general tenor of your lessons. This is no doubt attributable to some defective appreciation of your meaning. Later on, I fancy, you will give us a paper on that question, to define its place in the work of mental growth.

In primary and grammar grades, teachers must have some definite and expeditious way of testing, day by day, the degree of work done by their pupils. Memorizing is a very convenient test. Besides, it must be borne in mind that these grades embrace the acquisitional period of school life. Languages, the facts of history, the catechism, literary selections, etc., are learned in these two grades mostly. Little or nothing can be done in the higher grades of the high school with pupils that have no acquired facts ready for co-ordination. I fully agree with you that nothing should be mentioned which is not well understood, yet the fact remains in that children learn much matter which they assimilate later in life.

BROTHER FABRICIAN.

St. Mary's College, Oakland, Cal.

The differences which appear to exist between our points of view are probably due in large measure to the different meaning which we attach to the word memory. The subject does deserve, as you say, a special treatment, but I am not sure that I shall be able to make room for a special lesson on this subject in the present course.

No truth is ever completely ours until it is assimilated. While it remains in the memory as such it is only on the way towards becoming a vital part of the mind's growth. I hope to show in a very concrete way in my course on the teaching of Christian Doctrine, which I trust I shall be able to get under way in the near future, that the subject matter of the catechism can be presented, even to very young children, in such a manner as to facilitate assimilation by them. I do not believe that carrying matter for a long time as a memory load is advantageous to the growing mind. In this respect the words of the Master occur to me, "I have many things to say to you but you cannot bear them now," which seem to me to be equivalent in many respects to that other oft-quoted statement "Milk for babes and meat for men." In a word, memory discharges its chief function, if not its sole function, by holding for a brief time various elements which are to be combined as soon as possible by the mind and lifted up into the unity of its own structure.

As to memorizing being a convenient test of the daily work of the pupils; yes, I grant it is a convenient test of the retentiveness of mem-

ory, but it is hardly a test of mental assimilation, which I take to be the goal of every true teacher's ambition. For instance, if I had taught a class in geometry that a line dividing the sides of a triangle proportionately is parallel to its base, I should not, a few days later, test his memory by having the pupils give back to me the demonstration they had learned, but I should endeavor to find out whether they had assimilated the truth in question by ascertaining whether it had become functional. This I would do by giving them some other problems, the ability to work out the solution of which would depend on their knowledge of the previous problem. Such for instance as "if you join the centres of the adjacent sides of a quadrilateral you will have an inscribed parallelogram." If the previous problem has been understood the pupils will find in this new problem only a four-fold repetition of the problem which they have already mastered.

But, as you have said, the proper function of memory and the method of its cultivation are subjects of too great importance to be handled in a brief space. You say truly that little or nothing can be done in the higher grades of the high school with pupils who have no acquired facts ready for co-ordination. Only I should modify the statement so that it would read, "with pupils who have no facts *already* co-ordinated." You seem to be of one mind with me when you add: "I fully agree with you that nothing should be mentioned which is not well understood." I also admit the truth of the latter part of your sentence, "yet the fact remains in practice that children learn much matter which they assimilate later in life." "Tis true, 'tis pity 'tis 'tis true." It is as clear and convincing a piece of evidence as one could well desire of the imperfection of our present method. But, as I have said above, I will deal with this subject in a very concrete way in the correspondence course on the teaching of Christian Doctrine, for in the teaching of catechism more than in the teaching of any other subject we compel the children to memorize much matter that they do not understand at the time and that they will not understand for years to come.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A Living Wage: Its Ethical and Economic Aspects. By the Rev. John Augustine Ryan, S. T. L., of the Archdiocese of St. Paul. New York : The Macmillan Company.

At the end of last May, Dr. Ryan submitted to the Catholic University of America, as a thesis for the Doctorate, a work entitled "The Living Wage: Its Ethical and Economic Aspects." The subject, as is evident, is a very vital one as well as practical. It is treated in a learned, scientific manner, with completeness and precision. The economic data made use of are based upon most comprehensive and recent statistics. The ethical considerations are studied even to their first principles and fundamental laws. His exposition is always clear and even in so complex a problem one finds no difficulty in following the different steps of the author. One feels that Dr. Ryan is master of his subject under all its aspects and that throughout his book he has studied the problem with something more than his intelligence, with his whole soul—the soul of a priest conscious that he is treating a question which interests human life and imposes obligations.

After a short historical introduction of the question, Dr. Ryan studies the basis, the nature and the content of the right to a living wage. This right of the laborer is based upon his very nature, upon his personal dignity. From the very fact that he is a man, the laborer has a right to life and consequently to the means sufficient to exercise that right. In actual social conditions, these means depend upon labor and the wages of the laborer. Any man, therefore, working in a normal manner has a strict right to a wage sufficient to preserve his life; a reasonable and human life in which all his faculties may have a normal and harmonious development; a right therefore to a wage which procures for him a decent livelihood.

On the other hand, from his nature, man is a social being—his life is complete only when it is associated with the lives of other men. Under ordinary conditions, man cannot develop normally without family relations. Family life is not an addition to his life, it is a part, a complement of it. Here the question is put, the question which has divided economists and moralists, and has been discussed at length in these latter times, especially among Catholics: has man a strict right to a wage which assures not only his own personal subsistence, but also that of his family. Evidently all Catholic moralists admit that there must be for the family some means of living and of living in a decent manner, and most of them

also admit that this family subsistence must be provided by reason of, and in connection with the wages of the head of the family. The point in question, then, is to know whether this connection is one of justice or one of charity. Has a workman a strict right to a wage which permits him to procure not only his personal subsistence, but also that of his family?

Dr. Ryan, adopting the conclusion of Abbé Pottier and other Catholic Sociologists, does not hesitate to affirm the following opinion: Every man having a right to human development, and family life being ordinarily a necessary part of human development, his work and consequently his wage, the normal means of his subsistence, must in strict justice provide for his family life as well as his personal life. And, taking as criterion the average number of children in a family, he concludes that the laborer's wages must be sufficient to support a family of four or five children. Basing his conclusions upon statistics, Dr. Ryan concludes that in the cities of America the just and normal wage will never fall below \$600.

Reviewing the actual conditions of economic life in America, he shows that a considerable number of workmen are underpaid, this situation being due in part to diverse economic elements—monopoly, introduction of machinery, etc.—and not to a lack of industrial resources. In connection with the problem of the distribution of wealth, the author examines the forces that regulate prices, sale, profits, interest, wages.

Finally on the subject of obligations corresponding to the right of the laborer, Dr. Ryan maintains that it belongs, first of all, to the employer to pay a living wage, since he principally profits by the work of the employee. Under this aspect the obligations of the loan-capitalist and of the land-owner are rather indirect. The laborer himself can help his cause by organization. It is finally the duty of the State to see that the workmen obtain a living wage and to compensate those workmen who do not get this wage.

In this statement, which we think accurate, of the author's principles, the main process of argumentation can easily be followed. In an article of this kind, however, we are unable to reproduce those cogent discussions of ethical principles which throughout the whole book hold the reader's attention. Still, in spite of all his clearness of presentation we do not believe that Dr. Ryan will convince all minds of his theory of a family wage, especially with the conclusion that, as a matter of strict justice, the wage must be paid entirely by the employer. This is no doubt the most important point in the whole discussion and the very point that will meet most controversy. A few difficulties that this theory does not seem to solve completely will be mentioned. First let us

examine briefly his theory of a personal living wage, as his theory of a family wage is but a logical consequence of this theory.

Dr. Ryan bases the right of the working man to a personal living wage not on the ground of social advantages, nor on the economic value of the work done, not even on the "common estimate" of what constitutes a just price for work, but on the personal dignity of the laborer as a man who has the natural right to possess the necessary requisites for a decent existence.

With Dr. Ryan we admit that in the work of man, his personal dignity is a most essential factor. There shall never be too much protest against the theories of the liberal school which sees in the work of the employee nothing more than an economic utility, like the work of a mere machine. His work is, above all, a human effort, in which his personality has a share. With his work the laborer gives, so to speak, his whole life, his intellectual and moral as well as his physical forces to the service of his employer. Hence strict justice demands that the remuneration should be adequate to the effort; that is, it should be sufficient for the support and betterment of his human personality. We believe, however, that the economic value of the work produced is also an essential element which has to be considered in the fixation of the wage. We must not forget that in the question of wage two parties are interested, the employer and the employee. For the employee the wage is a necessary means of support and progress, and as such must under normal conditions procure for him the necessary requisites of a decent livelihood. For the employer it is a means of production and is supposed to give him some economic advantage. It is in securing these advantages for the employer that we find some difficulty in the position taken by Dr. Ryan.

To our mind the proportion between the work produced and the wage given depends on two regulating factors—the decent support of the laborer as the ultimate regulating element, since work is precisely the natural means for man to procure this support, and secondly, the economic value of the work as the proximate regulating element. Evidently these two elements, though distinct, can never be separated; the economic value of the laborer's work is always the economic value of human work. Therefore the wages of the laborer in normal conditions can never be lower than the requisites a decent livelihood demands. Here we find the argument of Dr. Ryan clear and decisive. But if we suppose this condition fulfilled, it seems that the consideration of the personal dignity of the laborer only is insufficient to determine a fixation of wage and a recourse to the economic value becomes necessary and is demanded by the nature of the contract itself. What will determine,

for instance, the degree and increase in wages? The needs and development of the laborer? They may remain the same, and let us suppose that the needs of two laborers are equal and the work of one much more valuable than the other, will the wage, in that case, be the same? Will the personal effort or ability of the laborer determine the increase in wages? These elements must in justice be considered, but how can they be measured except by the economic value of the work produced? And how could the employer be obliged in justice to measure the effort and ability of the workman but by the advantages which result to him from them? We do not see, therefore, in the fixation of a just wage that it would be possible to leave aside or even not to consider as essential the element of the economic value of the labor performed; an economic value which would have to be appreciated by both employer and employee.

The personal dignity and the essential needs of the laborer being considered as the only, or at least, the fundamental and immediate law or basis of this strict right to a living wage, it is very natural to conclude that this living wage must be in strict justice a family wage, since family life is an element and an essential need for the natural development of human life. Such also is the conclusion of Dr. Ryan, who maintains that every adult laborer in normal conditions, whether he intends to marry or not, has a strict right to a wage sufficient for the support of a family consisting of his wife and four or five children—this number representing the average size of the laborer's family.

This same opinion has been defended by many prominent Catholic Sociologists, especially by Abbé Pottier in his treatise "*De Jure et Justitia*" and by Verhaegen in his "*Le Minimum de Salaire*."

We admit that the head of a family as such, has by his work a natural right to the support of his family. On this special point the reasoning of Dr. Ryan is convincing. Now, if the head of a family has by the very fact that he is a head of a family, a natural right to the support of his family, it seems logical to conclude that the wage received must be proportionate to the size of the family in each particular case. But Dr. Ryan with other defenders of a family wage avoids the practical difficulties involved in such a conclusion by having recourse to the theory of the "average family." Rights, he says, have to be interpreted according to the average conditions of human life. We confess that we are by no means satisfied with this solution. It seems that there is here a confusion between "average" and "normal" conditions, which is dangerous. The rights of the head of the family, as such, are directly determined by the very conditions of his own family, as long as these conditions are normal; and these normal conditions in the question of the number of children are in no way determined by the average. We

do not, indeed, deny the practical difficulties of such a conclusion in our present social organization; but we must remember that the social organization must not suppress or weaken any natural right, but rather it should be adapted, as prudently and advantageously as possible, to the exercise of these natural rights.

This difficulty, however, is only a secondary one. The fundamental question is whether the wage necessary for the laborer to support his family, to which he has certainly a natural right, is due to him from the employer and by way of strict commutative justice. Dr. Ryan's answer is affirmative, and is logically so for anybody who maintains that the immediate basis of the salary rests on the needs of the laborer. But, we must remember that the wage contract is effected between both the laborer and the employer; that its immediate object is a certain amount of work to be produced by the laborer for the employer. As we have already said, this work, being on the part of the laborer an exercise, in which his personality plays a part, and, being for him the natural means of his human development, it is never adequately rewarded by the employer unless the wage paid is at least sufficient to preserve and develop this human personality; it seems, however, that strict commutative justice is respected when the wage paid is proportionate to the economic value of the work and this economic value is adequate to the personal efforts and needs of the laborer.

It is true that the laborer can be and ordinarily is, or is destined to be, head of a family. In these circumstances he has the natural duty and right to provide, by means of his labor, for the necessary support of his family. Let us remark, however, that there is a difference between the natural duty of man to preserve and develop his life—which is imposed directly on every individual, and the natural duty of raising a family which is imposed on men taken in general and only indirectly on every individual. Anyhow, when he has founded a family, every man has the duty as well as the right to support it decently. But, it is evident that his work as the immediate object of the wage-contract between laborer and employer, is in no way affected by that circumstance. As an individual or as head of a family, the laborer produces the same amount of work; how then could the employer as such be obliged in strict justice to take into account a condition which is of no advantage to him? It is true that we cannot separate in man the individual from the head of the family; but it is evident that the contract has been made between the employer and the laborer considered primarily as a person able to furnish a certain amount of work for which he will receive a wage adequate to its value and to his needs as a laborer.

Yet we would maintain, as already said, that the laborer as head of a family has a natural right and duty to support his family decently;

that his work is the natural means for him to obtain this decent support; that his wage therefore must be a decent family wage. But this right to a family wage is not based on the work-contract between the employer as such and the laborer as such. It is based on the relations which exist between the laborer as a member of society, as a member who fulfills the duty of head of a family, on the one side; and on the other side the employer, as another member of the same society, a member, who by his position in the social organization, is the chief agent relatively to his employees, of the support that society is bound to procure to each one of its members, according to their place and part in its organization.

In this case the family wage would be a natural right of the laborer; it would have to be paid by the employer. But, as family wage, it would be neither an object of commutative justice nor an object of charity, but an object of social justice. It is the end of any society to order its organization in such a manner as to realize the situation which enables the laborer to exercise all his natural rights and the employer to fulfill all his duties.

As we have already said, it has not been our intention to offer objections, and much less another theory, to the principles and conclusions of Dr. Ryan, but rather to make known some difficulties Dr. Ryan's argument does not seem to meet. It would be remarkable to find a theory entirely satisfactory in such a complex problem. We consider Dr. Ryan's book to be a model of the deep and up-to-date treatment which should be applied to the diverse moral and social problems of the day. And we do not hesitate to say that his work is one of the best on the social problem of the living wage that has appeared in recent times.

HOLY CROSS COLLEGE.

GEORGE M. SAUVAGE.

The Ghost in Hamlet and other Essays in Comparative Literature. By Maurice Francis Egan, LL. D. Chicago : McClurg, 1906. Pp. 325. Price \$1.00.

Within the last quarter of a century the comparative study of literature has attained a place of special prominence in the literary world. Since the publication of Posnett's "Comparative Literature," in 1886, this subject has attracted a constantly increasing degree of attention. And the work thus far done has opened up new fields of investigation and has brought into closer harmony two departments of study which had long been considered mutually exclusive—Literature and Science. The present volume by Dr. Egan is an excellent illustration of the scientific treatment of literature. It is made up of ten essays: *The Ghost in Hamlet*; *Some Phases of Shakespearean Interpretation*; *Some Pedagogical Uses of Shakespeare*; *Lyrism in Shakespeare's Comedies*;

The Puzzle of Hamlet; The Greatest of Shakespeare's Contemporaries; Imitators of Shakespeare; The Comparative Method in Literature; A Definition of Literature; The Ebb and Flow of Romance.

It will be observed that seven of these essays deal with subjects relating to the great English dramatist of the sixteenth century; one, the last, with the origin and varying manifestations of a single literary movement to which has been given the name of Romanticism; and two with the broader topics of the definition of literature and the method by which it may be most profitably studied. These last two essays are specially important as presenting the author's view-point. For this reason they might, perhaps, more properly be placed at the beginning of the volume. The aim of the first is to find "a working definition of literature." And here Dr. Egan points out very clearly the difficulties of prescribing the limits of a field so vast and in which so many influences are at work. "Literature is so closely the expression of life and the changing conditions of life that we can hardly limit it except by life itself." And having called attention to grave defects in some widely accepted definitions he adds: "I am not sure that the big word literature can be defined at all—I am not certain that the great and ever-changing subject it stands for will ever be rigidly described. But it seems to me that today literature is the expression in writing of thought, experience, observation, emotion, mood, knowledge personally expressed." "The Comparative Method in Literature" is a clear exposition of just what the title indicates. And the whole book is an example of the application of this method.

One fundamental principle runs throughout all these essays—the necessity of viewing any work of literature in its proper historical setting. In the seven essays dealing with Shakespearean subjects this principle is repeated in various forms and rigorously applied. A book is not the accidental product of an individual mind. It is the result of many factors—philosophical, religious, political, social and personal. "Every book has its pedigree; and the ancestors of books, like the ancestors of persons, cannot be uprooted from the soil in which they grew; they are of the climate, of the time."

Another idea constantly recurring in these pages, as it has appeared in one of Dr. Egan's earlier works entitled "Studies in Literature," is the close relationship that exists between literature and religion. A single quotation will illustrate the almost universal manifestation of this idea: "Life is the pulse of literature—literature marks the movements of the tendencies of life. . . . Life has always turned to God; and literature, echoing life, has always written the symbol of God. Life expressed by Aeschylus is far from the life that made Racine as he was;

life changing with Job is a far different life from the life that Faust loved; and yet from Caedmon to Milton, from Pindar's Odes to Wordsworth's 'Intimations of Immortality,' life turns to the First Cause. St. Augustine expresses His beauty; Dante His splendor and justice; and Longfellow, drawn by that chain which binds genius to Him, shows His halo on the brow of faithful womanhood."

The method of these essays is inductive rather than deductive. The examples drawn from literature are typical, and though, as a rule, not worked out in detail—for they are numerous—present the appearance not so much of mere examples in support of principles laid down, as of concrete illustrations of the method employed in arriving at these conclusions.

The author's name is in itself a sufficient guarantee of the clearness and purity of the style, while frequent delicate touches of humor lend added pleasure to the reading of every page. For the student of literature this little volume is full of valuable suggestions; for the casual reader it contains much knowledge that is interesting and useful.

JOHN J. O'BRIEN.

The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest. By Thomas Hodgkin, D. C. L., Litt. D. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. Pp. 528, index and maps.

In the plan of the publishers this is the first volume of the series which is to comprise a new political history of England. In a previous number of the BULLETIN one installment was briefly noticed. Though the present work covers a familiar field, it makes not a few additions to our knowledge of early Britain. Its short chapter on the prehistoric foreworld is, of course, only tentative in character, and, from time to time, will be modified by further discoveries.

The account of Cæsar's invasions is supplemented by a scholarly note concerning his points of arrival and departure. On the obscure century following this event the industry of the numismatist and the archaeologist has even now shed considerable light, and the pick-axe and the spade will, it is hoped, compel that buried century ultimately to yield even more important secrets.

When, after the lapse of ninety-seven years, the curtain is once more lifted, we find the legions of Aulus Plautius engaged in the actual conquest of the island. From this date, A. D. 43, until 407, when the last of the legionaries turned his back upon Britain, the narrative is ample and interesting. Though the author does not deny that in the second century there were in the island converts to the new faith, and

though he believes that, as elsewhere in the empire, Christianity must by the next century have become the dominant religion in Britain, he dismisses as the fable of a later age the request of King Lucius for missionaries. Thus vanish from the page of history the familiar names of Fagan and Dervan. Even St. Alban appears to rest uneasily in his place.

Concerning the Anglo-Saxon conquest the time-honored authorities are severely interrogated. These yield but a somewhat sterile and disjointed narrative. The entertaining story of Vortigern and Rowena, with other parts of the relation of Nennius, are appraised as of no higher historical value than the tales of the Arabian Nights. From his researches the author has no assurance that even King Arthur "ever really was," but admits that his strong arm may have arrested at Mount Badon the West Saxon career of conquest. On this interesting subject the Chronicle, probably from motives of national vanity, is entirely silent.

In discussing the substitution of races the author asks the startling question, "Are the Englishmen of today pure Saxons and Angles or partly Celts?" From the movements of population then taking place on the continent the author *conjectures* that "there was an immense transference of Teutonic family life from the lands bordering on the Elbe to the banks of the Thames, the Humber and the Tyne." He does not, however, altogether agree with Freeman that at the end of the sixth century the Celtic inhabitants of eastern Britain were "as nearly extirpated as a nation can be." It is shown that physiological investigations do not confirm the hypothesis of Freeman, that it is not supported by the study of institutions, for non-Teutonic elements (Roman or Celtic) are embedded in the character of the Anglo-Saxon state, and even the slaughter at Anderida is not deemed conclusive. Finally the admission of the historian of the Norman Conquest that the Anglo-Saxon invaders would spare British women to be either wives or concubines is fatal to the popular notion that the Englishman of to-day is a pure-blooded Teuton. It might be added that if Dr. Hodgkin had looked a few generations beyond the scope of his own work, he would have taken note of the later infusion of French blood, and have emphasized the undoubted fact that all the followers of William were not Normans. Indeed, in another connection he notices that at Hastings the Normans were ranged in the centre, the Bretons on the left and the Frenchmen on the right. In concluding his interesting discussion the author says: "When we thus review the circumstances of the Saxon conquest, and especially when we remember the immense influx of Celtic blood which we have received in later centuries from the Gael and the Erse folk, we may

perhaps conclude that we should accept and glory in the term Anglo-Celt rather than Anglo-Saxon, as the fitting designation of our race."

Another opinion long entertained, and in the provincial parts of the English-speaking world still cherished, is that the development of the sentiment of national unity is to be ascribed to political characteristics exclusively Anglo-Saxon. This author, however, holds that the bonds of union were "the influence of the national Christian Church and the necessity of self-defense against the Scandinavian invaders." The mere possibility of such a thing will be a severe shock to the traditional opinions arrayed in scientific garb by Professor Burgess, who recommended the disfranchisement of the non-Teutonic elements in our population.

The section which discusses Celtic Christianity, so far as it affected Britain, and the three great churchmen, Wilfrid, Theodore and Cuthbert, is ample and interesting. In balancing the advantages and disadvantages of Roman Christianity the author agrees in substance with Green.

Of the *dooms* of Ethelbert there is an instructive account; this subject is more fully developed in discussing the legislation of King Ine and his illustrious descendant Alfred. The author notices also the familiar fact that Roman missionaries first taught the Anglo-Saxons to commit their laws to writing. The notes upon Anglo-Saxon money will be found of value to the student. For the reader of political history the account of Bede, Caedmon and Cynewulf is sufficiently complete.

There is no attempt to disparage either the achievements or the character of St. Dunstan; indeed, the author unqualifiedly states that for twenty-eight years the great abbot ruled the Church of England with "eminent wisdom and success." It is admitted that the churchman's energies were felt in a wider field, but it is justly observed that if his biographers had curtailed somewhat their description of the miracles which they ascribe to him, and had told more concerning those political questions which his genius had influenced, the Saint's present reputation for statesmanship would be even greater than it is.

Those chapters which discuss the era of the boy-kings and the establishment of the Danish line are presented in a manner at once impartial and interesting. There is an admirable summary of Anglo-Saxon institutions as they existed at the time of the Norman conquest. The author's account of that event does not differ greatly from the familiar description by previous historians. An appendix devotes a few pages to a critical estimate of the principal authorities upon which the work is based. There can be no doubt that the present volume is a valuable contribution to the political history of England.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

The Principles of Christianity. By the Rev. A. B. Sharpe, M. A.
London and Edinburgh: Sands and Company; St. Louis, Mo.:
B. Herder. \$1.00.

This is the first of a series of Expository Essays in Christian Philosophy, edited by the Rev. Francis Aveling, D. D., and designed to cover the rational ground-work of the Christian religion. If the book before us is a fair sample of the series as a whole, the succeeding volumes will undoubtedly meet with a warm welcome from all who are interested in popular Christian Apologetics. The work, in fact, is not merely expository, but largely apologetic, and this, in our opinion, adds greatly to its value and timeliness. How small is the number, even of educated Catholics, who hold a philosophic conception of the truths that form the object of their faith. How rare to find a lay Catholic who is properly equipped to defend the fundamental principles of his religion. There is no doubt that a great deal of practical apostasy is due to ignorance of religious principles. Hence the crying need of just such works as the one under consideration.

Father Sharpe's treatment of his subject-matter conforms admirably to the purpose set forth by the projectors of the series, to make the appeal throughout to common sense and philosophic thought. Within these limits he makes out a very strong case for the reasonableness of Christianity.

The scope of the work is best seen by a survey of the contents which include a discussion of the existence of God, of the soul of man, of religion and morals, of revelation, of faith, of free will, of evil, and of miracles and mysticism. Father Sharpe has omitted all references, preferring to rest his case, as he says, on "the intrinsic persuasiveness" of his considerations, rather than on "any weight of authority." He distinctly disclaims any originality; but his method of marshalling all the well known arguments with strict regard to logical sequence, yet so lucidly that even the untrained mind cannot fail to follow the reasoning with ease and pleasure, may well be viewed as something quite original in its way. His method is not merely expository, but, also, and predominantly perhaps, controversial. This feature will certainly appeal very forcibly to candid thinkers who know that nothing is permanently gained for the cause of truth by blinking the difficulties its actual interpretation may raise; and who are concerned to see a fair-minded presentation of what may be called the apparent facts against Christianity. In the treatment of every Christian doctrine, Father Sharpe first gives the proof, and then takes up the various objections it has occasioned, whether on the score of reason or science. Each of these objections is fairly met,

and, on the whole, satisfactorily answered. Nor does Father Sharpe overrate the value of the arguments on their rational side; he is careful to exclude all sweeping statement, all exaggeration, and all claim to finality in the form of any argument. Over and above the support he finds in pure reason, he very properly insists on the necessity of that peculiar insight, which we call the gift of Faith, for producing, in the believing soul, a conviction of the objective truth of revealed doctrines.

It is almost invidious to find fault with a work so admirably conceived and executed. In the chapter on the existence of God, too much weight is assigned to the argument from the consensus of mankind. Whatever be the argumentative value of the process of "unconscious reasoning" by which it is asserted that the savage mind reaches a knowledge of God, it is plain that the deity of a fetish worshiper has absolutely no feature in common with the God of Christianity. In the chapter on Free Will, the theological difficulty is disposed of too summarily. For most men, this is the greatest of all the difficulties that occur in connection with the problem of moral liberty.

It is refreshing to note the absence of any contemptuous reference to opponents, especially to scientific thinkers, who, as a rule, fare so badly at the hands of Christian apologists, even in this tolerant age. Father Sharpe's arguments gain greatly in convincing force by reason of his fairness and courtesy, for nothing so weakens an otherwise good cause as recourse to personal abuse.

MATTHIAS LEIMKÜHLER.

The God of Philosophy. By the Rev. Francis Aveling, D. D. London and Edinburgh: Sands and Company; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. \$1.00.

This is the second volume of the series of Expository Essays in Christian Philosophy. As an original contribution to the discussion of the theistic problem, it has little merit, since it adheres very closely to the classic line of reasoning elaborated by the schoolmen; but as presenting the Christian argument for the existence and personality of God in a strictly logical, yet elementary form, it is a very valuable and timely work. As the author observes: "There are not wanting even those who call themselves Christians who picture to themselves a sort of glorified human being as their God." And he ascribes the prevalence of this anthropomorphic conception of God to "a persistent loose usage of terms, a vaguely popular and loose theology on the part of its exponents, and a slothful negligence and intellectual carelessness

on the part of those taught" (p. 178). A perusal of Father Aveling's work will go far to correct, if not to eliminate, this crude notion of God. The appeal throughout is to pure reason. All proofs that might be drawn from mysticism are discarded as offering no rational explanation.

After an introductory chapter setting forth the tendencies of modern thought as affecting philosophic speculation in general, Father Aveling proceeds, in the next three chapters, to discuss briefly, yet fully, the basic principles of reasoning and thought upon which the validity of the theistic argument ultimately rests. In the remaining eleven chapters he confines himself strictly to an exposition of the various proofs for the existence and personality of God, such as they are found in any handbook of Christian philosophy. While none of the proofs can claim any originality in substance or form, they are all, with but one exception, presented so succinctly and with such a wealth of analogical elucidation as to bring them easily within the comprehension of a mind untrained in abstruse reasoning. Chapter X, which sets forth the argument from perfection of being, is the only one which seems quite beyond the grasp of the class of readers to whom the book will mainly appeal. It might have been hard, from the very nature of the argument, to give it a less abstruse form. Moreover, if we consider that the argument is very questionable because its philosophic basis is Plato's theory of Ideas, which has long ceased to have more than a historical interest in philosophy, we cannot help wishing that it had been entirely omitted.

The examination of the evolution hypothesis, which occupies a good part of Chapter VIII, does not impress one as being fairly made. While all the metaphysical reasons that seemingly tell against the hypothesis are set forth with much detail and considerable emphasis, nothing is said of the reasons that influence so many thinkers of the day to hold firmly to it as offering the masterkey to a scientific view of the universe. In the light of its numerous and distinguished following, the mere assertion that "it is unproved and unfounded in fact," and that very little can be advanced in its support, is scarcely convincing. Moreover the repeated qualification it receives of being a merely *popular* theory, conveys the false impression to those, who know nothing of its literature, that it is a fashionable prejudice of the half-educated. In connection with this we are led to find fault, on the same score of one-sided treatment, with the work as a whole for tacitly ignoring the various objections to which the classic arguments for the existence and nature of God have given rise. Besides being told that "the particular line of reasoning to be employed" in

each problem will lead to "a conclusion, which, in every case, will be found a sufficient and satisfactory answer to our original question," the reader, if he is in any way acquainted with the drift of modern thought, will want to know why, as a matter of fact, so many of the world's great thinkers have found these same solutions insufficient and unsatisfactory.

It is to be regretted that the book has no index. The marginal notes are too few and too arbitrary to serve any useful purpose in the way of facilitating reference.

MATTHIAS LEIMKÜHLER.

State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina (1776-1781).

By Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, Ph. D. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press, 1906. Pp. 155.

These numbers of Series XXIV, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, will be found exceedingly useful to the student of American institutions. At a time like the present, when one is accustomed to novelties in constitutional construction it may be profitable occasionally to re-examine some of the old landmarks and endeavor to ascertain what the framers of the Constitution and their contemporaries thought of the plan of government proposed by the convention of 1787.

The situation in North Carolina immediately after its rejection of the Constitution has hitherto been somewhat obscure. Even the more serious investigations of that period afford little information. An examination of Dr. Wagstaff's essay not only throws considerable light upon conditions in that State, but shows that the academic objections of 1788 are not precisely those which one is now accustomed to hear. By the Hillsboro convention of that year the Constitution was rejected in the belief that the proposed government would oppress the individual. A change in the sentiment of the State, however, led in November, 1789, to a ratification of the new fundamental law.

The author discusses with considerable ability and fairness the attitude of North Carolina upon the more important questions of State and Federal policy which arose between her ratification of the Constitution and the passage in May, 1861, of the ordinance of secession. To students of American history the great national issues are fairly familiar. The political and economic forces at work within that commonwealth, however, are not so well known. The history of parties, sketched in these chapters, and the distribution of the vote upon some of the great questions of *ante bellum* days form no small part of the value of this instructive study. Nor is its value im-

paired by an occasional slip of the proof-reader, such, for instance, as that which refers to the year 1784 the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain.

CHAS. H. MCCARTHY.

Christ the Preacher. Sermons for every Sunday of the Ecclesiastical Year by Rev. D. S. Phelan. B. Herder : St. Louis, 1905. 8°, pp. 566.

Short Sermons. By the Rev. F. P. Hickey, O. S. B., with introduction by the Rt. Rev. J. C. Hedley, O. S. B. New York : Benziger, 1906. 8°, pp. 268.

Plain Practical Sermons. By Rt. Rev. Mgr. John A. Sheppard, V. G. New York : Pustet, 3d. ed., 1907. 8°, pp. 534.

Sermons. By the Most Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, (new ed.). New York : Benziger, 1907. 8°, pp. 510.

The Lover of Souls. Short Conferences on the Sacred Heart of Jesus. By Rev. Henry Brinkmeyer. New York : Benziger, 1906. 8°, pp. 180.

A volume of occasional sermons is scarcely a fair criterion of the theological learning, the oratorical style, or the personal influence of the preacher. Such works are frequently fragmentary and unequal in character, and without unity of conception. When collected and edited by their authors, the defects inherent in their nature are sometimes relieved by a judicious choice of subjects, a certain harmony and logical sequence, as well as by careful editing both as to matter and form. These four volumes are neither better nor worse than many others of the same class—nor is this an insignificant word of praise. It means that there is in them an abundance of solid and opportune Christian teaching, a suitable theological learning, a diction worthy of the subjects treated, moderation in argument, and gravity of presentation. Nearly every such volume is worthy of a wide circulation, not alone among the friends and acquaintances of the writer, but among the general public, for it contains, as a rule, many golden truths, pithily and eloquently put, apostolic seeds of Christian life destined to sprout one day in fertile soil and to yield a rich fruitage of virtue.

Lectures on the Holy Eucharist. By Charles Coupe, S. J., M. A., edited by Hatherley More. New York : Benziger, 1906. 8°, pp. 248.

These sixteen lectures on the Holy Eucharist deal with the Old Testament prophecies, Christ's promise, the testimony of St. Paul, the fact and nature of Transubstantiation, the evidence of the ancient liturgies and the early Christian fathers, the feast of Corpus Christi, etc. Their editor says rightly that they are "unmarred by a single

unkind word about opponents (and) march uncompromisingly in logical sequence from prophecy to fulfillment, from promise to performance, from doctrine to dogma, from dogma to devotion." It is a pity that the little volume has not an index.

La Devotion Au Sacre Coeur De Jesus, Doctrine-Histoire, par J. V. Bainvel. Paris : G. Beauchesne et Cie, 1906. 8°, pp. 373.

In these pages Fr. Bainvel, of the Society of Jesus, and professor of theology at the Institut Catholique of Paris, presents in a compact way the substance of Catholic doctrine concerning the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The first part of the work treats of the visions of the Blessed Margaret Mary, her writings, the material forms of the devotion, the famous promises, the proper object of the devotion, its bases or "fondements" (historical, dogmatic, philosophical), the intimate characteristic or "actus proprius" of the devotion. In the second part are found interesting particulars concerning the growth of this devotion since the eleventh or twelfth century, particularly in the course of the seventeenth. The two concluding chapters are devoted to the origins of the devotion, as now known, through Blessed Margaret Mary, and its history in the last two centuries. This little work is quite a répertoire, not alone of the theology and practice of this devotion, but of the numerous discussions and problems that it has aroused from time to time. Unlike the average work of devotion, this volume is provided with several pages of very useful bibliographical references (2-8, 358-365), and in general the exposé abounds in documentary illustration. Few of the many books on the devotion are equally useful to the student of theology and Ecclesiastical history. Fr. Bainvel writes with moderation and discretion; his volume is a very good contribution to the rich literature on this subject.

A Second Thebald, being a popular account of the ancient monasteries of Ireland, by Rev. James P. Rushe, O. D. C. New York : Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 291.

In the absence of a complete and critical "*Monasticon Hibernicum*" this popular account of the numerous medieval religious houses of Ireland is very welcome. It gives briefly certain indispensable historical items concerning the ancient monastic shrines of Ireland, the houses of the Canons Regular, and the later medieval establishments of the Norbertines, Knights Hospitaller of St. John, the Trinitarians, Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Carmelites. A concluding chapter is devoted to the facts and the causes of the

suppression of the Irish monastic establishments under Henry VIII and subsequent rulers of Ireland. A map of monastic Ireland accompanies the volume, and it has a good index.

The author would have done well to add a chapter descriptive of the historical sources, printed and manuscript, whence this interesting lore is drawn. For lack of such helpful information and guidance the curiosity excited by such books runs waste; the reader can not easily penetrate to the regions whence the information flows, and so returns no more to a subject that for a time had fascinated him.

Thoughts from Modern Martyrs. Edited and Arranged by James Anthony Walsh, M. Ap. Boston : Catholic Foreign Mission Bureau, 1906. 16mo, pp. 112.

Good thoughts well expressed are always edifying. They are doubly so when they come from those whose noble deeds bear out the sincerity of their words. Such teachings may be found in the dainty little volume, *Thoughts from Modern Martyrs*, which recounts briefly the lives of three young French missionaries cut short by glorious martyrdom, and quotes a number of their spiritual thoughts culled from their letters to relatives and friends.

These three martyrs were contemporaries. Two of them were close friends, Juste de Bretenières, son of a well-to-do baron in Burgundy, and Henri Dorie, born in the Vendée of a poor salt-maker, both of whom were beheaded in Corea, March the eighth, 1866, the former in the twenty-eighth, the latter in the twenty-sixth, year of his age. The other, Théophane Vénard, the son of a village schoolmaster near Tours, was beheaded in Tonquin in 1861, when only thirty-two years old.

These young heroes were enthusiasts in their devotion to their lofty, perilous apostolate. Like St. Ignatius of old, they faced martyrdom unflinchingly, with feelings of joy and exultation. "Pray that I may be a martyr," writes Juste de Bretenières, "and that no one may know it." Equally striking is this thought of Henri Dorie, "Already a price is set upon my head; but what of it? Only pray for me that I may win my palm." In a similar strain young Father Vénard wrote from his cage, "I should have been very happy to go on working for you; so deeply do I love this Tonquin mission. But now, instead of the sweat of my brow, I give them my blood. The sword hangs over my head, but I have no fear. God has taken pity on my weakness and filled me with Himself, so that I am happy, even joyous."

This little volume is to be commended to readers, both lay and clerical. Its modest price brings it within reach of all.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Briefs for Our Times. By Morgan M. Sheedy. New York : T. Whittaker, 1906. 12mo, pp. 237.

Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy is one of those pastors who manage to find time in their daily occupations to devote to literary work. The latest result of these side-labors is the volume entitled *Briefs for Our Times*, consisting of thirty-eight short sermons, chiefly on moral subjects. The author writes with an easy, graceful style. He knows how to make effective use of the short, pithy sentence. After citing his scripture text, he opens his subject easily and naturally, and having said what he has to say, brings his message to a quick and happy end. Many of these talks are excellent models of short sermon writing, which young priests might study with benefit.

In the subject-matter, the author does not strive after a dazzling display of erudition. His object is to present to the common run of men and women the simple, homely truths that lie at the basis of Christian life. He shows wide sympathies, has considerable to say on the mutual relations of rich and poor, of capitalist and laborer, never indulging in arguments too profound to be grasped by the plain man of today. His quiet moralizing is made to rest on fundamental Christian principles accepted alike by Catholics and Protestants. They are a good example of what can be accomplished in the way of non-sectarian preaching. Not all are of equal merit. Sermons like *The Ugly Vice*, *The House of Mirth*, fall considerably below the standard of others, such as *A Mother's Love*, *How to Win the Crown*, *Above All Names*. But it is the superior ones that predominate.

The book is carefully and neatly printed. There is a mistake, however, in the text of *Hebrews*, 13: 1, as cited on page twenty-one, "Let the charity of the brotherhood abide in me." *You* should be substituted for *me* to square with the sacred text.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Addresses to Cardinal Newman, With His Replies. Edited by Rev. W. P. Neville. New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1905. 12mo, pp. 321.

This little volume, which in regular octavo form would count but half its number of pages, is likely to prove much more interesting to the Fathers of the Oratory than to the reading public at large. One can readily understand how the members of the religious community which Cardinal Newman founded, and over which he presided for years with such paternal affection, learned from long and intimate association to love him dearly for his many excellent qualities of heart, as well as to admire him for his superb gifts of mind. And this in-

tense devotion to their religious father naturally led them to make much of every honor that came to him, and to prize highly every written thought, every recorded saying, of their beloved master. Hence the idea conceived by Father Neville of publishing in a volume the letters and utterances of Cardinal Newman, which were occasioned by the numerous expressions of good-will, public and private, that were offered him in congratulation for his promotion in 1879 to the cardinalate. Father Neville, sad to say, did not live to see the publication of the materials which he had brought together with loving care; but not long after his death, two Oratorians, whose names are withheld, finished the work and gave it to the public.

As a tribute of affection to the memory of the greatest English churchman of modern times, this little volume commands sympathy. But judged by its intrinsic merits, it does not stand in the first rank. Most of the letters and addresses of congratulation—and they make up more than half the contents—are of but passing interest. And the replies by the illustrious cardinal himself are not of a kind to add lustre to his unrivalled fame as a writer. They could hardly be otherwise, composed in the feebleness of old age, mostly under pressure and in poor health, consisting from the nature of the case of little more than conventional expressions of thanks, and hence calling for little variety or depth of thought. Even the longer and more formal addresses,—as for example the sermon, to the seminarians of Birmingham,—are not to be compared with the noble discourses of his earlier years. The chief value of the work is the material it offers to the historian for the study of the declining years of one of the most lovable and saintly, as well as of the most talented of men.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

A Manual of Theology for the Laity. By Rev. P. Geiermann, C. SS. R.
New York : Benziger Brothers, 1906. 12mo. pp. 408.

The object which prompted the author to prepare this little work is an excellent one, namely, to put in the hands of busy men and women a clear, succinct exposition of Catholic doctrine. A book of this kind to be popular must not be diffuse, must not be burdened with the erudite apparatus of theological treatises. It must be divided into short sections, allowing of frequent interruption. It must be couched in simple, direct language, as free as possible from the technical phraseology of the schools. In this little manual, the author has met these requirements very fairly, and has produced a work that ought to find a large circle of readers.

For its size, the book contains an astonishing variety of questions, treated under three main heads: the Fundamental Ideas of Religion, Revealed Religion, and the True Religion of Today, that is, the Catholic Church with its dogmatic and moral teaching. The treatment of every topic ends with the brief statement of objections and their equally brief answers. In this way, the author succeeds in giving a lively, popular exposition of many subjects belonging to fundamental, biblical, dogmatic and moral theology.

Few books are perfect; and with its many good features, this little work might still be considerably improved. Some of the answers to objections might easily be made more pertinent, more instructive, less curt, less flippant. Take, for example, this objection and answer: "Thought is a secretion of the brain.—Better have your brain examined" (p. 96). Again, is it altogether dignified to meet the agnostic's objection, "We can have no certitude in this world," by commending him without ado to the solicitude of his friends, or to a home for the feeble minded? (p. 31). Do not answers like these,—and they are numerous enough,—tend rather to repel than to satisfy?

Again, is it wise, or fair, or correct to condemn as contrary to revealed teaching and sound reason the theory of evolution without any discrimination, especially when some of the keenest of Christian scholars, both within and without the pale of the Church, favor theistic evolution? (pp. 92, 281). A narrow intolerance toward this weighty question, in defiance of the overwhelming authority of the best biologists of today, is apt to do little good, and much harm.

What the author says of Melchisedech (p. 164) is apt to convey to the mind of the ordinary reader that archeological evidence has been found confirming the Bible story of the existence in Palestine in Abraham's day of a priest-king called Melchisedech. Such an impression would be wholly erroneous. The Tell el-Amarna tablets, of which there is here question, date from about 1400 B. C., at least five hundred years after the traditional time of Abraham. They make mention neither of Melchisedech nor of a priest-king of Salem said by our author to have been directly chosen by God. There is mention of Uru-Salem, which scholars identify with Jerusalem. It is from this city that its Canaanite governor, Abdi-hiba,—whether priest or king does not appear,—sends some of these tablets to his liege lord, the king of Egypt. He protests to the king that he has been falsely accused of treason by his enemies, and says: "Behold, as for me neither my father nor my mother set me in this place; the arm of the mighty king established me in my father's house. Wherefore, then, should I do evil to the lord my king?" It is on the basis of this text, which

obviously expresses Abdi-hiba's obligation to the Egyptian king and nothing more, that some scholars, following Professor Sayce, have wrongly made out Abdi-hiba to have been a priest-king like Melchisedech. (Cf. Driver, *Book of Genesis*, pp. 167-168). The term "cruciform tablets" which occurs in this part of Father Geiermann's text is plainly a typographical error.

While the arrangement of subjects treated is generally good, individual topics seem here and there to be out of place. Thus questions such as the Attributes of God, Immortality of the Soul, Free Will, found at present under the heading, Revealed Religion, would be more appropriately placed in the first part, Fundamental Ideas of Religion. One does not see why the treatment of Indulgences should be separated from that of Penance, Confession and Satisfaction by the interposition of topics like Extreme Unction, Holy Orders and Matrimony. The treatment of Divorce naturally should follow that of Matrimony, but it occurs fifty pages earlier where the sixth precept of the Church is discussed. If subjects like these be kept apart, cross references should be employed to help the reader.

Fulness of treatment is, of course, not to be obtained in so compact a manual, but here and there more might be made of the allotted space, and if necessary, a supplementary topic inserted. Thus matrimony might be treated more effectively and completely. It is not happily defined. Its nature is not clearly set forth. Nothing is said of the proper preparation for the sacrament, nothing of the celebration of marriage with a Nuptial Mass.

These are faults that can be easily remedied. A future edition embodying the improvements suggested will greatly enhance the merits of this useful little manual.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

The Religion of the Plain Man. By Father Robert Hugh Benson.
New York: Benziger Brothers, 1906. 12mo, pp. ix, 164.

The distinguished convert, Father Benson, is already well known to American readers from his clever literary contributions to the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. This new work will but serve to increase his popularity.

It is meant, as the author tells us in the preface, for the "man in the street," unable to discourse profoundly on the Fathers, or to pronounce a discriminating judgment on disputed questions of exegesis and of theological reasoning; whose religious views are based partly on emotion, partly on imagination, to some extent on Scripture, to a less degree on reason; whose yearnings after the true religion have

not been satisfied in Protestant systems, whose knowledge of the Catholic Church is not full enough to suggest the remedy for his spiritual unrest.

To appeal more directly to this class of Christians, the author constructs an imaginary plain man, whom he calls John—one, by the way, who despite the author's intentions, proves to be decidedly more intelligent and better informed than the average plain man,—and describes his gropings after the true religion of Christ.

Starting with his Bible as his guide, John comes upon important texts which he feels incompetent to interpret with safety, and seeks enlightenment from ministers of various denominations. Their hopeless disagreement on fundamental points convinces him of the insecurity of a religion founded on the Bible alone, and he takes refuge in the Church of England.

But he is not long attached to this new faith before he discovers that even here religious authority is little more than an empty name. He is shocked to hear contradictory and heretical views aired in the pulpit without censure from episcopal authority. In his perplexity, he betakes himself to a clergyman of the High Church party, who allays his doubts by explaining that the Church of England is but a branch of the universal Catholic Church, to which the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches also belong, and that it is to this universal Catholic Church that he must look for authoritative guidance in matters of faith.

But this theory of membership in the universal Catholic Church receives a rude shock when John tries to go to confession to a Catholic priest in France, and is refused absolution because he is not in communion with the Pope. He is struck by the fact that the Roman Catholic Church, by far the most imposing church of Christendom, insists on communion with the Bishop of Rome as vital, while the Church of England rejects it as unessential. In this conflict of assertion, who is to decide? Not the shadowy authority of the Church of England. Not a future ecumenical council that may never meet. The Roman Catholic Church claims authority in Christ's name and exercises it unmistakably. May it be after all the true church of Christ?

This question drives John back again to his Bible. He reads it anew and comes to recognize, not without many difficulties and prejudices, the strong scriptural grounds of the Petrine claims, of development in doctrine, ritual and discipline, and of an infallible authority attaching to the Church and its divinely appointed head. The truth and beauty of the Roman Catholic Church take definite shape in his

mind. He calls on a neighboring priest, and after a few weeks of instruction and clearing up of difficulties, he has the supreme satisfaction of being received into the true Church of Christ.

Such is the gist of this imaginary story, told with such literary skill as to delight the reader and carry him easily through the series of cleverly marshalled arguments that make for the Roman Catholic Claims. It is particularly adapted for High Church Episcopalians who may be moving Romewards. Of course, the arguments will not appeal alike to all readers, even Catholic. Some will not find the treatment of the Galileo difficulty altogether satisfactory. The critical theologian might demur to the statements on page seventy-three that St. Paul in restoring the incestuous Corinthian to Church communion, did but publish an indulgence, and that the heathen converts whom St. Paul baptized at Ephesus went to confession on that occasion and received absolution. But these are minor flaws in an otherwise excellent work. A more readable book for the people on Roman Catholic claims would be hard to find.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

The Ascent of Mount Carmel. By St. John of the Cross. Translated by David Lewis. Edited, with a prefatory Essay, by the Rev. Benedict Zimmerman, O. C. D. London: Thomas Baker. 1906.

The Interior Castle, or the Mansions and Exclamations of the Soul to God. Translated from the Autograph of Saint Teresa by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. Revised with an Introduction, Notes and an Index by the Reverend Father Benedict Zimmerman, O. C. D. London: Thomas Baker. MCMVI.

For the recent re-editing and publishing of two very useful volumes Father Zimmerman, the Carmelite, and Mr. Baker, of London, deserve well of the Catholic public, and particularly well of religious. Books so well known as *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* and *The Interior Castle* need no introduction here, and no recommendation anywhere, so far as their substantial merit is concerned. It is in order for us to mention only the satisfactory way in which both editor and publisher have done their respective tasks. *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* was coming to be a rare book, despite the fact that it is so unanimously pronounced a classical and indispensable treatise on the life of prayer and the laws of spiritual perfection. In the present edition we have this standard work in the best form in which the fine English translation by David Lewis has yet appeared,—and to the text is added an instructive sketch of the development of the Spanish school of mystics as distinguished from the better known German school of the Dominicans.

As for the new translation of *The Interior Castle*, it instantly takes the place of Canon Dalton's old and distressingly poor attempt to rendering Saint Teresa into English. To a greater extent than some other of the saint's writings, this book is adapted for wide reading and will help to diffuse the spirit of a teacher who combines in a remarkable degree the sublime and the practical elements of religious aspiration. As has been mentioned above, publisher, translator and editor have all done their work commendably well.

Homer and his Age. By Andrew Lang. Longmans, Green and Company : London, New York, and Bombay, 1906, pp. xii, 336.

Some dozen years ago the author in his *Homer and the Epos* disposed, to his own satisfaction, of the inconsistencies in the narrative which are claimed by many scholars to render impossible for either poem the traditional view of a single author. The purpose of the present book is to clear away what is supposed to constitute the archaeological evidence for different strata in the poems.

The contents of the book may be briefly indicated by the headings of the chapters: The Homeric Age, pp. 1-14; Hypotheses as to the Growth of the Epics, pp. 15-24; Hypotheses of Epic Composition, pp. 25-50; Loose Feudalism; The Over-Lord in "Iliad," Books I. and II., pp. 51-72; Agamemnon in the later "Iliad," pp. 73-81; Archaeology of the "Iliad," Burial and Cremation, pp. 82-107; Homeric Armour, pp. 108-142; The Breastplate, pp. 143-175; Bronze and Iron, pp. 176-208; The Homeric House, pp. 209-228; Notes of Change in the "Odyssey," pp. 229-243; Linguistic Proofs of Various Dates, pp. 244-257; The "Doloneia"-"Iliad," Book X., pp. 258-280; The Interpolations of Nestor, pp. 281-288; The Comparative Study of Early Epics, pp. 289-296; Homer and the French Mediaeval Epics, pp. 297-309; Conclusion, pp. 310-326.

The main argument runs in syllogistic form: The Homeric Epics, being of an "uncritical age," can describe only contemporary life and civilization. But "the Homeric Epics, apart from passages gravely suspected in antiquity, present a perfectly harmonious picture of the entire life and civilization of one single age."

Therefore the Homeric Epics are the products of one single age.

This argument is supported mainly by a very clever setting off of the opinion of one "separatist" against the other, or against his own opinions of an earlier date. The skill and liveliness with which this polemic is carried on makes the book, in spite of some diffuseness and unnecessary iteration, very interesting reading, and will no doubt carry conviction to such readers as derive from it alone their information on

the subject. As the book is addressed to the general British public, Mr. Leaf, on account of his excellent edition of the Iliad, has to bear the brunt of this polemic. It is no difficult task for Mr. Lang to show that Mr. Leaf's present opinions are not identical with those he held in bygone years; a fact that to my mind is to Mr. Leaf's credit, but which is intended, and no doubt will discredit to the general public the whole method of work which Mr. Leaf has been selected to typify. This discloses the fundamental fault of the book, the appeal to a court which cannot pass on the merits of the case.

As for the intrinsic value of Mr. Lang's argument, both major and minor premise are to be denied. The germ of truth in the major premise is that a powerful and original art does always clothe the traditions of its past in the garb of the present. But as we are past the belief in the "primitiveness" of Homer, as we know that Iliad and Odyssey mark the close and not the beginning of a long period of art, this principle has no application to the Homeric poems. The conventional nature of the Homeric dialect must prepare us for conventional elements in the Homeric descriptions of life and civilization, and these have been recognized at least since the time of Aristarchus, to whom in reality belongs the supposition which is in true insular fashion (dis) credited to Professor Percy Gardner. Mr. Lang now demands that all conventional elements be denied unless the poets be tested by the principle *falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*; if they are conventional in one point, they must be conventional in all; if they depart in one point from the traditions of the past, they must give descriptions of only contemporary life and civilization. If this were so, the Homeric problem would be infinitely less complex; but such consistency seems to me to be the one thing we could not expect of one poet, far less of a group of poets, of their age.

Considerations of space render it impossible to criticize the minor premise, the author's attempt to prove the existence of an *unus color* in the poems. I hope, however, to be able to return in a later number of the BULLETIN to the chapters dealing with the Homeric armor, in which the neglect of Carl Robert's *Studien zur Ilias*, places the book considerably behind the present status of the question.

Inability to accept the general argument of the book does not, however, prevent the recognition of the value of particular ideas, among which I would mention especially the explanation of the origin of the Mycenaean type of armor, the analysis of the character of Agamemnon, and the comparison of the French Epics.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch. By Rev. Charles A. Briggs and Baron Friedrich von Hügel. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1906. Pp. vii + 64.

Über die Pentateuchfrage. By Gottfried Hoberg. Freiburg i. B. Herder, 1907. Pp. vii + 59. Price \$0.55, bd.

1. The Biblical Commission has decided that the reasons advanced for rejecting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are not sufficient. Dr. Briggs and Baron von Hügel, in two letters, sketch the arguments, the full development of which makes, according to them, this decision untenable. Dr. Briggs appeals to the vocabulary, style, historic situation and Biblical theology; he sees serious flaws in the arguments that make for the Mosaic origin; one of these reasons, viz. the one taken from internal criteria, he declared to be new to him; he will find it, however, in Gigot's *Special Introduction*, I, 64 sqq. or in Mangenot, *L'authenticité mosaïque du Pentateuque*, 234 sqq. Baron von Hügel, in his answer, after referring to some personal matters, insists on the cumulative character of the reasons adduced against the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. He further expresses his hope in the eventual acceptance of the so-called historical method by the Church authorities; this hope he bases on the following grounds: Catholic Apologetics are essentially built on historical criticism, and hence, the Church cannot deny in one place what it needs in another; the fact that the Church is a missionary body, that it is a living organism, are also indications that eventually it will adopt a policy different from the present one; finally, Catholicism is a "Church and Bible" not a "Bible only" religion, and hence, need not exaggerate the value of the Bible. Von Hügel then foretells that what has happened with regard to the writings of Dionysius Areopagita and the "Comma Johanneum" will also happen with regard to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. Evidently, he takes for granted that, if applied to the Pentateuch, ordinary historical criticism will surely disprove its Mosaic origin.

2. Dr. Hoberg, for some years, has devoted a great deal of attention to the question of the Pentateuch. He summarizes his former conclusions in two lectures delivered to the ecclesiastical students of Freiburg.

The first lecture is historical; it examines the origin and growth of modern criticism. Higher Criticism is due to the influence of Hegelian philosophy and the negation of the supernatural order. From a literary point of view, the critics vindicate the existence of four documents at the basis of the present Pentateuch; from an historical standpoint, the Pentateuch is pronounced to be a tissue of myths and legends; the pre-exilic Jews were polytheists, and it was only the exilic Jews who introduced monotheism. These are certainly the limits of advanced critical

radicalism and such views cannot be reasonably defended; but we would not like to assume the responsibility of representing these positions as a corollary of the denial of the Mosaic origin, nor of saying that they are held by the majority of scholars in the critical school.

In the second lecture, Dr. Hoberg examines the authorship of the Pentateuch from three different standpoints. Briefly stated his conclusions are as follows: There are historical and legal *post-Mosaica* in the Pentateuch; but the attestations of the Pentateuch itself and of Joshua show that the bulk of the work is rightly attributed to Moses; the silence of Judges and Samuel proves nothing, while the few hints in Kings go far towards establishing that at that time, there was a code of laws which, although not observed, was thought to have been written by Moses. These testimonies taken in connection with the subsequent belief of both Synagogue and Church, make it certain that Moses is the author at least of the substance of the book. The rest of the lecture is devoted to an explanation of the decision of the Biblical Commission. The author does not want to exaggerate its importance from a theological viewpoint, but when properly understood, it can be justified on purely scientific grounds. Dr. Hoberg, by his former publications *v. g. Moses und der Pentateuch*, has shown that one who holds the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch can do so, without being hampered by too narrow a conception of what it implies.

R. BUTIN, S. M.

The Problem of the Pentateuch: An Examination of the Results of the Higher Criticism. By Randolph H. McKim, D. D., LL. D. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1906. Pp. xvii + 136.

Dr. McKim does not claim to be either an Orientalist or an expert in literary Criticism; in the trial of the Pentateuch, he stands as one of the jurymen who gives his opinion, not as one of the counsel. He seems to be satisfied that the traditional view making Moses the author of the Pentateuch, is untenable, but he maintains that the Pentateuch is historical and that the legislation is substantially Mosaic. Against Wellhausen and his school he asserts that Deuteronomy and the so-called Priestly Code are not fraudulent compositions purporting to contain genuine Mosaic data, while in reality they would have been written, the one shortly before the Babylonian exile, the other after the restoration. This fraud would be incompatible with inspiration, and besides, there are strong reasons for showing that there is no such fraud.

These ideas are developed agreeably in three Lectures delivered at the Virginia Theological Seminary, December, 1905, to which the author

has prefixed an Introduction establishing the true position of his adversaries and of his friends. These lectures rightly emphasize the fact that with regard to the Pentateuch, there are several problems to be kept distinct, *v. g.* its composite character, its Mosaic or non-Mosaic origin, its historical reliability. Again, the author does well to protest against the literary intolerance of some overbearing critics and to deride the ease with which we are awed by the mere glamor of great names. After such declarations we are surprised that the author should trust so implicitly the writers who happen to favor his views. To pit one scholar against another is a dangerous method, one which may work both ways. Why should we follow Hommel rather than Kautzsch, Klostermann rather than Stade, Robertson rather than Driver? Are our own theoretical preferences to be the norm? Even in the last lecture in which the author comes to closer quarters and in which he makes many appropriate remarks, his treatment of the question is too negative. We should not, after examining the arguments in favor of a position, immediately conclude that it is true, and consider adverse reasons as mere difficulties which a negative answer is sufficient to dispose of. Whatever may be said of the logic of the process, it is self-evident that one side runs great risk of not meeting with a "square deal." We should rather group all the arguments for and against any position, examine them impartially, allow their full force, compare their respective value; then, but only then, pass a final judgment. The lack of this methodical weighing of evidence and also the lack of a critical control of the Biblical texts used, is a serious defect in the present work. We do not wish to deny the main contention of the author, we ourselves think, on historical grounds, that there is real history in the Bible, but we are not prepared to say that a perfect accuracy in our sense of the term, is a *conditio sine qua non* of its inspiration. We would not like to assert either that the mere attribution of certain enactments or literary productions, to the great men of the past, *v. g.* of laws to Moses, of Sapiential works to Solomon, of Psalms to David, would constitute necessarily a culpable fraud, incompatible with inspiration. It seems to us that, instead of speculating about such possibilities or impossibilities, it would be preferable, by comprehensive and patient research, to find out what has been done actually under the inspiring guidance of God. If the work is done in a truly scientific spirit, Dr. McKim need not be afraid lest much learning make students mad.

R. BUTIN, S. M.

The Sign of the Cross in the Western Liturgies (Alcuin Club Tracts). By Rev. Ernest Beresford-Cooke. London : Longmans, 1907. 8°, pp. 32.

The Anglican writer of this little archaeologico-historical dissertation writes in order to "do something towards making the use and purpose of this sacred gesture more intelligible to those who may not have been able to give this subject the attention it deserves." It is especially the use of the sign of the cross in the canon of the mass that he studies, the extension of the celebrant's arms, the sign of the cross in consecration, and the signings over the already consecrated elements. His immediate aim is to discourage among Anglicans the multiplied signings of the host and the chalice as no longer expressive of any ritual principle, therefore unintelligible, and a liturgical anomaly. The historical origin of these signings has never been very clear, as the writer shows from the works of such Catholic liturgists as De Vert and Grancolas. An interesting appendix deals with the manner of making the sign of the cross, also its use in the blessing of persons and incense.

Trinity College Record, Vol. I, Nos. 1-2. Washington, D. C., 1907. 8°, pp. 86, 93.

Under this modest title the students of Trinity College present us a specimen of their literary abilities and training, and at the same time the initial numbers of a periodical that shall henceforth represent their college in the academic world. They deserve great credit not alone for the general excellency of the first two numbers, but also for the courage they show in founding a new literary journal, untterrified by the disillusionments or failures of others, and confident that they are responding to a true need of their school. The articles are mainly literary, biographical and pedagogical, are well-chosen, and without exception exhibit very good qualities of style, diction and proportion. Place is made in the "Alumnae Department" for the contributions of graduates, while in the "Chronicle" it is proposed to keep in touch with all former students, also to keep them interested in one another, thus perpetuating the elevating influences of their college days. Seven years ago Trinity College was established at the gate of the Catholic University for the higher education of our Catholic young women. Since then it has not ceased to justify the hopes of its founders and of their sympathizers. Its annual roll of students has grown from sixteen to more than one hundred; its academic space has multiplied; benefactors have come to its aid; the manifold utilities of such a school have secured a general recognition; its graduates are everywhere acquitting themselves with

distinction of the tasks allotted to them. Truly, there are few cases of academic success, in the face of grave doubts and difficulties, more brilliant and convincing than the rapid progress of this noble religious work, accomplished with the patient modesty, perseverance and self-effacement for which our Catholic teaching sisterhoods are so well-known. If the literary work of these young ladies, most of them belonging to the graduating class of this year, is so uniformly superior, it is, of course, owing to their teachers, whose own merits are hidden forever under a veil of anonymity that those of others may shine and be rewarded. This is truly to stand *in loco parentis*, to fulfill the highest office of the teacher, to fashion the mind and the heart of the pupil for the noblest deeds—content, like the good parent, to remain one's self unknown and unpraised. We bespeak for "The Trinity College Record" a warm welcome among all lovers of academic literature and augur for it a long career of usefulness and even distinction.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES — 1906-1907.

The seventeenth annual commencement exercises (1906-1907) were held Wednesday, June 5, at 10.30 A. M., in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons presided, assisted by the Right Rev. Rector. On the stage were gathered the professors of the various faculties, the representatives of the affiliated colleges and religious houses attached to the University, and other distinguished guests, notable among them being Most Rev. Jeremiah J. Harty, Archbishop of Manila, Philippine Islands. The Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, delivered the address to the graduates. In the audience were Justice White of the Supreme Court of the United States, Justice Anderson, Sir Esme and Lady Isabella Howard, Gen. James O'Connell, Rev. Wallace Radcliffe and other distinguished persons.

Monsignor O'Connell conducted the exercises, explained the meaning of the degrees, and thanked the faculty and the students for their co-operation. His parting words to the graduates embodied his regret at seeing them leave the university, strong words as to their duties in the world and to their alma mater, and his "god-speed."

Mr. Bonaparte told the graduates that if they attained undeserved eminence through holding public office or otherwise, in their future life, they might often receive, in public, compliments which no one could know as well as themselves were wholly unmerited, and that, under such circumstances, it would be well for them to disclaim deserving such praise, so as to increase their reputation for modesty.

He told them further that if they had occasion to make speeches, there were two great faults which they must avoid if they wished to be popular with their audiences and to be asked to speak again, namely, they must not talk about themselves, and not too long about anything. And the last piece of advice might be applicable even to those among them who

would soon have occasion to delight congregations by edifying sermons, it being advisable in determining the length of such discourses, to remember that some privation of pleasure might be of spiritual benefit to the hearers.

Cardinal Gibbons, in a felicitous speech, said:

"I am much gratified by the words of praise for the faculty and students which have been spoken by the rector. This showing reflects great credit on the university and the teachers. And yet greater credit has come to the university from other sources. Our men are being chosen by the Executive of the nation for duties to the United States.

"Within the past few days a most signal honor has been conferred on you by the President in the appointment of Dr. Egan to a diplomatic post at Denmark, and our Attorney-General was a member of the board of trustees long before he accepted his present position. This may well be called a case of 'Post hoc ergo propter hoc.' You all may not be Attorney-Generals or Ministers, but that is not essential. It is not the post that dignifies the man, for if human life were regulated solely by the position man fills, this world would be a sad, miserable affair. The important thing is to fulfill your life's mission. If you are faithful to your post, you will be honored by God and man, and though your name may not be written on history's pages it will be found glorious on the pages of the book of life." After his address Cardinal Gibbons pronounced the benediction, and the seventeenth commencement of the university was brought to a close. A dinner, at which the guests of the university were present, was given after the exercises.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

IN THE SCHOOL OF SCIENCES.

Bachelor of Arts (A.B.)

HIRAM MARY GALLAGHER, El Paso, Texas.

LEO MCCOLLUM GALLAGHER, El Paso, Texas.

WILLIAM BRAUNER HETFIELD, Washington, D. C.

FRANK ANTHONY KUNTZ, Spring Valley, N. Y.

JOHN COLLINS MORAN, Providence, R. I.

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

REV. THOMAS FREDERIC McKEON, Congregation of the Holy Cross.

A.B. (University of Notre Dame) 1902.

Dissertation—"The Diurnal Variation of the Spontaneous Ionization of Air in Closed Metallic Vessels."

IN THE SCHOOL OF LETTERS.

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

REV. JOHN J. O'BRIEN, Archdiocese of St. Paul.

Ph.M. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"A Study of the Poetry of James Clarence Mangan; with Special Reference to Edgar Allan Poe and the Symbolistic Movement."

REV. THOMAS BERNARD PLASSMANN, Order of Friars Minor.

A.M. (St. Francis Solanus College, Quincy, Ill.) 1902.

Dissertation—"The Significance of *Beraka*; Being a Contribution to the Interpretation of Semitic Blessings."

IN THE SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.

Master of Arts (A.M.)

ROBERT JOSEPH KENNEDY, Scottdale, Pa.

A.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1905.

LL.B. (Georgetown University) 1906.

Attorney at Law.

Dissertation—"The Cultivation of Ideals."

Master of Philosophy (Ph.M.)

RICHARD STEPHEN BURKE, Boston, Mass.

A.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1905.

Dissertation—"The Theory of Comparison in Psychology."

DANIEL CHARLES CAREY, Congregation of St. Paul.

A.B. (Boston College, Boston, Mass.) 1903.

Dissertation—"The Argument for Private Property."

FRANCIS PATRICK LYONS, Syracuse, N. Y.

A.B. (Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.) 1905.

Dissertation—"Frederick Denison Maurice: Social Reformer."

REV. BERNARD FRANCIS MCQUADE, Archdiocese of New York.

A.B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md.) 1903.

Dissertation—"The Psychology of Belief."

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

REV. MATTHEW JAMES WALSH, Congregation of the Holy Cross.

Litt.B. (University of Notre Dame) 1903.

Dissertation—"The Political Status of Catholics in Colonial Maryland."

IN THE SCHOOL OF LAW.

Master of Laws (LL.M.)

ROBERT JOSEPH KENNEDY, Scottdale, Pa.

A.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1905;

LL.B. (Georgetown University) 1906.

Attorney at Law.

Dissertation—"Railroads as Common Carriers."

WILLIAM MILNES MALOY, Baltimore, Md.

LL.B. (University of Maryland) 1899.

Attorney at Law.

Dissertation—"Liability of Stockholders, with Especial Reference to the Laws of Maryland."

JOSE EDUARDO VALDES, Manila, P. I.

LL.B. (University of Notre Dame) 1906.

Doctor of Law (J.D.)

GEORGE MOORE BRADY, Baltimore, Md.

A.B. (Loyola College, Baltimore, Md.) 1900;

A.M. (Georgetown University) 1903;

LL.B. (ibid.) 1903;

Ph.D. (ibid.) 1903;

LL.M. (The Catholic University of America) 1905.

Attorney at Law.

Dissertation—"The Control by Municipalities of Corporations Exercising Public-Service Franchises Within Their Boundaries."

MICHAEL PATRICK KEHOE, Baltimore, Md.

LL.M. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Attorney at Law.

Dissertation—"The Power of the State to Regulate the Manner in Which Public Service Corporations Transact Their Business."

IN THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.

Bachelor of Canon Law (J.C.B.)

REV. PAUL JOSEPH DILLON, Diocese of Los Angeles.

REV. MICHAEL WILLIAM MOYNIHAN, Diocese of Buffalo.

A.B. (St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, N. Y.) 1903.

REV. ERNEST ALOYSIUS PFLEGER, Society of Mary.

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901;

S.T.L. (ibid.) 1905.

Bachelor of Sacred Theology (S.T.B.)

REV. ONESIME ALFRED BOYER, Diocese of Ogdensburg.

REV. WILLIAM FRANCIS CAHILL, Archdiocese of Boston.

REV. PAUL JOSEPH DILLON, Diocese of Los Angeles.

REV. EDWARD AUGUSTINE GILLIGAN, Society of St. Sulpice.

A.B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md.) 1901;

A.M. (ibid.) 1902.

REV. WILLIAM HENRY HUELSMANN, Archdiocese of St. Louis.

REV. FRANCIS DENIS MCGARRY, Congregation of the Holy Cross.

REV. ALOYSIUS MENGES, Order of St. Benedict.

REV. JOHN JOSEPH MITTY, Archdiocese of New York.

A.B. (Manhattan College, New York, N. Y.) 1901.

REV. MICHAEL WILLIAM MOYNIHAN, Diocese of Buffalo.

A.B. (St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, N. Y.) 1903.

REV. PATRICK WILLIAM REARDON, Diocese of Albany.

REV. THOMAS TIMOTHY SHEEHAN, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

REV. DANIEL WILLIAM SHEERAN, Archdiocese of New York.

A.B. (College of St. Francis Xavier, New York, N. Y.) 1902.

Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S.T.L.)

REV. THOMAS CHARLES BRENNAN, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"The History of Creationism in Relation to the Doctrine of Transmitted Sin."

REV. JOHN BERCHEMANS BRITT, Archdiocese of New York.

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"The Philosophy of Old Testament Sacrifice."

REV. JAMES FREDERICK COLLINS, Diocese of Syracuse.

S.T.B. (Grand Seminary, Montreal) 1904;

J.C.B. (*ibid.*) 1905.

Dissertation—"The History of the Theological Theory of Privation from St. Anselm to Soto."

REV. JOSEPH ALOYSIUS DUNNEY, Diocese of Albany.

A.B. (Manhattan College, New York, N. Y.) 1901;

A.M. (Columbia University, New York, N. Y.) 1905;

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"The Biblical Tradition Concerning the Conquest of Chanaan by the Hebrew Tribes."

REV. JOSEPH PATRICK LYNCH EARLY, Archdiocese of Boston.

A.B. (Boston College, Boston, Mass.) 1901;

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"Historical Criticism and the Bible."

REV. JOHN JOSEPH HUNT, Archdiocese of San Francisco.

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"The Origin, Development and Sanction of the Ecclesiastical Impediment of Consanguinity."

REV. EDWIN JOSEPH ALOYSIUS RYAN, Archdiocese of New York.

A.B. (College of St. Francis Xavier, New York, N. Y.) 1901;

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"The Ransom Theory of the Redemption."

REV. JOHN PATRICK SPENCER, Archdiocese of St. Louis.

S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1906.

Dissertation—"St. Anselm's Theory of Satisfaction and Its Alleged Derivation from Germanic Law."

CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Catholic Educational Association will be held at Milwaukee, Wis., on July 9, 10, 11. The following papers have been prepared for the meetings of the School Department:

"The Educational Value of Christian Doctrine," Rev. P. C. Yorke, D. D.

"The Function of the Community Inspector," Brother Michael, S. M.

"The Pastor and the School from the Teacher's View-point," Brother Anthony.

"The Sunday School and the Parish School."

The subjects to be discussed in the Seminary Department are:

"The Fostering of Vocations to the Holy Priesthood."

"The Study of Latin."

"The Frequent Communion of Seminarians."

An informal discussion of the Holy Father's recent letter on the dismissal of students from seminaries.

In the College Department the following papers will be read:

FIRST DAY.

"The Latin Classics in Our Theological Seminaries," Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D.

Supplementary papers:

(a) "Some Practical Elements in the Problem of Latin in the Seminaries," V. Rev. E. R. Dyer, D. D.

(b) "What Colleges are Doing for the Study of Latin," Rev. John A. Conway, S. J.

SECOND DAY—A. M.

1st. "Catholic Chaplains at Non-Catholic Universities," Rev. John J. Farrell.

2d. "Supplementary English Catholic Authors for College Classes," Rev. J. R. Volz, O. P.

THIRD DAY—A. M.

"The Classical Course As a Preparation for the Professions and for Business," Rev. Alexander J. Burrowes, S. J.

The following letter, copies of which have been addressed to the members of the College Department, calls attention to an important subject which will come up for discussion at the Milwaukee meeting:

"To Members of the Conference of Catholic Colleges:

"During the last week in January the annual meeting of the Standing Committee of the Conference of Catholic Colleges was held in Georgetown College, D. C. The question of the alarming number of Catholic youth going to non-Catholic colleges was again discussed, and it was asked what could be done *practically* to check the evil. It was unanimously resolved that an appeal should be made to the Hierarchy for its support and encouragement in favor of the Catholic college, as these had been employed so successfully already in behalf of primary education. It was proposed that a 'Memorial' should be presented to the Archbishops of the United States at their annual meeting in the Catholic University, and a Committee was appointed to wait upon the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore to know his wishes and to obtain his permission. His Eminence received the proposal with great kindness, promising his co-operation, and he graciously undertook to present the Memorial himself to the assembled Fathers. The Memorial was drawn up begging from the Bishops the same aid and encouragement which they had already given to the parochial schools; calling their attention to the fact that Catholics were crowding more and more each year into the non-Catholic colleges, while the Catholic colleges are not increasing in numbers.

"It was, likewise, noted that the plan of having Catholic chaplains at non-Catholic colleges, howsoever wise and praiseworthy in itself, as lessening the danger, cannot be considered as the solution of the problem of Catholic education. Moreover, the compromise permitted to Catholics in England, for wise reasons, by ecclesiastical authority, did not appear to be justified here under the circumstances of our life. This was the substance of the Memorial which was presented to the Archbishops on the eleventh of April ult. The Committee was received most kindly by the assembled prelates, who appeared to be much interested in the petition offered. They inquired how, in the judgment of the Committee, their interest could be manifested; the answer was that each Bishop, in his own diocese, should foster and encourage in every way the Catholic

college. To accomplish this and to arrange matters more in detail, His Eminence appointed a committee of three Archbishops, to-wit: His Grace the Archbishop of New York, the Archbishop of Milwaukee, and the Archbishop of New Orleans, to meet with another committee of three to be appointed from the College Conference, to discuss the matter and to map out a line of conduct.

"Such is a brief account of an event which we have no hesitation in calling one of the most important in the history heretofore of Catholic higher education in the United States. In the very first meeting of the College Conference in Chicago, a decade of years ago, the need of episcopal action and encouragement was brought before the meeting in a speech of convincing eloquence. That need is becoming more evident with increasing rapidity every day. Our Catholic colleges are not prospering numerically; in fact they are falling behind; Catholic boys are going in greater numbers each year to non-Catholic colleges. What is the remedy? The only one that suggests itself to us is the one for which we petitioned the Archbishops of the United States. Our Catholic schools cannot prosper without the aid of the episcopate and the clergy. With their encouragement and active assistance, we have every reason to believe that Catholic parents would soon realize that Catholic college education is as necessary and as sacred as the training of the primary school for their children. This will form a fruitful subject for discussion at the College Conference in Milwaukee next July. It is of the utmost importance that every one interested in Catholic education should be on hand to give the benefit of his wisdom and experience. The Archbishops of the country have generously gone more than half way; it is only proper that the colleges should show their appreciation and readiness to co-operate respectfully with them.

"JOHN A. CONWAY, S. J.,
President."

JAMES MICHAEL COONEY.

James Michael Cooney, youngest son of Brigadier-General Michael Cooney, U. S. A., retired, and Catherine Cooney, born April 24, 1878, at Fort Bayard, Grant County, New Mexico, where his father was then stationed, as captain of United States cavalry, baptized September 21, 1878, at Albuquerque, N. M., by the Rev. J. J. Aponte, S. J., confirmed May 24, 1889, at St. Anne's Church, New York city, by the Most Rev. Archbishop Corrigan, died March 27, 1907, at the home of his parents, in Washington, D. C.

Appointed February 12, 1902, Custodian of the Caldwell Hall Library, under the late Dr. Thomas Bouquillon, who was then the Librarian of the Catholic University of America, Mr. Cooney brought to his work the appropriate fitness, obtained through his studies at Gonzaga College, Washington, D. C., and at the Library Science School of Columbian University, under the direction of Dr. A. R. Spofford, of the Library of Congress, as well as a love for books so marked that he bestowed upon them the greatest attention. He performed his duties with loving fidelity, and in a manner that is a tribute to his taste and good sense. An affectionate friendship grew up between him and the distinguished scholar, Dr. Bouquillon, who always referred to him as "that most excellent young man." In July, 1904, after the death of Dr. Bouquillon, he retired from the custodianship, and assumed a position in the Library of Congress. In June, 1905, he was called back to the university, with an appointment as Librarian. He loved the Library; his devotion to it was unvarying; his steady work effectively contributed to its order, utility and richness; his kind, frank manner and his genial nature made his connection with the Library a pleasure to the officers, professors and students of the university. He discharged the functions of

Librarian up to July last, when failing health compelled him to take a vacation. He resigned in October, 1906.

He loved honor and hated baseness. His acts were characterized by insight, tenderness and loyalty. Next to his love for God was his love of kindred. He felt in full measure, even in the latest hours of his suffering, the joys and satisfactions that spring from the perfect affection of a devoted family circle. He possessed good literary talent. The works of his distinguished uncle, the late Daniel Connolly, of New York city, journalist, poet and author of an important volume on the poets of Ireland, stimulated him to write much, but his modesty confined his productions to circulation among relatives and immediate friends.

Representatives from the university, including the Rt. Rev. Rector, Mgr. O'Connell, from the Army and from the parishes of Washington, joined the bereaved relatives in paying him the last sad honors at the Shrine of the Sacred Heart Church on Good Friday afternoon. Interment was at Calvary Cemetery, New York city.

The university will ever hold him in grateful remembrance.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Feast of St. Thomas.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy was celebrated on March 7th. The High Mass was sung by Right Reverend Mgr. D. J. O'Connell, Rector of the University. The sermon was preached by Reverend E. J. Hanna, D. D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y. At noon Archbishop Harty of Manila, Dr. Hanna and the members of the Faculty of Philosophy were entertained at dinner at Caldwell Hall.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees.—The semi-annual meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at Caldwell Hall on April 13th. In accepting the resignation of Bishop J. L. Spalding, the Trustees expressed their regret that his continued ill health prevented him from continuing to serve as a member of the Board.—The Report of the Treasurer was read and found to be satisfactory.—Dr. George Melville Bolling was appointed General Secretary of the University. Reverend Dr. Creagh was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Theology. Reverend Drs. Melody, Shields, Healy and Turner and Drs. Dunn and McCarthy were appointed Associate Professors in their various departments. Dr. Albert F. Zahm was appointed Professor of Mechanics and Associate Professor of Mechanical Engineering.—The Board authorized steps to be taken towards organizing a Department of Education in the University.—A Committee of the College Department of the Catholic Educational Association, consisting of Fathers Conway, Murphy and Delurey and Reverend Dr. Flynn, waited on the Board and presented a memorial begging the intervention of the Hierarchy of America in favor of Catholic Colleges. The Board appointed a Committee, consisting of Archbishops Farley, Moeller and Blenk, to consider the subject and to confer with a committee of the College Department at the annual meeting of the Association at Milwaukee in July.

Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures.—During the month of March Dr. Joseph Dunn, Head of the Department, delivered a course of public lectures in the Assembly Hall of the University, which were very well attended both by students of the University and visitors from the city. The subjects were : "Old Irish Verse," "The Iomramha, or Sea Voyages of the Ancient Irish," "The Tochmharca, or Courtships of the Ancient Irish."

The A. O. H. Scholarships.—On April 13th, Mr. Matthew Cummings of Boston, National President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians ; Mr.

P. J. Moran, National Director, and Mr. P. J. Haltigan, editor of the *National Hibernian*, called on the Rector of the University for the purpose of discussing the details of the plan to found Scholarships in Gaelic at the University. It is proposed to found Scholarships of \$500 a year, which will enable students to take a course at the University and to obtain a degree, the only condition in regard to the subjects selected by the scholar being that he shall follow at least one course in the department of Gaelic languages and literatures, and acquire a practical knowledge of Modern Irish. The scholarships are to be awarded by competitive examinations, the examinations to be held under the auspices of the local divisions of the A. O. H.

Gifts.—Portraits of George Washington and Christopher Columbus were presented to MacMahon Hall by Madame Pescia, and the department of American History in the same hall has added to its collection a copy of the *Ulster Times* containing an account of the funeral of George Washington and a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence, both presented by Mr. Robert Kennedy.—Mr. Fred. J. Brandle presented to the Mycological Department of the Herbarium a large collection of valuable specimens of Fungi.—Mr. Logan Bulitt, of Torresdale, Pa., presented to the Department of English a copy of Donnelly's *Cryptogram* and a set of Dickens' Works.

Dr. Egan Appointed Minister to Denmark.—Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, our Professor of English Literature, has been appointed by President Roosevelt United States Minister at Copenhagen. The University appreciates the great honor bestowed upon it by the selection of one of its professors to fill so exalted a position in the service of our country. At the same time it cannot but regret the loss of a teacher so eminent in his department, so beloved by all the students, and so intimately connected for many years with the life of the University. The academic career of Dr. Egan has been at all times beyond reproach. While occupying in English letters a place peculiarly his own he has endeared himself to a multitude of students from every state of the Union by close attention to the duties of his office, suavity and courtesy of manner, and constant devotion to the best interests of his numerous students. The University is proud that one of its sons takes his place among the most honored representatives of the nation, and is happy to bear witness to the loyalty and candor of his character, the laboriousness of his academic life, and the general esteem and affection that he enjoys on the part of its professors and students. He brings to the service of the State a varied experience of mankind, an equitable and righteous heart, a refined and disciplined spirit, a discriminating temper coupled with calmness of judg-

ment and patience of demeanor. Dr. Egan is too long and too favorably known among us as a model Catholic gentleman to need any further insistence on his merits. He bears with him to the good state of Denmark the affection of a host of friends, the esteem of his colleagues, and the respect of the entire community. We augur for him a long term of successful service to the State and at its end an approval no less hearty and sincere than that which the University hereby pays him.

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THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AT LOUVAIN.

As Belgium has always felt the greatest sympathy for America, so the Catholic University of Louvain entertains a special affection for her young and noble sister, the Catholic University of America at Washington. For this reason we comply with the desire of the Editor of the *Catholic University Bulletin*, and make known in its pages the following account written on the occasion of the International Exposition of Liège in 1905. At times we may be obliged to speak of ourselves and of things referring to us. But the reader will excuse this when he considers that it is a son who speaks of his mother, a brother who speaks to brothers of common family interests. We shall be glad if the following pages contribute in some measure to strengthen the bonds of fraternity between Washington and Louvain, and to develop the love of science among the Catholics of the United States.

* * * * *

As heir of the ancient Alma Mater erected in 1426, heir also of the freedom recovered in 1830, the Catholic University of Louvain cherishes the twofold principle so dear to the Belgian nation, faith and freedom. From its creation in 1834, this centre of high scientific culture, strives with ardor and perseverance to accomplish its mission of promoting in every field the interests of church and country. Both as a specialty and as a subsidiary branch of the moral sciences, history, in

the plan of university studies, is one of the most powerful factors of intellectual progress, an instrument which is perfectly adapted to our national character and to the traditional and progressive spirit of Christianity. Hence the constant care of the University, since its re-establishment, has been to organize and develop the teaching of history in accordance with the ever-increasing demands of modern science.¹

In the first place we shall mention the example and encouragement given from the very beginning by those who occupied the highest position in the University.

I. RECTORS AS HISTORIANS. MGR. DE RAM AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

That the University of Louvain, from its foundation, held history in high esteem is evidenced by the fact that its presidents were distinguished students of history. Who does not remember the labors and the fruitful undertakings of Mgr. de Ram,² the first rector and organizer of the new university? In the heat of the struggle against Dutch rule, and amid his many cares in organizing the young university, he founded the *Nouveau conservateur belge*, established the teaching of history in the University, created the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, outlined a *Belgia sacra*, gathered the materials for a *Corpus doctorum Lovaniensium*, brought about the revival of the Society of the Bollandists in Belgium

¹ Further information and details may be found chiefly in the following works and periodicals which we shall indicate by the abbreviations here explained.

(1) UL. = [V. Brants] *L'Université de Louvain. Coup d'œil sur son histoire et ses institutions*, 1425-1900. Brussels, 1900.

(2) UCL-An. = *Annales de l'Université catholique de Louvain*. 71 vols. Louvain, 1857-1907. Not only biographical notices, but also death notices and funeral orations are referred to.

(3) ARB-An. = *Annales de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1835-1907.

(4) UCL-Bibl. = [V. Brants] *Université catholique de Louvain. Bibliographi*. 1834-1900. Louvain, 1900. 1er suppl. = *Premier supplément*, 1899-1901. Louvain, 1901; 2e suppl. = *Deuxième supplément*, 1901-1903. Louvain, 1903; 3e suppl. = *Troisième supplément*, 1903-1905. Louvain, 1906.

² Notices by Mgr. Namèche: UCL-An., 1866, and by Thonissen: ARB-An., 1866. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 13-25.

for the *Acta sanctorum*, and published numerous works from his own pen, many of which are still of great value. The bibliography of his works includes 205 numbers. With but few exceptions all are historical, and were published separately or inserted in the *Annuaire de l'Université*, the *Annuaire*, the *Bulletins* and the *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts*, the *Bulletins* and the *Collection in-4°* of the *Commission royale d'histoire*, etc. Since his death historical criticism has progressed considerably, but, like Miræus's publications, his collection of materials is still one of the most abundant sources for our national and religious history.

We need not then be surprised at the expressions of admiration and gratitude lavished upon him by the learned world. Thus, on the very day of the funeral service, the illustrious Gachard said: "It is not for me to speak of the greatness of the loss suffered by a great institution of public education and by religion, in the death of Mgr. de Ram. But what I want to tell you is how great the loss is for the Academy, and for the Royal Commission of History, how great for historical studies. It is difficult to fill the places of such men as Mgr. de Ram."¹

Mgr. de Ram's successors have continued on his undertakings, and it is a noteworthy fact that almost everyone of them has been distinguished for his work in some field of the historical sciences. Mgr. Laforet,² in that of the history of philosophy, Mgr. Namèche,³ the author of the well-known history of Belgium in thirty volumes, in that of national history; Mgr. Abbeloos,⁴ and Mgr. Hebbelynck,⁵ in that of oriental history.

¹ UCL-An., 1866, p. 240.

² Notices by Mgr. Cartuyvels: UCL-An., 1873, and by F. Nève: ARB-An., 1874. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 25-28.

³ Notice by Ch. Cartuyvels: UCL-An., 1894. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 28-30.

⁴ Notice in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, VII (1906), pp. 406-409, and by Mgr. Hebbelynck: UCL-An., 1907. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., p. 33.

⁵ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 34-35; 1er suppl., p. 8; 2e suppl., p. 8; 3e suppl., p. 7.

Under their wise direction, the teaching of history has, from the beginning, occupied a prominent place at Louvain.

II. A GENERAL VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

It is hardly necessary to state that, for a long time, in Belgian universities the teaching of history was limited to the faculty of philosophy and letters. But the University of Louvain has also a faculty of theology and canon law, which plays an important part in the scientific training of the Belgian clergy and the influence of which is felt throughout the Catholic world. Needless to recall the ever-increasing importance of historical sciences for theological and canonical studies.

Yet, until the law of 1890, if we except a few successful but intermittent attempts at practical courses, the teaching of history in these two faculties was essentially theoretical in character. This will seem quite natural when we remember that, up to that time, history was not a specialty in the faculty of philosophy. For the future jurist it was, and even to-day is, only a more or less necessary complement of the humanities. For prospective doctors in philosophy and letters, both in the *candidature* and the doctorate years, it was looked upon, above all, as a sum of useful information for any one who was destined to become a professor of humanities, or who desired to complete his general education before entering upon the study of law.

In the faculty of theology ecclesiastical history was in a similar condition. Under no circumstance was it looked upon as a special study, not even for those who might become professors of church history in a seminary, or who might have a disposition for personal research.

From the beginning, however, this lack of practical teaching was partly made up by the 'sabbatines,' i. e. the discussion of a thesis every Saturday, by the public defense of theses for

university degrees, and the necessity of presenting a printed dissertation for the doctorate. All these were so many incentives for the special study of various questions, some of which were selected from the field of history.

Perhaps a greater influence than that of academic exercises and displays was exerted by the course in biblical exegesis. Both from its very nature and on account of the merits of its professors, it familiarized the students with the principles of criticism. But even there the wholesome discipline of personal work was absent.

In the neighboring fields of the oriental languages, elective courses had been gradually developed both in the faculty of theology and in that of philosophy and letters.¹ Professor E. Hubert of Liège recently remarked:² "The University of Louvain has been for many years an important centre for oriental literatures." Not only was history benefited by these studies, but, because the courses were given to a small number of select students, the method of teaching became less formal and more practical. Freer and more frequent relations were established between professors and students. Monographs were occasionally undertaken under the direction of a professor. Nevertheless all this was but the rudimentary form of a practical course.

Finally, courses in the auxiliary sciences of history were organized little by little, and entered on the program of the faculties of theology and of philosophy and letters as optional studies, namely, in 1864, Christian archaeology, and in 1881, paleography, chronology and diplomacy.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, under the direction of a professor, students began to meet for the discussion of special questions many of which were taken from history. Thus were established various societies: the *Taal-en Letterlievend Studentengenootschap* "*Met Tijd en Vlijt*," founded in 1836 by Canon David,

¹ UL, pp. 83, 89, 118, 136 ff.

² *Revue historique*, LXVI, p. 134. Paris, 1898.

professor of Belgian history, and still preserving all its vitality; the *Société littéraire*, founded in 1839; the *Société d'émulation*, founded in 1853 under the direction of Jean Moeller, professor of general history; the *Genootschap gesticht in 1883 ter beoefening der alarde vaderlandsche, christelijke beschaving*, under the direction of Alberdingk-Thym, professor of the history of Flemish literature.

Thus, although on the whole the teaching of history retained its theoretical character, yet it was obviously leading to a new organization.

* * * * *

Moreover, in the historical section of the Philological Institute which existed from 1845 to 1854, Professor Jean Moeller had already made a first and successful attempt at a practical course.

About twenty years later, in 1873, while Professor Kurth in the university of Liège was establishing a practical course of history after the model of the historical seminars of Germany, Professor Willems founded in Louvain the *Societas philologa*.¹ If we except the practical exercises of Jean Moeller which we have just mentioned, this was the first of the practical courses of the faculty of philosophy and letters at Louvain. In the faculty of philosophy and letters a course was opened in 1885 under the name of *Conférence d'histoire*, and the academic authorities offered the degree of *Docteur en sciences morales et historiques*. Shortly after, in 1889, a seminar of ecclesiastical history was founded in the faculty of theology. About the same time (1891) in accord with the wishes of Pope Leo XIII, and thanks to Mgr. Mercier, the *Institut supérieur de philosophie*² was established. In it history had an important, though subsidiary place, similar to that which it held in the faculty of theology in relation to canonical and theological sciences.

In the following pages some details will be given on these

¹ UL, pp. 128 ff.

² UCL-An., 1886, 1896 and 1901.

various institutions and their more recent ramifications. But we shall add nothing on the *Institut supérieur de philosophie*, as it has been the object of many special notices.¹ We simply mention here that the writer has been given charge of the course on historical method and has combined it with his theoretical and practical courses in the faculty of theology and the faculty of philosophy. To Professor De Wulf, the editor of the *Revue néo-scholastique*,² has been assigned the course on the history of philosophy, especially of medieval philosophy; to Professor L. De Lantsheere,³ the course on the history of modern philosophy and on the philosophy of history.

* * * * *

An important and characteristic result of this development of the historical department was the creation of numerous periodical publications. For a long time the *Revue catholique* (1846–1884) was the general review for the whole University. Even before its publication ceased, various collections and periodicals appeared. These confine themselves to a limited field of science, and are maintained by the collaboration of the members of the practical courses. Thus, in the sphere of historical studies—not to mention the *Rapports* published at the end of every number of the *Annuaire de l'Université catholique*—there appeared the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* (1864); the *Muséon* (1882); the *Dietsche Warande* (it existed since 1855, but became a university review only in 1887); the *Recueil des travaux publiés par les membres de la conférence d'histoire* (1890); the *Musée belge* and its *Bulletin bibliographique et pédagogique* (1897), founded by Professors Willems of Louvain and Waltzing of Liège, and in which history occupies but a secondary place; the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (1900).

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¹ See especially D. Mercier, *Notice sur l'Institut supérieur de Philosophie*, Ecole Saint-Thomas d'Aquin. Louvain.

² UCL-Bibl., p. 262; 1er suppl., pp. 40–41; 2e suppl., pp. 45–46; 3e suppl., pp. 50–51.

³ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 128–129; 1er suppl., p. 21; 2e suppl., p. 23; 3e suppl., p. 23.

In the main the results are very gratifying. But it would be far better still if the faculty of law had followed the same example. Here, indeed, it was praiseworthy to establish an *École des sciences politiques et sociales*, and an *École des sciences commerciales et consulaires*, and this even without any requirement of the law. But little care was taken to introduce the historical sciences as auxiliaries into these schools. The teaching of the history of law and of the history of the social sciences is still to be organized. Two obstacles are in the way: the law of 1890 neglected this point; and naturally in the social, political, diplomatic and consular sciences greater stress was laid on actual social conditions than on the history of past ages. If we except the examinations for the *candidature* similar to those for the *candidature* in philosophy and letters as a preparation for the study of law, the teaching of history for the licentiate and the doctorate is limited to a course on the history of diplomacy in Europe since the Congress of Vienna. But we must add that this course given by Professor P. Pouillet¹ has been very fruitful and has produced remarkable dissertations on topics belonging to contemporary history.² However, the description and appreciation of this course does not come within the limits of the present paper.

* * * * *

In a centre so attached to traditions as our young University, there have arisen, besides the professional teachers, a large number of learned men, who, in addition to the discharge of their academic duties, have devoted themselves to historical studies, and, by their works, largely contributed to the progress of historical science. Before closing this general outline, we must briefly mention their names. To the rectors of the University of whom we have spoken already we must add the following professors: Thonissen,³ Baron Descamps-David,⁴

¹ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 127-128; 1er suppl., pp. 21-22; 2e suppl., p. 23; 3e suppl., pp. 22-23.

² Cf. UCL-Bibl., pp. 4-5; 1er suppl., pp. 2-3; 2e suppl., p. 3; 3e suppl., p. 2.

³ Notices by A. Nyssens: UCL-An., 1892, and by Mgr. Lamy: ARB-An., 1892. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 99-105.

⁴ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 113-117; 1er suppl., pp. 14-15; 2e suppl., p. 18; 3e suppl., pp. 18-19.

Dupriez,¹ and Pouillet whom we have just mentioned, in the faculty of law; L. Ph. Gilbert;² C. L. J. De Lavallée-Poussin,³ in the faculty of sciences; E. Nève⁴ and Mgr. Malou,⁵ librarians; finally, to come back to the oriental school, Beelen,⁶ Lamy,⁷ Forget,⁸ Van Hoonacker,⁹ Ladeuze,¹⁰ etc., in the faculty of theology; F. Nève,¹¹ de Harlez,¹² Casartelli,¹³ Colinet,¹⁴ Bang,¹⁵ etc., in the faculty of philosophy and letters.

However significant this outline may be, in order to know what Louvain has done in history, it is necessary to give a somewhat fuller account of the teaching of history in the faculty of theology, and in the faculty of philosophy and letters. We shall leave the ancient world to philologists and limit ourselves to what has been done for the history of Christian nations.

¹ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., p. 126; 1er suppl., pp. 19-20; 2e suppl., p. 22; 3e suppl., p. 22.

² *Hommage à la mémoire de L. Ph. Gilbert*, Louvain, 1893. Notices by Mgr. Abbeloos and by C. Blas: UCL-An., 1893. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 303-310.

³ Notices by F. Kaisin: UCL-An., 1904, and by Malaise: ARB-An., 1904. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 325-328; 1er suppl., p. 51.

⁴ Notice by P. Alberdingk-Thym: UCL-An., 1891. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 221-223.

⁵ Notice by Mgr. de Montpellier: UCL-An., 1865. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 55-58.

⁶ Notice by Mgr. Lamy: UCL-An., 1865. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 53-55.

⁷ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 66-72; 1er suppl., p. 8; 2e suppl., pp. 11-12; 3e suppl., p. 11.

⁸ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 82-83; 1er suppl., p. 10; 2e suppl., p. 14; 3e suppl., p. 12.

⁹ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 84-86; 1er suppl., p. 10; 2e suppl., pp. 14-15; 3e suppl., p. 13.

¹⁰ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., p. 88, 1er suppl., pp. 10-11; 2e suppl., pp. 15-16; 3e suppl., p. 13.

¹¹ Notices by Mgr. Lefebvre: UCL-An., 1894, and by Mgr. Lamy: ARB-An., 1894. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 214-220.

¹² Notices by Mgrs. Hebbelynck and de Groutars: UCL-An., 1900. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 230-237; 1er suppl., p. 35.

¹³ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., 1er suppl., pp. 44-47; 2e suppl., pp. 54-55; 3e suppl., pp. 54-55.

¹⁴ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 259-260; 1er suppl., p. 40; 2e suppl., p. 44.

¹⁵ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 267-268; 1er suppl., p. 43; 2e suppl., pp. 48-49; 3e suppl., pp. 52-53.

III. THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY AND LETTERS.

1. *Theoretical Courses.*

The list of the professors of history in the faculty of philosophy and letters opens with two names revered in Belgium: Jean Moeller, the distinguished professor of general history from 1834 to 1862, and Canon J. B. David, professor of national history from 1834 to 1865, and still in high repute both on account of his writings and of the esteem in which he is held by the society that bears his name.

Jean Moeller¹ was born in Münster in the year 1806. He lived in close touch with the principal scientific men of Germany. He was a distinguished pupil of Niebuhr and of several other scholars. On February 20th, 1830, he passed a brilliant examination for the doctorate, and received the public congratulations of Hegel who presided.

By his methodical teaching of ancient and medieval history, his *Manuel d'histoire du moyen âge* (Louvain, 1837), his *Précis de l'histoire du moyen âge* (Louvain, 1841), his courses on the method of historical studies and his numerous undertakings, he succeeded in imparting to his students the excellent historical training which he had received in Germany. It is remarkable that three-quarters of a century ago, this man of learning and method should have framed a synthesis of the middle ages, so judiciously that, even to the present time, its main lines are standing. One always finds pleasure and profit in reading his *Discours prononcé le 3 décembre 1835 à l'ouverture de son cours d'Histoire du moyen âge* (Louvain, 1835). No less remarkable is the fact that, as early as 1845, he should have started a practical teaching of history. For ten years (1845-1854), in the historical section of the pedagogical institute which was mentioned above, the learned professor gave

¹ Notices by Mgr. de Ram and by F. Nève : UCL-An., 1863. List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., pp. 206-208.

lectures on the principles of criticism, the auxiliary sciences, the sources, and modern historiography. There was no work done in common, it is true; nor was there any special hall for doing the work; and the purpose was pedagogical rather than scientific. Yet the students applied themselves to two kinds of practical exercises, namely, oral lessons and papers. The latter were of such a nature as to develop the scientific spirit. For as we read in the program: "The subject of the papers is a special historical question such as a point still obscure and open to discussion, the biography of some illustrious man, the study of some social or political institution. The sources must be investigated and controlled, their historical value must be weighed; the results thus obtained are to be compared with the views of the modern authors who have treated the same question, so as to form a prudent estimate of our best historians."¹ Several of these works have been published in the *Mémoires de la société littéraire*, or as dissertations for the doctorate.² This course was the origin of the *Traité des études historiques*, by Jean Moeller, edited with additions by Charles Moeller (Louvain, 1887). Taken together with his prominent part in organizing the Catholic forces, these were the reasons of Jean Moeller's well-merited reputation and influence in Belgium and in other countries, especially in France, Italy, Germany and England.

In 1863 he was succeeded by his son Charles Moeller³ by whose care the inheritance received from his father was maintained and developed. He completed and published Jean Moeller's chief works, revised and edited with many additions the *Traité des études historiques*. Moreover his personal works of great merit have been added to the family credit. In 1883, even before it was required by the law, the teaching of contemporary history was added to the other courses. In

¹ Cf. *Traité des études historiques*, by Jean Moeller, edited with additions by Ch. Moeller, p. 2. Louvain, 1887.

² Cf. P. Fredericq, *L'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire*, p. 257.

³ List of his works: UCL-Bibl., pp. 239-240; 1er suppl., p. 35; 2e suppl., p. 37; 3e suppl., pp. 41-42.

the same line further activity was evidenced by the creation of a special doctorate in moral and historical sciences, the foundation of the historical conference in 1885, and the establishment of many new courses required for the doctorate in history by the law of 1890. As great as Charles Moeller's filial piety is the attachment of his pupils for such a master in whom science is equalled only by modesty.

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At the same time that Jean Moeller inaugurated the teaching of general history, the chair of national history was assigned to Canon J. B. David¹ (1834-1865). This conscientious reader of the sources and critical compiler published in 1840 a *Manuel d'histoire de Belgique* which met with exceptional success. Soon after, in 1842, appeared the first volume of his main work, the *Vaderlandsche Histoire* which remained incomplete. But the ten volumes that were published had many successive editions, and are still held in high esteem. His chief merit was in distinguishing the different phases of the development of the nation, in studying the specific characters of each local group, and especially in placing together collective facts by pointing out their local differences and their chronological evolution. He was the first to break away from the system of the annalists and to co-ordinate materials according to the ancient divisions of the Belgian territory.

Professor David, to use the words of his successors, was "a man of sound judgment, a first class scholar, an indefatigable worker, one of the masters of national history." His fame rests also on another foundation. With Willems he gave the first impulse to the great movement for the revival of Flemish letters. Is it necessary to recall his teaching of Flemish literature, the foundation (1836) of a society for promoting the Flemish language and literature (*Met Tijd en Vlijt*), his works and his many collaborations in this field, or the high esteem in which he was held both in Holland and in Belgium? Is

¹ Notices by Mgr. Laforet and F. Nève : UCL-An., 1866 and by Snellaert : ARB-An., 1867. List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., pp. 200-205.

it not sufficient to state that since 1875, his name is both a title and a program for the most flourishing society of Flemish letters, the *Davidfonds*, which at present has a membership of over six thousand, and that recently all Belgium united to erect a statue to his memory at Lierre, his birthplace?

In 1865 Professor Edmond Pouillet¹ succeeded him, and, to the teaching of national history, added that of modern political history. He was at the same time a man "bon et populaire," to use the expressions which he himself applied to his predecessor, and a great scholar. Few professors ever possessed in the same degree the gift of imparting enthusiasm to students. He was the "idol of his pupils." Although he died in his prime (1882), his career was one of the most brilliant. At the same time as Taine, if not before, he enunciated in his works on national history certain leading ideas which always remain fundamentally true, even though their bearing and the terminology may be matters open to discussion. Thus he writes: "The social state in which we live is the immediate outcome of national and of European history If I dared venture a formula, I should say: The European movement determines the surroundings in which we live; the traditional movement of our country has determined our characteristic traits."² Such is, at any rate, the dominant spirit of his main work, *L'histoire politique interne de la Belgique* (Louvain, 1879; 2d ed. completed by his son, P. Pouillet, and published under the title of *Histoire politique nationale*, 2 vols. Louvain, 1882-1892).

Shall we be accused of losing sight of the object of this article, or shall we not rather show the real aspect of the teaching at Louvain, if we add that this noble character, this warm patriot and this generous Christian united, all his life, the love of science and country with the greatest piety, the most self-sacrificing devotion to Catholic interests and the deepest

¹ Notices by Mgrs. Pieraerts and de Groutars: UCL-An., 1883, and by St. Bormans: ARB-An., 1883. List of his works: UCL-Bibl., pp. 224-229.

² UCL-An., 1883, p. 318.

concern for all social suffering. "He certainly loved the poor. He had promised to give them the tithe of all his goods, and, not content with keeping that promise scrupulously, he even gave more."¹ In 1859, when still a student, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the *Société littéraire*, he exclaimed: "We, the sons of 1830, shall adorn the colors of Brabant with the Cross of Christ, and, under the protection of freedom, of the Constitution and of a revered dynasty, in the name of Faith, we shall march to conquer the future." That he kept his word we all know. We also know that he died like a champion of science and a Christian hero. "It is hard," he said on his deathbed, "to die so young, leaving behind a family and unfinished works But in this world no man is necessary, and I have no right to expect a miracle from God My dear children, always remember that your father never blushed for his faith, and never concealed his Catholic sentiments."³

How rightly might he have added: *Non omnis moriar*. For he still lives in his works. He survives in his son, Mr. Prosper Pouillet, the heir of his glorious traditions of science, patriotism and faith. He survives especially in the teaching of national and of modern political history by one of his best pupils, Professor Victor Brants.⁴ Since the retirement of Professor Périn, Professor Brants also fills the chair of political economy, and naturally has shown a preference for the study and the teaching of the problems of social economy. As manifestations of his activity in this field, we must mention numerous publications, the creation of a conference of social economy, the part taken in the work of many private societies and official commissions. But his value as an economist is heightened by his value as a historian. Gifted with an extraordinary aptitude for work and for mental assimilation, he was, from the very beginning, conspicuous in the *Societas*

¹ Cf. UCL-An., 1883, p. 314.

² Cf. UCL-An., 1883, p. 312.

³ UCL-An., 1883, pp. 320 ff.

⁴ List of his works: UCL. Bibl., pp. 251-255; 1er suppl., pp. 37-38; 2e suppl., pp. 40-42; 3e suppl., pp. 43-45.

philologa. Soon he attracted the attention of the Academy by a memoir; *L'histoire des classes rurales aux Pays-Bas jusqu'au xviiiè siècle* (Brussels 1881), and by many studies on the period of Albert and Isabella. Bright and impulsive, by birth an Antwerpian, but a true Parisian in character, he teaches history with a charming enthusiasm, explaining with choice expressions his picturesque syntheses and their interesting developments. And, all the time, the attitude of his audience indicates that they are under the spell of his fascinating qualities as a lecturer.

Such are the main features of the theoretical courses. We now pass to the practical courses which, from the point of view of a specialist, are to-day the essential factors in historical education.

2. *Practical courses.* A. *Their origin and development.*

1. *The historical conference.* We have said already that Professor Charles Moeller, following in the footsteps of his illustrious father, had founded the historical conference which infused a new life into the teaching of history in the faculty of philosophy and letters. On this point, therefore, we ought to enter into more complete details. Yet, as a full account of this practical course has been written on the occasion of the celebration in honor of Professor Kurth,¹ we shall limit ourselves to a summary.

The conference was founded in 1885 at the request of several excellent students who wished to become initiated in the historical method. At once it became the occasion for establishing a licentiate and doctorate in moral and historical sciences. Since then, the law of 1890 has greatly contributed to the development of the conference. But this purely academic doctorate has not thereby become useless. It remains a degree much sought after by law students, foreigners, young priests and religious who are already familiar with the

¹ Cf. P. Fredericq, *L'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire*, pp. 256-268. In many passages we quote the summary published in UL., pp. 139 ff.

matter of the official *candidature*, and are desirous of making a specialty of historical studies and of having a university diploma. This doctorate is characterized by, and derives its value from, the fact that, after an essentially practical training, a great personal effort is required from the student. For, he must present a printed dissertation, and defend it publicly together with fourteen theses in the hall of promotions. Such requirements and ceremonies are similar to those for the doctorate in theology and canon law, and are very interesting reminders of promotions under the old regime.

Every year a certain number of voluntary students join the future academic doctors or the future doctors in law, so as to bring the average membership up to about a dozen.

Since the law of 1890, Professor Moeller has received some assistance in his work. The present writer was assigned the practical exercises of the *candidature*, which he has since united with the historical seminar. The studies for the doctorate were divided into two sections, the conference of ancient history, and the conference of modern and medieval history. For several years, together with the practical exercises, I had the active direction of the latter section. But at present it is under the direction of its founder Professor C. Moeller. Canon Sencie,¹ professor of history, epigraphy, and Greek institutions, is in charge of the first section.

From the beginning it was evident that a special hall and a sufficient amount of books were essential conditions of success. Thanks to Mgr. Pieraerts, the conference was assigned a special room near the university library, and Professor Moeller placed a great number of his books at the disposal of the students.

Before the many courses required by the law of 1890 were organized, the scientific training of the students had many imperfections. In order to facilitate and direct the first researches, Professor C. Moeller completed by numerous

¹ List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., p. 263 ; 1er suppl., p. 41 ; 2e suppl., p. 46 ; 3e suppl., p. 48.

references and published the *Traité des études historiques*, the outline of which consists of the lessons of his father, Jean Moeller, in the old philological institute mentioned above.

The work of the conference is of two kinds: the work in common and the personal work of each student. The purpose of the work in common is to familiarize the students with the method. The subject is selected by the director, and divided into five or six questions which are assigned to the members in accordance with their number and ability.

The solution is not to be looked for in modern writings but in the sources. The student has to grope his way, but at the same time, the professor's experience is for him a constant guide. Errors have to be corrected, shortcomings pointed out, and temptations to discouragement overcome. The methods, not the results, are the chief aim of this simple but very useful exercise. The only outcome of it is a final report which is printed every year in the *Annuaire de l'Université*. It is unnecessary to enumerate the questions treated so far; they may be found in these reports. Moreover, for the years 1885-1899 they are briefly indicated in the work presented to Professor Godefroid Kurth on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of his practical course in history.

It is only after being prepared by the work in common that the student is capable of entering upon a personal research which generally forms his doctorate dissertation. Here the student is free in the choice of subject. At this stage, still closer relations are established between the student and his special professors. The best of these monographs have been published together in the *Recueil*. Later we shall come back to the results of the conference, but as they are generally due to several factors, these must be indicated first.

2. *The practical courses on the institutions.* At the time of the legal organization of the doctorate, Professor Brants who, since 1883, occupies the chair of modern political history for the *candidature*, was appointed to the courses of modern institutions. This former secretary of the *Societas philologa*, and

founder of the *Conférence d'économie sociale*, valued practical teaching too highly to fail to apply it at once to his course for the doctorate.

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About the same time, in 1893, the writer was appointed to open a course on medieval institutions. Soon after, in 1895, he was called upon to assume the direction of the exercises in criticism in the faculty of theology. This was the occasion for re-organizing the historical conference. In consequence of these various changes, a practical course on medieval institutions was added to the theoretical lectures. Since 1896, this new course forms an important section of the historical seminar of which more will be said later.

3. *The Auxiliary Sciences.* The auxiliary sciences, both of the academic and of the legal doctorate have also given rise to an essentially practical training. In this field the first mention is due to Canon Edmond Reusens¹ (d. 1903), the disciple of Mgr. de Ram, and his collaborator for the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, at the head of which he was for nearly forty years. In 1864 he began a course on Christian archeology, which was productive of great results, and exercised a marked influence in qualifying students for personal work. In 1881 he opened a course of paleography, diplomacy and chronology. This, like his course in archeology, was the first and, for a long time, the only one of its kind in Belgium. With regard to his competency it is enough to quote a few words from the *Archives belges*:² "As a scholar in paleography, diplomacy and archeology, he was second to none." His many works, and the numerous specialists formed in his school testify to the success of his teaching and undertakings. The key to this success is to be found in his mastery of the subject, and his efforts to bring the students to consult the sources themselves. With his great knowledge of biblio-

¹ Notice by R. Maere: UCL-An., 1905. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 72-76; 1er suppl., p. 9; 2e suppl., p. 13; 3e suppl., p. 9.

² Vol. VI (1904), p. 16.

graphy he guided them in their researches. In class, on excursions, in his room, in the library, he pointed out to them works of art and their reproductions, originals or specimens of the paleographic and diplomatic sciences. Above all, though never quite at ease in speaking, whenever the occasion offered, either in conversation or at an accidental meeting, on a train, at the end of a lecture or in the library when giving, or asking for a book, he encouraged the students to personal work, opened new horizons, made suggestions, indicated the bibliography on a subject or the method to be followed, called attention to defects, and warned them against dangers. Sometimes these lessons were impressed on their minds by some spicy and lively anecdote. On such occasions he was all afire with his subject, and gave strong and lasting impulses. Though at times he was a little cold in his bearing and might hardly encourage one by his manners he was nevertheless exceedingly kind and loving towards those who took interest in his studies. All endeavored to give him complete satisfaction and were ready to undertake even the hardest task in order to please a man so devoted to learning. Through his simplicity and uprightness he inspired others with the love for a loyal and impartial research; and through his genuine erudition he gained the full confidence of his pupils.

Before his unexpected death (1903) he had already provided for a successor. At his own request, he had just been replaced by Professor R. Maere,¹ his favorite pupil, and a member of the historical seminar. Professor Maere had been prepared to succeed Professor Reusens by a long scientific training in the archives and the libraries, and amid the artistic riches of Rome. He has already made a name for himself by several excellent historical works. And we may conjecture that his career as a professor will be marked by new progress in this field. For, from the beginning, in collaboration with Professor Remy, he opened a practical course, the *Conférence d'histoire*

¹ List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., 1er suppl., p. 12 ; 2e suppl., p. 16 ; 3e suppl., pp. 13-14.

de l'art et d'archéologie, which led to the institution of a special doctorate in archeological sciences.

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In addition to the impetus given by Professor Reusens, philology also has greatly benefited historical studies. In Louvain, the doctorates in the Romance and in the Germanic languages are well organized. The doctorate courses on the history of modern literatures are given by specialists. Without entering into a detailed account of these studies, which would be out of place here, we may be allowed to briefly note the main lines of co-operation.

From the beginning, the Germanic section has been in charge of Professor Alberdingk-Thym,¹ a historian of high repute, and a distinguished scholar in Germanic languages. In addition to his comprehensive learning, he had acquired great experience by presiding over several literary and historical societies. Since 1903, Professor Scharpe,² a distinguished philologist, has assumed these courses and given a new impulse to studies in this department.

As to the history of modern Romance literatures, it was assigned to Professor Léon de Monge.³ But his health was too poor to allow him to continue his brilliant lectures. He was succeeded by Baron François Bethune,⁴ the heir of an illustrious name, well-known in the field of sciences and arts, and the disciple of Professor L. de Monge and Gaston Paris. That his teaching is admirably suited to the needs of the students the learned public may satisfy themselves by reading a part of his course in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*,⁵ under

¹ Discours de C. P. Lecoutere : UCL-An., 1905. List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., pp. 242-246 ; 1er suppl., p. 38 ; 2e suppl., p. 36. Cf. J. Sencie, P. P. M. Alberdingk-Thym, in the *Dietsche Warande en Belfort*, 1906, pp. 13-66.

² List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., p. 269 ; 1er suppl., pp. 49-50 ; 2e suppl., pp. 43-44 ; 3e suppl., pp. 53-54.

³ Notices by G. Doutrepoint : UCL-An., 1899, and by Baron Descamps : ARB-An., 1899. List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., pp. 227-229.

⁴ List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., pp. 265-266 ; 1er suppl., p. 42 ; 2e suppl., pp. 47-48.

⁵ Vol. IV (1903), pp. 24-38, 207-230.

the title *Les écoles historiques de Saint-Denis et de Saint-Germain-des-Prés dans leurs rapports avec la composition des Grandes Chroniques de France*. The practical value of his method is well evidenced by the *Rapports de la Conférence de philologie romane*, published in the *Annuaire de l'Université*. He is himself the founder of this conference, and directs it with Professor G. Doutrepont.

Thus the practical courses in history find a great support in the auxiliary sciences. This shows clearly that, by specializing the doctorates, the law of 1890 has not merely infused into each a new activity, but has also given an opportunity for strengthening them by mutual co-operation. No wonder then that the results are so abundant and that the success is so complete.

B. The Results of the Practical Courses.

Up to the time of the enforcement of the law of 1890, results are due almost exclusively to the historical conference. Since then, as we have shown already, they are owing for the most part to both the historical conference and the practical course on medieval institutions. But credit must also be given to all the collaborations just mentioned. We shall give a brief enumeration of these results:

1. *Doctorate statistics.* *a.* Since 1890, in the faculty of philosophy and letters, the degree of *Docteur en sciences morales et historiques* was conferred upon eight candidates. A greater number have obtained the licentiate, and eight of these are preparing for the doctorate.

b. From the same date, about twenty-nine students have taken the legal degree of *Docteur en philosophie et lettres* (in the section of history). Most of these graduates are now engaged in intermediate education or employed in the State archives. Of the former members of the historical conference and the practical courses on institutions many are now engaged in higher education as professors in seminaries, ecclesiastical colleges and scholasticates of religious congregations.

2. *Participation in intercollegiate competitions, and in traveling prize competitions.* Examinations for the title of *archivist*. Nine of our doctors, and two other members of the historical seminar have obtained a prize of 4,000 francs for traveling purposes as a reward for their success in the competition for the traveling scholarships instituted by the law of 1890.

Five of our doctors have also won the first prize in history at the annual competition between the four Belgian universities. Moreover five doctors have been successful in the examinations for the title of *archivist*, and one for a position in the royal library.

3. *Publications.* The publications are: *a. Rapport sur les travaux de la conférence d'histoire*, published at the end of each number of the *Annuaire de l'Université catholique de Louvain*, 1886–1907. (For the practical course on medieval institutions, see below the historical seminar). *b. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie.* Up to the present time, twenty numbers have been published, and several others are in the press. The first seven were published by the members of the historical conference. With the greater extension given to the practical courses, the *Recueil* has also been made more comprehensive. It now includes the studies published by the members of the practical courses directed by Professors F. Bethune, A. Cauchie, G. Doutrepont, R. Maere, Char. Moeller and E. Remy. *c.* Various other publications different from the *Recueil*. (A list may be found in UCL–Bibl., pp. 381–382; 1er suppl., p. 42; 2e suppl., p. 47; 3e suppl., p. 50.) *d.* The contributions of former members to many Belgian and foreign historical reviews.

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In the presence of these results, we may well apply to Louvain what, in 1899, Mr. Paul Fredericq said in general of our higher institutions of learning: "Our universities have become the centre of a movement of great force, which is now fully recognized in foreign countries."

Nevertheless, although the University of Louvain has the same general features as her sister-universities in Belgium, and, with them, shares in the progress realized in higher education in different countries, yet the preceding outline makes it clear that she has also features of her own. The tradition that binds the new spirit with the institutions of the past, the impetus given to the auxiliary sciences, the mutual assistance of the different doctorate courses and the several faculties, the importance attached to the study of the middle ages, are so many striking and distinctive features of the teaching of history in the faculty of philosophy and letters. Its greatest characteristic, however, and unique situation are derived from the teaching of religious history in the faculty of theology. This was recently acknowledged by Professor Kurth:¹ "For religious history as a specialty, the University of Louvain stands an important center to-day."

IV. THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

To give a complete idea of all historical sciences, it would be necessary to speak of the different courses of exegesis, biblical criticism, patrology, positive theology, canon law as viewed from an historical standpoint, Christian archeology, and the school of oriental languages. We would have to recall or mention the names of Mgr. Malou (d. 1864), Mgr. Beelen (d. 1884), Professors Lefebvre (d. 1889),² H. Feye,³ E. Reusens, Mgr. Lamy, Professors J. Forget, A. Van Hoonacker. Mgr. Hebbelynck, Professors P. Ladeuze, R. Maere, A. Bondroit,⁴ H. Coppieters,⁵ E. Van Roey,⁶ etc. We shall limit our-

¹ Cf. E. Ned, *L'énergie belge*, p. 76, Brussels, 1906.

² Notice by Mgr. Lamy: UCL-An., 1890. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 61-62.

³ Notice by J. de Becker: UCL-An., 1895. List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 59-61.

⁴ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., p. 386; 1er suppl., p. 11.

⁵ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., 2e suppl., p. 16; 3e suppl., p. 14.

⁶ List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., 1er suppl., p. 12; 2e suppl., p. 16; 3e suppl., pp. 14-15.

selves to ecclesiastical history, whose place in the teaching of theology and canon law has already been indicated.

(1). *The Professors of Ecclesiastical History.* The chair of ecclesiastical history was founded at the same time as the University itself. The first professor was Canon G. H. Wauters ¹ (from 1834 to 1871), whose constant care and interest was rewarded by brilliant results. In 1842-1843 he published his *Manuel d'histoire ecclésiastique* which ran through seven editions (7th ed., 2 vols., Naples, 1889). Twenty-five years later, he perfected this work by his dissertations on various questions of ecclesiastical history (4 vols. Louvain, 1868-1872). In 1871 he was succeeded by Canon B. Jungmann, ² who filled the chair of ecclesiastical history about a quarter of a century (1871-1895). Seven volumes of dissertations on the history of the Church (Ratisbon, 1880-1887) give the substance of his extensive and solid courses.

Two important facts stand out prominently in his career as a professor.

First of all, to him is due the honor of inaugurating a special course of *patrology* at Louvain. Before his time this was not a separate branch; it was included in the courses on Church history and dogmatic theology. In October, 1879, it became a distinct course in the program of the University. After filling the chair of patrology for eleven years, Professor Jungmann resigned in order to devote his time to the seminar of ecclesiastical history. But, by his publications, he continued to make this study easier for the students. To this end he published a new edition of Fessler's *Institutiones patrologiae*. From 1890 to 1898, the course of patrology was continued by Mgr. Hebbelynck, the present Rector of the University, and is now given by Canon Ladeuze, who, with the present writer, is editor of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*.

In addition to the course of patrology, we must mention the foundation of the *seminar of ecclesiastical history*, which was the crowning act in the scientific career of Professor Jungmann. To this we shall return later.

¹ Notice by B. Jungmann : UCL-An., 1873. List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., p. 52.

² Notices by Mgr. Abbeloos and by A. Dupont : UCL-An., 1896. List of his publications : UCL-Bibl., pp. 63-65.

Upon the unexpected death of Professor Jungmann (January 12, 1895), I¹ was assigned the chair of ecclesiastical history. Since then my constant endeavor has been to have my theoretical course meet in every point all the requirements of modern science, to initiate the students as much as possible into the historical method, to encourage personal work, and to make them take part in the international movement in favor of historical studies. For this purpose, I started, in 1895, a course of *introduction to Church History*. Moreover to the old seminar of ecclesiastical history were added two new practical courses forming with it the well known *Séminaire historique* of which we shall speak soon.

But before coming to this point, one more fact must be mentioned. Owing to the erection of a minor section in the Faculty of Theology, in 1898, it became necessary to establish a second chair of ecclesiastical history. Professor A. Van Hove,² the former secretary of the historical seminar, was chosen to fill it.

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However great be the importance and the merit of the points already mentioned, the most considerable innovation was that of the historical seminar.

(2). The *Séminaire historique*. In the field of historical sciences the seminar of Louvain is today perhaps the most flourishing society of the Alma Mater. Among similar institutions found in theological faculties in different countries it must be numbered also as one of the most powerful. Still it is of very recent origin, and very simple in its organization. On these points we may refer the reader to the work presented *A M. Godefroid Kurth, professeur à l'université de Liège: A l'occasion du XXV^e anniversaire de la fondation de son cours pratique d'histoire*. (Liège, H. Poncelet.)³ But as several changes have taken place since that time it is ne-

¹ List of publications: UCL-Bibl., pp. 263-264; 1er suppl., pp. 41-42; 2e suppl., pp. 46-47; 3e suppl., pp. 48-50.

² List of his publications: UCL-Bibl., 1er suppl., p. 11.

³ The same notice has been taken up by P. Fredericq, *L'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire* (Paris, 1899). See also A. Soetart, *Le Séminaire historique de Louvain*, in the *Bulletin bibliographique et pédagogique du Musée belge*, vol. VII, Louvain, 1903.

cessary to write a new account, in which, however, we shall take up again in part, and sum up what was written then.

A. *The foundation.* In 1899, Mgr. Abbeloos, then Rector of the University, expressed a desire that Professor Jungmann should begin a practical course in the faculty of theology, like that of Professors P. Willems and Char. Moeller in the faculty of philosophy and letters. This was at the time when, by his remarkable success, Canon Carnoy gave such a fruitful impetus to personal research. The example of these men was followed by Professor Jungmann who, at once, complied with the wish of Mgr. Abbeloos. Such was the beginning of the Critical Exercises, the organization of which we shall soon describe.

To these critical exercises two new practical courses were added. Called in 1895 to succeed Professor Jungmann in the Faculty of Theology, the present writer established in 1896 the *Historical Conferences* destined especially for the theological students. On these more details will be given later. Previous to this, as stated above, he had been assistant to Professor Moeller in the direction of the modern section of the historical conference, and, since 1893, was in charge of the course on medieval institutions in the Faculty of philosophy and letters. In the beginning, this course was exclusively theoretical. In 1895, when Professor Moeller again took up the active direction of the modern section of the historical conference, I added a practical course to my *lectures on medieval institutions*. Thus, in 1896, the historical seminar was finally constituted with three distinct sections, yet all under the same direction.

The bond of union between these three sections is, therefore, chiefly a personal one. The grouping, however, offers real advantages. It has made it possible to concentrate the resources to be used in common by the three sections. Moreover it has enabled the students in the faculty of theology, and those in the faculty of philosophy and letters to enlarge their field of knowledge and perfect their scientific education by assisting at the practical courses of the other sections. This will be made clearer by the account of the organization of the historical seminar.

B. *The Organization.*¹ We shall begin with certain features common to the different sections of the historical seminar. I. The leading idea in the general organization of the historical seminar is very simple. According to the plan of historical studies in the faculty of theology, the scientific formation of the students supposes on their part the three following conditions: (1) A general knowledge of Church history. This course has been in existence a long time. It aims at giving a general knowledge of the external and the internal life of the Church. Such knowledge is not only a help for the study of theology and canon law, but is also indispensable for a successful personal study of history. (2) A knowledge of the principles of method. To this end, I began, in 1895, a course of Introduction to Church history. It is obligatory for all students in the Faculty of Theology, but is followed by a great many others, especially by those who prepare for the doctorate in history. Its object is to teach and apply to concrete instances the principles of method from the standpoint of religious history. It is a four-year course, including auxiliary sciences, historical research, criticism and reconstruction. The general part of this course has recently been polygraphed. (3) The personal application of these principles, that is, the practical course. This practical course, in the Faculty of Theology is twofold: the historical conferences, and the critical exercises on the sources. The former are principally intended to perfect the students' knowledge, and to pass judgments on the value of works on Church history. The latter have for their aim to qualify the students for contributing to the progress of ecclesiastical history by original publications.

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The same idea has been carried out in organizing the practical course on medieval institutions in the faculty of philosophy and letters. But in this case it was necessary to take into account the general program of studies for the *candida-*

¹ Since the Exposition of Liège, the following portion of this article has been a little modified for the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN. The changes may be seen by referring to the printed account: *Le Séminaire historique*, pp. 16 ff.

ture and the doctorate in history. For, here history was not simply an auxiliary science, as in the faculty of theology, but a specialty. (1) We need not, therefore, insist on the general knowledge of history. For, as was said above, in addition to the theoretical lectures on medieval institutions, there are in the *candidature* and the doctorate many other courses intended to impart to the students general, and even detailed, information on the Middle Ages. (2) In the program of the courses an important place is assigned to the theoretical and practical teaching of the principles of method. Thus for the *candidature* we find exercises on history; for the doctorate, the encyclopedia of history, historical criticism and the main auxiliary branches. However, in order to make the practical course on institutions more profitable, the principles of method have been laid down in an *Introduction générale aux institutions du moyen âge* (polygraphed) prepared especially for these practical studies. (3) The personal application of these principles is the essential aim and the very *raison d'être* of the practical studies on the Middle Ages.

II. We have mentioned the personal bond between the different practical courses. Besides this, there exists between them another which is essentially material, namely, the scientific equipment of the historical seminar, which consists chiefly of its library. Up to 1899, the historical conferences had a special place of meeting, but possessed no special library. Thanks to Professor Chas. Moeller, the rather small room in which he has placed a special library for the benefit of the members of his historical conference could also be used for the critical exercises on the sources, and the practical course on institutions. In 1899, an important change took place. The historical seminar was given the use of the large and convenient hall which was formerly the library of the Collège du Saint-Esprit, and in which have been gathered sources and historical works. The library of the seminar is composed of a number of works which belonged to the college library, also of the late Professor Jungmann's library generously bequeathed by him, of works more recently acquired, and of the personal books of the director. The

books are arranged and catalogued according to the classical divisions of history into introduction and auxiliary sciences, sources, works on general, special and local history. The various periodicals received as exchanges for the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (148 in number), and other periodicals obtained from other sources are placed at the disposal of the members in a room adjoining the library. To give the list of them would be too long; it may be found in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* which gives abstracts from these reviews.¹ We must also note that books from the general library of the University may be placed for a time in the room destined for the historical seminar. Thus, though not yet perfect, the equipment is greatly improved. And the University is very thankful to the generous friends and benefactors who contribute funds for bibliographical acquisitions. All members of the historical seminar are admitted to the use of its library. Moreover tables with drawers have been placed in the same room for those who desire to devote themselves to more extensive research.

III. In consequence of these improvements and the increase in the number of the sections, the staff of officers has also increased in number. From the members of the historical seminar there are selected three secretaries whose chief duty is to draw up an annual report of the work done during the year, two librarians and one assistant librarian. This entire force is under the control of a director. For some years the director had as assistant for the critical exercises Professor Maere who has since succeeded Canon Reusens in the chair of archeology, paleography, chronology, and diplomacy. Finally the present Rector of the University, Mgr. Hebbelynck, is the honorary president of the seminar. His kind encouragement, and the favor of the Belgian episcopate, contribute in a large measure to the success of the seminar and its scientific attainments.

IV. As to the members of the seminar, the foregoing remarks already indicate for what class of students the courses are intended. This will be made still clearer in the follow-

¹See, for instance, RHE, vol. VI (bibliographical section), pp. 674*-678*-225.

ing pages. For the present, we shall limit ourselves to their number. From the beginning, it has generally increased from year to year, as will appear by glancing at the following statistics since 1899.

ACADEMIC YEARS.	FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.		FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY.
	Critical Exercises on the Sources.	Historical Conferences.	Practical Studies on the Middle Ages.
	First series Prof. Jungmann.		
1889-1890.....	11		
1890-1891.....	8		
1891-1892.....	7		
1892-1893.....	6		
1893-1894.....	7		
	Second series Prof. Cauchie.		
1894-1895.....	7		
1895-1896.....	6		15
1896-1897.....	9	18	7
1897-1898.....	5	19	11
1898-1899.....	11	22	9
1899-1900.....	8	23	10
1900-1901.....	12	28	8
1901-1902.....	13	25	12
1902-1903.....	8	30	17
1903-1904.....	15	41	22
1904-1905.....	20	41	27
1905-1906.....	26	36	23

The great number of students in the historical seminar does not justify the application of the well known axiom that quantity is prejudicial to quality: *Non sunt numerandi sed ponderandi*. In fact, one of the characteristic features of the historical seminar in Louvain is that its members, as a rule, are men of more than ordinary talent. Not that the students in the faculty of philosophy and letters are always superior beings, different from the students in other Belgian universities. But it is a great advantage that the desire to obtain the legal doctorate in history, or the mere desire of being trained in the historical method bring to the practical course on institutions students who have obtained with great distinction the degree of doctor of law, and also a select body of ecclesiastics and religious already accustomed to laborious study, and made more or less familiar with

scientific research by a long stay in seminaries or scholasticates.

The high standing of the members is remarkable chiefly in the two sections established in the faculty of theology. In this faculty the students are generally chosen from among the best in the seminaries and the scholasticates. Before entering upon university studies, in addition to the college course, they must have devoted five or six years to the study of philosophy and theology in these institutions. One must recognize the fact that such favorable conditions can hardly be found elsewhere. Now it is precisely these students who form the greater number of workers in the two sections in question.

It must also be noted that, in the practical course on institutions, some voluntary students join those who are officially inscribed for the doctorate in history. They become their rivals, and stimulate their ardor. From the beginning the critical exercises have been obligatory for all students of canon law. Some, however, took part in them somewhat reluctantly. But gradually the love of personal investigation has been developed, and very seldom are any found at present who wish to free themselves from collective work.

The historical conferences, though obligatory for none, have generally the largest attendance. During the first years, students from religious orders were seldom found in these different sections. Little by little they have joined the other students. At present their number is large, and in their application to work, they are second to none. Thus there has spread in this intellectual center the wholesome contagion of the spirit of enterprise and of scientific research. We may add that several of these students are foreigners. Thus, in 1904-1905, among the members of the historical seminar were five priests and religious from Holland, a layman from Switzerland, a priest from Saxony, a Benedictine from Germany, a priest and a Recollet from Italy, a Capuchin from England and two from Spain. In 1905-1906, a priest from Holland, two German Benedictines, a Hungarian priest, a layman from Switzerland, two priests and a Recollet from Italy, one Irish and two Spanish Capuchins,

and an American priest. In the past, other nationalities also have been represented in the practical courses. Thus is the study of questions that have an international character made easier and more attractive. New horizons are opened, and bonds of scientific fraternity are established between students of different race, country and temperament. Without anticipating the details on the results to be given later, we may state here that the presence of three foreign students in the historical seminar is due in a large measure to the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*.

There are still other features common to the various groups of the historical department. As they will be considered in their proper place, we shall not insist on them here. Moreover, most of them will appear from the special description of each of these groups to which we now pass.

A. *Critical exercises on the sources.* As the creation of the critical exercises was the starting point of the historical seminar, we must return to the work of Professor Jungmann. As stated already, he created the seminar of ecclesiastical history in November, 1889. The exercises, obligatory for all students in canon law, were also open to all other students in the faculty of theology who wished to make a special study of history. Professor Jungmann himself was the director, and every year he appointed a vice-president and a secretary, both chosen from among the students. The principal duty of the secretary was to present, at the beginning of every academic year, a report of the work done during the previous year. Besides, he transmitted to the members whatever communications the president had to make outside of the meetings, and had charge of the books.

Meetings were held twice a week, and lasted one hour. We shall try to indicate the main features of Professor Jungmann's scientific method. The preference which he frequently manifested for Patristic researches was due to his special studies in Patrology. At the first three months' sessions, he explained the state of the question, the various points of view to be examined, the bibliography on the subject, so as to give a general outline and point out the leading ideas. Then he divided the work among the students.

They had to control and complete the information which had been given by the director, and of which they had taken notes during the meetings. Then the conclusions were drawn up, to be discussed in one of the meetings. If for any reason a subject had not been finished during the year, it was taken up again and completed the following year by some of the old members along with their study of the new subject. The oral lessons of the professor, and the criticism of the works presented by the students gave the director an opportunity of setting forth the principles of the historical method. Every year, the secretary, in his Report summed up the conclusions of these studies. Five reports were published in the *Annuaire de l'Université* (1891-1895). Moreover, three studies were published by the members of the seminar.¹ These monographs were received very favorably by the learned public. Thus, on the publication of the study *De aleatoribus* J. B. de Rossi wrote to Professor Jungmann: "I have been impressed very favorably by the publication of the first of the critical studies of the seminar of ecclesiastical history which you have founded recently in the University of Louvain. I have expressed this opinion publicly in the academic conferences on Christian archeology."

Since my appointment to the chair of ecclesiastical history to succeed Professor Jungmann, the critical exercises on the sources which originally constituted the seminar of ecclesiastical history have been continued and developed. But at present they form only one of the three sections of the historical seminar. They are still especially intended for the students of canon law. The organization is practically the same for the recruiting of members. A report is still published every year in the *Annuaire*. But instead of two weekly meetings of an hour each, there is but one, which lasts two or even three hours.

These meetings are held in the library of the historical seminar. At the first meeting the director explains briefly

¹ Cf. UL, p. 382. In addition to the information given in the *Rapports*, an account of the subjects treated during the first five years of the seminar of ecclesiastical history will be found in P. Fredericq, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-276.

the purpose of the seminar, indicates the subject to be treated, the general points of view, and the new aspects of the question, and distributes the work at once. Frequently the old members are given the subject of study before the summer vacation. The first step for the students consists generally in reading one of the most recent works on the matter, or, when there is no such work, a work on some similar question. Thus, under the professor's guidance and control, the student becomes accustomed to find out for himself the actual state of science, the views accepted so far, the sources and the main works of reference which he has to examine, verify, criticize, complete, or rectify. This enables the student to prepare a provisional list of the questions to be answered, and gives him the first bibliographical information, which must be completed later according to the general principles of bibliographical research. With the help of these works and of the researches already made, the student examines critically on every point the various questions of origin, authority, and interpretation, and thus considers every aspect of his subject. After this analytical research, he draws up a final plan and writes his own paper. At every meeting, this work is examined minutely. All members have to submit to an examination of conscience. What were they to do? What have they done? What remains to be done? To these three questions each one is frequently asked to give an answer.

When the work has progressed sufficiently, the members present the results of their studies. In order to proceed with greater clearness and precision, and also to enable other members to follow more easily, a detailed plan is submitted to them. While presenting his results, the student must show how he has proceeded, justify every statement by proofs from the sources or from subsequent authors, place before the eyes of his fellow members the works which he quotes, read and criticize the passages to which he refers. After, or even sometimes during this presentation, the president calls upon each member to make his observations or ask for further explanations. Then he gives an appreciation of the criticisms made, approves, corrects or completes them. Fre-

quently he avails himself of this opportunity to explain where the principles of method have or have not been applied, and to call attention to further desiderata. This process goes on until the student reaches a definitive result. For these exercises aim at the production of a complete study requiring the application of all the principles of the historical method. In addition to these exercises on criticism, at every meeting, the director indicates the recent historical publications of importance and the last numbers of the reviews, which the students, after the meeting, may examine at leisure.

B. *Historical conferences.* The critical exercises which we have just mentioned are especially intended for only some of the students in the faculty of theology, namely the students of canon law. To initiate all the students in personal work without obliging them to spend at it the long time required by researches on the sources, I established, in October, 1896, the historical conferences. They consist especially in the methodical study of authors. Their primary object is to perfect the historical training of students for whom history is only an auxiliary branch. From the theoretical courses the students obtain a general idea of facts and institutions. By means of the courses on the introduction to Church history they are made acquainted with the principles of method. The discussions of various authors in class, and the examples explained in the course of introduction give them a certain familiarity with standard writers. Nevertheless, in order to be profitable, this study must receive special attention. It is important for the students to learn how to appreciate the value of the works which they will have to use later, and to become accustomed to derive fruit from the reading of the masters. Moreover, through such a critical study of historical works, the members of the historical conferences not only become capable of forming a judgment on their value, but also imperceptibly assimilate the principles of method. So much so that many have passed of themselves from the reading of the authors to the direct study of the sources. Finally these conferences complete the lectures on Church history. For this reason they are chosen from the matters taught during the preceding year. In the

theoretical courses the amount of matter is so great that several questions are gone over very rapidly, or merely indicated. Such questions form the subject matter of a more detailed study in the conferences. Such a choice also, by placing the students at once on familiar ground, renders them capable of a deeper study of the subject. In order to combine the interests of optional work and of the necessary academic examination on obligatory branches, the program of the conferences is determined, and the matters of study are distributed in the beginning of July, before the summer vacation, and thus the students are enabled to devote a part of this time to the study of some important work. For a similar purpose, and also in order to proceed gradually, the members are not obliged to present and discuss a subject except during the second and third years of their theological studies. In addition to these critical exercises, the conferences are devoted to examining, and making abstracts of, the reviews, giving information on collections, indicating new publications, etc.

Meetings are held once a week during the first two terms, from 8:15 to 10 P. M., in a large and beautiful hall of the Pontifical College. As a rule, every session begins with the analysis of a review or collection, the announcement of new publications, or an exchange of views on some historical question. Then the member appointed for the day presents orally, but with the help of his notes, the conclusions of his researches. A polygraphed plan of his study, which he must distribute to the other members, contributes to hold their attention and make the conference more useful. Either in the beginning or at the end of his statement, he presents a criticism of the works he has consulted. To make this easier, all the members have at their disposal a series of questions including a systematic classification of all the points of view to be examined in a critical study. At the end of the meeting, the members and the president make their observations. These refer both to the works which formed the object of the study and to the mode of treatment of the subject. A recording secretary, appointed for this purpose, sums up in one of the subsequent meetings the appreciations that have been expressed.

C. *Practical studies on the middle ages.* We have mentioned above the circumstances in which the practical studies on medieval institutions became, since 1895, a section of the historical seminar. All those who are preparing for the doctorate in history must attend this course. It is also followed by some voluntary students from the faculty of theology, or the faculty of law, or some other department. Even during their *candidature*, a certain number of future doctors are generally present at the meetings. The reason is that the exercises for the *candidature* and the practical courses for the doctorate are placed under the same direction; also and chiefly that the director has taken advantage of this fact to grade the education of future doctors, and establish a close connection between the personal studies for the *candidature* and those for the doctorate.

The studies treat of the sources and the institutions of the middle ages. Every year a new period is studied either from original texts or from various authors. Meetings are held once a week and last two hours. At some of these meetings the professor explains the institutions of the period, and this constitutes the theoretical course on medieval institutions. The other meetings are devoted to the presentation and discussion of special questions by the members. We shall not insist on the method followed. According as the object is the study of the sources, or that of the authors, the method is the same as has been described for the critical exercises on the sources of ecclesiastical history, or for the historical conferences.

There is also a collective reading of texts that form the basis of a complete study of some point in the institutions. This is made easier by the polygraphed texts which the director gives to the members. In this common exercise, without neglecting the criticism of the origin and authority of the documents, the historical seminar aims primarily at their analytical and synthetical interpretation.

Our city being essentially medieval, excursions take place from time to time to give the students of this section an opportunity of studying the various vestiges of ancient institutions. Finally as the students are specialists, whatever be

the nature of the exercise and the study, both professor and students endeavor to consider the special point under investigation as a center toward which all notions and principles are made to converge. By this constant application to numerous concrete cases these principles are more easily assimilated.

* * *

As a complement of this second part we have now to mention some general features.

I. It is impossible to describe here the living reality of the practical courses. Only the general features could be outlined in the preceding account. But variations in the details are almost infinite according to the nature of the questions which are adapted as far as possible to the aptitudes and needs of the students; according also to the dispositions of the members and of the professor, and a multitude of other circumstances. The essential point is that professor and students always endeavor to apply to their subject the principles and methods which their special research requires or admits. Hence as many different aspects are to be found in the practical course as there are varieties in the field of methodology and of historical studies. The meetings are not formal. They take place in the afternoon or evening, a time which is favorable to friendly expansion and intercourse. They are like a family gathering, in which the common interests of the favorite study are discussed systematically, it is true, yet with simplicity and cordiality.

II. It is needless to enumerate the questions treated every year in the different sections. They may be found in the *Rapports du séminaire historique* published in every number of the *Annuaire de l'Université catholique de Louvain*. These reports show that in a comparatively short time, a good number of specialists were formed in the various fields of medieval institutions and especially of religious history. And this has proved of great advantage to the vitality of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*.

III. So far we have spoken only of the work done in common. It must be added that frequently dissertations are undertaken by students. Generally they are but a further

development of a study begun in the historical seminar. In private interviews between student and professor, direction is given to the work, and criticism freely made. Indeed a pleasing result of the practical courses is to establish intimate and lasting relations between the students and the professor, and among the members of the historical seminar. Thus is the drudgery of studies made agreeable by the charm of friendship. How many alumni repeat later that these are the sweetest memories of their university life. In times of difficulty courage is kept up, and obstacles are overcome by this current of mutual sympathy and spirit of fraternal solidarity.

IV. Even during their university courses, the best students may come into contact with specialists whose advice will be useful. In the historical seminar they are given an opportunity of hearing several. A custom has been introduced by which these relations are facilitated, and thus the students are given an advantage similar to that which results from attending successively the courses of various foreign scholars. To close the first term of the academic sessions, a conference on a special point of the historical method is generally given to the assembled members of the three sections by a historian of note. Thus valuable lectures were given by such authorities as Father de Smedt, Dom Morin, Van den Gheyn, Dom Berlière, Professor G. Kurth, and by former members of the historical seminar, like Professor H. Van Houtte of the University of Ghent, and Father Laenen, archivist of the Archdiocese of Malines. Several professors and the Right Reverend Rector generally honor the assembly with their presence.

V. Finally, if it shows real worth, the work done during the year is published. A scientific organ is at the disposition of the former and the actual members of the seminar, through which they may become acquainted with the constant progress of history, and in which they may publish the results of their personal researches. This gives occasion to their collaboration in several periodicals, and leads to the foundation of a collection, and of a special review of which we shall speak a little later.

* * *

As a fit crowning of this whole organization it would be highly desirable that such students as have been most distinguished in their personal work should have the facility of perfecting themselves by scientific travels and chiefly by a stay in Rome. This is possible for doctors of philosophy when they are successful in competitions for traveling prizes. But, so far, there exists in the Eternal City no institution adapted to the needs of former students of theology. In 1905, however, Rev. M. Vaes, a former member of the historical seminar, was appointed rector of Saint Julien des Flamands in Rome. He is thus enabled to serve the historical interests of his Alma Mater. It is also to be hoped that the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome will enroll among its members the most deserving doctors of the faculty of philosophy and letters. And this the more in view of the fact that the first suggestion for the creation of a Belgian institute in Rome came from the director of the historical seminar.

C. *The Results.* This organization has been productive of many results. Since the foundation and the development of the practical courses, the students have given evident manifestations of their activity and their taste for personal work. Into the faculty of theology especially a new life has been infused. The results of the practical courses may be seen by glancing over the publications issued directly by the historical seminar. It is impossible to give a detailed list here. We must limit ourselves to mentioning the main groups.

I. *Rapports sur les travaux de Séminaire historique.* A report is published every year in the *Annuaire de l'Université catholique de Louvain* (from 1889 to 1894 under the title *Rapports sur les travaux du séminaire d'histoire ecclésiastique*). Sixteen reports have been published. They contain the list, and frequently a summary of the main questions treated in each of the three sections. Since 1901 they contain also the list of the works published during the year, even if they were done before that time in the seminar.

II. Various historical publications besides the collections here mentioned. A list may be found in the reports on the work of the historical seminar, and in V. Brants: *Uni-*

versité catholique de Louvain, Bibliographie, pp. 382 ff., first supplement, p. 42, second supplement, p. 47, third supplement, p. 50 (Louvain 1900, 1901, 1904 and 1906).

III. Dissertations published in the *Recueil des travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie*, 2nd series. The first seven numbers were published by members of the historical conference founded by Professor Chas. Moeller. As a consequence of the extension of the practical courses, the *Recueil* has also enlarged its plan, and now contains the works published by the members of the practical courses under the direction of Professors F. Bethune, A. Cauchie, G. Doutrepont, R. Maere, Chas. Moeller and E. Remy. We give here the publications prepared in the historical seminar and contained in this *Recueil*:

J. Laenen, *Le ministère de Botta Adorno aux Pays-Bas autrichiens pendant le règne de Marie Thérèse, 1749-1753*, Anvers, 1901.

C. Leclère, *Les avoués de Saint-Trond*, Louvain, Paris, 1902.

J. Warichez, *Les origines de l'Église de Tournai*, Louvain, Paris, 1902.

C. Terlinden, *Le pape Clément IX et la guerre de Candie, (1667-1669), d'après les archives secrètes du Saint-Siège*, Louvain, Paris, 1904.

L. Vander Essen. *Étude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique*. Louvain, Paris, 1907.

Dom. Chr. Baur, O. S. B., *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*. Louvain, Paris, 1907.

To the practical studies on the middle ages must be added the two following dissertations for the doctorate. H. Van Houtte, *Les Kerels de Flandre. Contribution à l'étude des origines ethniques de la Flandre*, Louvain, 1898. (*Recueil de travaux 1^{re} série, fasc. 6.*)

P. Van den Ven, *S. Jérôme et la vie du moine Malchus le Captif*, Louvain, 1900.

The historical seminar had an influence also, though less marked, on the following works:

H. Van Houtte, *Essai sur la civilisation flamande au commencement du XII^e siècle d'après Galbert de Bruges*, Louvain, 1898. (*Recueil de travaux*, 1^{ère} série, fasc. 7.)

A. Bayot, *Le roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, Louvain, 1903 (*Recueil de travaux*, 2^e série, fasc. 12.)

C. Liégeois, *Gilles de Chin: l'histoire et la légende*, Louvain, 1903. (*Recueil de travaux*, 2^e série, fasc. 11.)

R. Lemaire, *Les origines du style gothique en Brabant. 1^{ère} partie. L'architecture romane*, Louvain, 1906 (*Recueil de travaux*, 2^e série, fasc. 15.)

IV. Dissertations for the doctorate published in the Faculty of Theology:

A. Van Hove, *Étude sur les conflits de juridiction dans le diocèse de Liège à l'époque d'Erard de la Marck (1506-1538)*, Louvain, 1900.

G. Voisin, *L'Apollinarisme, Étude historique, littéraire et dogmatique sur les débuts des controverses christologiques au IV^e siècle*, Louvain, Paris, 1901.

Th. Van Oppenraaij, *La prédestination dans l'Église Réformée des Pays-Bas depuis l'origine jusqu'au synode national de Dordrecht en 1618 et 1619*, Louvain, 1906.

The influence of the historical seminar has been extended to the majority of dissertations published for the doctorate in theology or in canon law since 1898 (cf. CUL-Bibl. p. 4, 1^{er} suppl. p. 2, 3^e suppl. p. 2), and more especially to the following:

A. Bondroit, *De capacitate possidendi ecclesiae necnon De regio proprietatis vel dispositionis dominio in patrimonio ecclesiastico aetate merovingica (a. 481-751)* Vol. I. Louvain, 1900.

A. Michiels, *L'origine de l'épiscopat*, Louvain, 1900.

C. Van Crombrughe, *De soteriologiae christianae primis fontibus. Examen historico-theologicum*, Louvain, 1905.

V. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*. With a view to permanently promoting and encouraging the scientific ardor of the members, there was added to the collection mentioned above the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (founded 1900), edited by Professors A. Cauchie and P. Ladeuze. Its program includes the history of all Christian peoples from the

time of Christ to the present day, and all manifestations of the external and the internal life of the Church. Every number of the *Revue* contains (1) original articles on various questions of Church history; (2) the analysis and criticism of the most important publications on Church history; (3) information of all kinds on the progress realized in this field; (4) a bibliography as complete as possible of books and articles on the Church in the past, together with the indication of the most important criticisms of them. From 1900 to 1905, six volumes 8vo of 886, 1043, 1263, 845, 996 and 973 pages have appeared. In addition to these, since 1903, three volumes of bibliography have been published of 480, 520 and 680 pages. At present the *Review* forms two large volumes a year: one contains original articles, reviews of books and chronical notices; the other, the systematic bibliography of Church history. From its first appearance it was received most favorably in scientific circles. This is shown by many testimonies of historical publications.¹ In one of the best French critical periodicals we find the following passages: "Our readers will allow us to remind them of the existence for some time, namely since 1900, of another review of religious studies which has fulfilled all its promises, and whose success is complete. We mean the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, edited by Professors A. Cauchie and P. Ladeuze of the Faculty of Theology at Louvain."² Of all Belgian reviews of history it was the only one to receive a gold medal at the International Exposition of Liege in 1905.

VI. Competitions. By these publications several young

¹ *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. LXVIII (1900), pp. 605-606; *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. LXI (1900), p. 409; *The Catholic University Bulletin*, vol. VII (1901), pp. 112-113; *Literarische Rundschau für das katholische Deutschland*, vol. XXVII (1901), p. 55; *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. LIV (1901), p. 316, vol. LX (1903), p. 415; *Historisches Jahrbuch*, vol. XXII (1901), p. 162; *La civiltà cattolica*, vol. II (1901); *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1902-1903; *Revue historique*, vol. LXXXI, p. 355; *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, vol. LV (1903), p. 298; *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, vol. XLIV (1901), pp. 453-454; vol. XLVII (1904), p. 65; Ed. Ned, *Bulletin critique*, 2e serie, vol. VI (1900), p. 555; vol. XI (1905), p. 599; *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Technik*, 1th June 1907; P. Batifol, *Questions d'enseignement supérieur ecclésiastique*, p. 118, n. 1. Paris, 1907.

² *Bulletin critique*, Paris, October 25, 1905.

authors won prizes in university competitions or were successful in competitions for traveling prizes. In 1905, out of eleven competitors of various faculties of philosophy and letters, the two traveling scholarships founded by the law of 1890 were won by two members of the historical seminar. Generally they are the same authors whom we mentioned when we spoke of the results of the practical courses in the faculty of philosophy and letters. No doubt the number of these successes would be much larger if the competitions were open to students of the Faculty of theology.

VII. Functions and collaborations. Publications and successes are only a part of the results. The seminar has produced champions of historical science who, in their turn, preserve and spread the spirit of study and method. At present among the former members of the historical seminar are found six professors in the faculty of theology, one professor in the faculty of law, two professors and one assistant professor in the faculty of philosophy, all in the University of Louvain; one *chargé de cours* in the University of Ghent, one professor in the faculty of theology of the Catholic University of America, many professors in seminaries, scholasticates, and colleges of Belgium and other countries, several professors in Royal Atheneums, numerous state-archivists in Belgium and Holland, many contributors to the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, two directors of the *Archives belges*, most of the members of the new board of editors of the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, many collaborators of the quarterly *Annales de la société d'émulation* for the study of Flemish history and antiquities, several editors of the *Musée belge*, and a number of contributors to the *Commission royale d'histoire*, *Revue de l'Instruction publique*, *Muséon*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, *Revue des questions historiques*, *Catholic University Bulletin*, *Dietsche Warande en Belfort*, *Taxandria*, *Revue bénédictine*, *Revue des bibliothèques et des archives de la Belgique*, *Revue néo-scholastique*, *Mouvement sociologique*, *Revue de l'art chrétien*, *Revue biblique*, *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, etc.

Whatever be their present place in life, former members of the historical seminar retain, as a general result of their training, an enlightened zeal for science. Having been brought into closer touch with the progress of civilization, they are also readier and better qualified to contribute to it. Thus in its own field the historical seminar shares in the expansion of national activity awakened by Belgian independence. It stimulates the efforts of young minds in a branch which is eminently adapted to our national character. It also awakens and develops efforts which, within the nation itself, contribute to its intellectual progress, and without, while gaining valued sympathy from scientific authorities, contributes with them to the increase of the scientific patrimony of humanity and the Church.

This, in fact, has been publicly recognized on several occasions by famous foreign scholars. Thus recently in reviewing the collection presented to Professor Kurth on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of his practical course of history, Monsignor Ehrhard, then professor in the University of Vienna, wrote as follows concerning the reports of the various practical courses:¹ "The most stimulating report is unquestionably that of Professor Cauchie, the director of the seminar of Church History in the Catholic University of Louvain. This seminar, the most recent on the list, is able nevertheless to record remarkable results . . . I recommend the reading of this commemorative publication to all those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the inner organization of scientific seminars, and especially to those who entertain suspicions, and may be opposed to special seminars of scientific theology. Perhaps this book will show that such institutions deserve a better judgment, altogether different from that which one may be inclined to pass on them."

About the same time, no less significant praises came from France. In a lecture delivered in a general meeting of the historical seminar in 1901, the eminent rector of the Catholic

¹ *Allgemeines Literaturblatt*, vol. CX (1901), p. 205.

Institute of Toulouse, Monsignor Battifol, said:¹ "We follow with great interest the reports published every year of the work done by the historical seminar. . . . A seminar such as this—it may be compared to the *Ecole des hautes études philologiques et historiques* of the Sorbonne—is a workshop to which whoever feels in himself the vocation to be a historian comes to study. Vocation indeed is indispensable, but a seminar like this is fit to try and develop a vocation. That good workmen are produced by this education, capable in turn of excellent productions, was long ago demonstrated by the former members of your seminar. Allow a stranger to extend to you his heartfelt congratulations."

CONCLUSION.

This rapid glance at the history of the historical department in Louvain is very incomplete. Yet is it not sufficient to establish by facts that, in the field of historical studies, the new Alma Mater has worthily fulfilled her scientific, religious and national mission? When we consider that the Catholic University is in no way supported by public funds, but only by the free gifts of Catholics, is not its success wonderful indeed?

Imbued with the Catholic spirit, cordially loyal to national institutions, devoted to the interests of science and progress, it is, to use Godefroid Kurth's expression, "the strongest scientific citadel erected by the Church in the nineteenth century."² A radiating center in the intellectual and moral orders, it has in a large measure contributed to the development and grandeur of the Belgian nation.

Hence when, on May 8, 1904, the staff of professors and two thousand students were assembled in the *Halles* to greet His Royal Highness, Prince Albert of Belgium, they might well be proud to hear him utter these memorable words which partly refer to historical sciences:³ "Few are the univer-

¹ *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, vol. III (1901), p. 67.

² *Archives belges*, vol. II, p. 15, Liège, 1900.

³ *UCL-An.*, 1905, p. lxxix.

sities which, like yours, may boast a glorious past of almost five centuries. . . . No sacrifice is too great for you, when it is question of maintaining your position in the front rank of progress, or of creating new accommodations required by modern science which numbers among you so many competent authorities. Faithful to these beautiful traditions, and conscious of its high mission, the University finds the secret of its strength and prosperity in endeavoring to promote equally scientific and national life."

The era of progress is not yet closed. During the jubilee celebration in 1905, the International Congress of Economical Expansion, held at Mons, proposed certain improvements in the teaching of history. The University of Louvain will be careful to follow closely these reforms.

May then the new generations preserve and increase the noble heritage of labor and honor of their Alma Mater. May they always keep in mind these other words of the future king of Belgium: "This glorious past is a precious encouragement for the present; it will be the fruitful source of still greater things in the future."

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IRISH TEACHERS IN THE CAROLINGIAN REVIVAL OF LETTERS.

(CONTINUED.)

Contemporaneous with the Irish colony at Liège was the no less important Irish colony at Laon. That very ancient center of Christianity in France had, as early as the sixth century, been the scene of the missionary activity of the wandering Celt. Thither in the ninth century, flocked many of those scholars whom Eric of Auxerre described as a "herd of philosophers" from Ireland. Eric himself studied there, and had for his teacher *Elias*. This Elias was, apparently, one of those who changed their native names for the latinized form of a scriptural name. That he was an Irishman is proved by the testimony of Gautbert (tenth century), which occurs in a Leyden manuscript,¹ to the effect that "Elias, of the same nation as John the Scot (Scotigena), taught Eric (of Auxerre) and, as a reward for his learning (sapientia), was made Bishop of Angoulême." Another contemporary document published by Delisle² gives Elias as bishop of Angoulême, and a third contemporary witness, Ademar (in the third book of his *Histories*), tells us that the celebrated Theodulf of Orleans had for "his heir in philosophy" Elias the Irishman, Bishop of Angoulême. The first mentioned document goes on to enumerate the members of the Laon colony, and among the names that occur are *Daoch*, *Israel*, *Egroat*, Gono, and Remi, the successor of Eric at the school of Auxerre. Of these, all except the last two were Irish. From other sources we know that among the scholars at Laon were *Martin*, *Luido* and *Duncan*, or *Dunchad*. Martin was beyond doubt, an Irishman; for the Annals of Laon have the following entry under the year 875: "Martin the Irishman

¹ Univ. of Leyden Ms. 2400, fol. 147 vo and 148 ro.

² *Notices et extraits*, XXXV, pt. I, 311.

fell asleep in the Lord.”¹ He wrote poems in Greek which bear his name and in which he styles himself “a Greek.”² There may be some doubt as to the nationality of Luido; but Dunchad was certainly an Irishman and a bishop. While teaching at St. Remigius’ at Rheims, Dunchad composed a commentary on the astronomical section of the work of Martianus Capella on the seven liberal arts. The commentary exists, in part, at least, in a tenth century manuscript in the British Museum,³ and is there entitled distinctly “COMMENTUM DUNCHAT (H superscr) PONTIFICIS HIBERNIENSIS QUOD CONTULIT SUIS DISCIPULIS IN MONASTERIO SCI. REMIGHI DOCENS SUPER ASTROLOGIA CAPELLAE, etc.” By a strange misreading of DUNIS for DOCENS, O’Connor⁴ interprets the title to mean that Dunchad taught at Down. The authors of *l’Histoire littéraire* are at a loss to account for Dunchad’s journey to France; they consider it to be undeniable that he taught at Rheims, but cannot determine whether he was bishop of an Irish or of a French see; indeed it is not necessary to suppose that he was bishop of any diocese.⁵ Besides mentioning the astronomical commentary they tell us of another work of Dunchad, a book of “observations” on Pomponius Mela, in which he tried to give his pupils a taste for geography, “then so universally neglected.” This Dunchad is not to be confounded with Duncan, or *Donnacán*, another Irishman, who, according to the *Chronicon Scotorum*, was son of Maeltuile, was a scribe and an anchorite, and died in Italy in 843. To the school of Laon belonged also John Scotus Eriugena and his brother Aldhelm, of whom mention will be made later.

From Laon sprang the school of Auxerre. The city of St. Germain had, even in the earliest times, been associated with the legendary accounts of the life of St. Patrick. And when, in the ninth century, Eric and Remi learned profane wisdom from the Irish teachers at Laon, Ireland was simply

¹ “Martinus hibernus in Christo dormivit,” *M. G.*, SS., XV, 1294.

² *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III, 686 n. and 693.

³ Ms. Royal Library 15 A XXXIII, saec. X., fol. 3.

⁴ *Rerum Hib. Scriptores*, 1826, IV, 169.

⁵ *Hist. liter. de la France*, VI, 549 ff.

making return for the sacred lore which St. Patrick was supposed to have received at the school of St. Germain. The school of Auxerre is well known in medieval history as an important center of literary and philosophical activity. There Eric and Remi, following in the footsteps of their Irish teachers at Laon, expounded the text of Martianus Capella and the treatises of the Latin grammarians, and showed in their own writings the influence of Eriugena, Elias and Israel. Perhaps it should be added here that, besides the Israel who taught at Laon, there was another *Israel*, also an Irishman, who, in 947, was present at the Council of Verdun. He was a monk of the monastery of St. Maximin of Trier, and, as the teacher of Bruno of Cologne, influenced the educational reform of the Rhineland in the tenth century. Of his pupil, Bruno, it is said that he carried his books about with him as the Hebrews carried the Ark of the Covenant. Mention should also be made of the curious manuscripts found at Laon, which date from the time of the Irish settlement there. Among them are a glossary (an explanation of words) attached to a Greek grammar, written, probably, by the Martin of whom we have already spoken, a Greek lexicon, and a Hebrew alphabet, with explanations. These are very interesting specimens of early medieval knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and are highly prized by modern students of philology.¹

Charles the Bald, who, after the treaty of Verdun, (842), reigned over the Western half of the empire, and from 875 to 877 bore the title of emperor, emulated the example of his grandfather, Charlemagne, as a patron of letters. During his reign Irish scholars flocked in great numbers to the Continent. The monarch was fond of discussing knotty questions, and had a keen taste for the subtle disputations to which the Irish dialecticians were devoted. Encouraged by his patronage, the Irish monks migrated in so great numbers to France that hostelries were built for their exclusive

¹ Cf. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, I, 360; in *Notices et extraits*, XXIX, pt. 2, pp. 1 ff., will be found an interesting account of one of these MSS. in which Irish words occur.

use.¹ The most eminent of these, the scholar who found most favor with the emperor and attained the highest fame as a learned man, was *John Scotus Eriugena*. From the time when he first set foot in France (about 845), he was recognized as the most accomplished linguist in the empire and one of the ablest theological thinkers in the world of Latin Christianity. At the emperor's request he translated from the Greek the works of the Neo-Platonic writer known as Pseudo-Dionysius, and at the invitation of some of the prelates of the Church in France he entered into the controversy then waged concerning the theory of Predestination propounded by the monk Gotteschalk. According to a tale first told by William of Malmesbury and since often repeated, the emperor, on one occasion, asked the Scot, who sat opposite him at table, "What is the difference between a Scot and a sot?" "The table is all that is between them just now," promptly answered the royal guest. Of John's extraordinary learning, of his profound, though heterodox, philosophical interpretation of nature, of his theological errors, of his ingenious poems, in which Greek and Latin are often intermingled in the most bewildering fashion, the historians of medieval philosophy, theology and letters have treated at great length. It will be sufficient here to call attention to what is new in the literature, already vast, which has grown up around the biography and criticism of John the Scot. First, with regard to the name. It is now proved by a careful examination of the manuscripts that, while "John the Scot" was the only name by which he was known to his contemporaries² the name by which he called himself, and by which he was known to the earliest copiers of his translations was "*Eriugena*." This form is to be preferred to "*Erigena*" and "*Ierugena*," both because, as Professor Baeumker has shown,³ it has in its favor the authority of the oldest manuscripts, and also because it is the more correct philological compound, its

¹ The Council of Epernay (846) speaks of "*Hospitalia Scottorum, quae sancti homines illius gentis in hoc regno construxerunt.*" *M. G., Legg.*, I, 390.

² "*Johannes Scottus*," and rarely "*Scottigena*."

³ *Jahrb. f. Philosophie u. spek. Theol.*, VII, 346 and VIII, 222.

meaning being "a native of Erin." Recent investigation has also shown that Eriugena is not the author of the satirical poem so long ascribed to him, in which the manners and customs of ecclesiastical Rome are mercilessly arraigned. The poem is now known to have been written by a Neapolitan grammarian about the year 878.¹ That there was, however, a keen edge to John's wit is evident from his epitaph on a miserly bishop, Hincmar by name, "who never did a noble deed, *till he died*."² It has also been shown, in recent times, that Eriugena had disciples, not only among his contemporaries, such as Elias, Bishop of Angoulême, Wicbald, Bishop of Auxerre, Martin, and Luido of Laon, and Eric and Remi of Auxerre, but also in subsequent times among the Cistercians.³ Finally, Dr. Rand, Assistant Professor of Latin at Harvard, has published (Munich, 1906), the glosses which are found in so many ninth and tenth century copies of Boethius' *Opuscula Sacra*, and shown that they are to be ascribed to John the Scot.⁴

From an entry in a book preserved in the National Library of Paris it appears that there was at Laon in the middle of the ninth century a certain "*Aldhelm*, brother of John the Scot." Notwithstanding the Anglo-Saxon form of the name, this student at Laon is believed by critics to have been John's brother in the literal sense, and, therefore, one of the Irish colony at that place.

Another Irish teacher who attained prominence and enjoyed royal favor at the court of Charles the Bald was *Manno*, at one time Master of the palace school, and, probably, Eriugena's successor in that post. He was head of the

¹ Cf. *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III, 554 ff.

² Hic jacet Hincmarus cleptes vehementer avarus
Hoc solum gessit nobile, quod periit.

(*Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III, 553.)

³ Cf. Baeumker, in *Jahrb. f. Philosophie u. spek. Theol.*, VII, 346 ff.

⁴ The manuscript tradition of Eriugena's works is still but imperfectly known. In 1900 Schmidt discovered two hitherto unknown mss. of Eriugena's principal work, *De Divisione Naturæ*, in the Library of Bamberg, and in 1905 the present writer discovered a tenth century copy of a portion of the same work in the Library of the British Museum, viz., Harleian 2506, saec. X. It is a condensation, by excerpts, of Eriugena's treatise. The catalogue describes it as "a fragment of a dialogue of some Christian philosopher!"

Chapter at St. Oyen in Burgundy in 870.¹ He died in 880. Manno had among his pupils at the palace school many of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of the time, such as Bishops Stephen, Mancio and Ratbold. By an inexcusable error arising from Manno's knowledge of Greek, the Jesuit writer Dessel in his *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Louvain 1643) affirms that Manno was of Greek nationality, a blunder which is repeated by Stöckl in his *Geschichte der Pädagogik*. Dümmler has published² a letter which after referring to "the doctrine of John the Scot" in the matter of the accent of a Greek word, goes on to say, "When I was at the palace at Compiègne, Manno told me the meaning of *mechano* and *mechania* (leg. *mechanica*)."³ The letter was written about the year 870, and is interesting not only for the mention of Manno, but also for the light it throws on the educational, scientific and general cultural conditions at that time.³

Before we turn from the northern kingdoms of the empire to study the foundations of Irish schools in the southern provinces, we must notice, if only briefly, the Irish teachers who found their way to the various ecclesiastical settlements in Lorraine and the neighboring countries. In the diocese of Metz, the monastery of Vassor (Vallis decor, Walciodorus) was founded by Irish monks in the ninth century and had for its first abbot *Maccallin*.⁴ In 950 Maccallin was succeeded by *Cadroe*, who, though a Scotchman, was educated in Ireland. To Cadroe succeeded *Fingan*, to whom was entrusted, later, the monastery of St. Symphorianus at Metz.⁵ In Ghent "the holy Irish Abbot *Columban*," (died 987), in Burgundy *Anatolius* and *Maimbod*, and in Cologne *Mimborinus* renewed in the tenth century the monastic spirit which had first been implanted in those regions by Irish missionaries three hundred years previously.

¹ He is mentioned in a document of that year as "praepositus cenobii Sti. Eugendi." D'Achery, *Spicil.*, XII, 135.

² *Neues Archiv*, XII, 346; *M. G.*, *Epp.*, VI, 183.

³ See *Hist. liter. de la France*, V, 658; Dümmler, *Östfr. Reich*, II, 650; *Rhein. Mus. f. Philol.*, N. F., XLVIII, 284-9.

⁴ *M. G.*, *SS.*, XIV, 511, 512.

⁵ *Bellesheim*, I, 307; *M. G.*, *SS.*, IV, 668.

Among the most famous of all the Irish foundations of learning in Europe were those which in the ninth and tenth centuries flourished in the country of the Allemanien in Southern Germany. At Rheinau, on the Rhine, about five miles above Schaffhausen, there appeared about the middle of the ninth century *Fintan*, or Findan. Fintan was born about the year 800 in Leinster; while still a youth he fell into the hands of the Danes, was taken to the Orkney Islands, escaped to France, made a pilgrimage to Rome, returned to Switzerland under the patronage of Count Wolf, and in 851 was made Abbot of Rheinau. There he died in 878. This Irish exile spending his lonely vigils among the hills of the Allemanien heard voices of angels and demons calling to him through the night. And the language of the spirits was the ancient tongue of the Gael. Fortunately, the author of the *Life of St. Fintan*, written in the tenth century, was an Irishman, who could remember and write down the words spoken in the vision to the saint, and the words, as recorded by him are among the very oldest specimens of the Irish language that have come down to us.¹ There were Irishmen at Rheinau, however, even before the time of Fintan, as is evident from the records of the monastery. This fact accounts for the presence at Schaffhausen of a celebrated Irish manuscript, Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, transcribed by Dorbene, Abbot of Iona (died 713). The manuscript was discovered in 1851 by Dr. Keller. It had lain, how long no one can tell, at the bottom of a heap of rubbish on an old book shelf in the public library of Schaffhausen.

Not far from Rheinau, situated on Lake Constance, was the still more celebrated monastery of Reichenau (Augia dives), which, during the early middle ages, was seldom without a number of Irish monks within its walls.² Thither, in the ninth century, during the reign of Abbot Walahfrid, came Irish scholars, teachers of Greek, who inaugurated a period of literary activity and brought with them many valuable

¹ Cf. *Vita Sti. Findani*, *M. G.*, SS., XV, 502; Zimmer, *Glossae Hib.*

² Its founder, St. Pirmin, was, in all probability, an Irishman. See Sommerlad, *Die wirtschaftliche Thätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1900), I, 222.

manuscripts. And, despite the numerous incursions of the Hungarians, despite the repeated destruction of the monastery and its library by fire, Reichenau continued to be one of the most important centers of the book industry in Germany. The manuscripts now in the library of Carlsruhe are the remnants of the literary treasures amassed by the monks at the abbey of Reichenau.¹ Unfortunately, we do not know the names of these Irish teachers and scribes. For instance, we have no record of the name of the Irishman who was the teacher of the abbot Erlebold (823-838) at the beginning of the literary era of the monastery. It will be remembered that it was at Reichenau Walahfrid wrote of the "Irish, to whom the habit of travel has become a second nature."

Reichenau's fame, great as it was, was outshone by that of the neighboring monastery of St. Gall. This monastic retreat, situated in the heart of the Alpine range above Lake Constance, was founded in the seventh century by St. Gall, the companion and countryman of St. Columban. It became during the ninth century the favorite stopping place for Irish pilgrims, who in their journeys to and from Rome and the Holy Land, loved to linger round the shrines which contained the sacred relics of their own saints, such as Kilian, Columban and Gall. Two such pilgrims, *Moengal* (called in Latin Marcellus), and his uncle, *Marcus*, a bishop, returning from Rome, in the year 841, were induced to remain at St. Gall and, becoming members of the community (this is not certain in the case of Marcus), donated all their books to the monastic library. Moengal had been Abbot of Bangor; that is, if he is the same person as the Moengal mentioned both in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and in the *Annals of Ulster*. His influence as a teacher was evidently appreciated at St. Gall; for he was placed at the head of the "inner school" (for the training of clerics, the future monks of St. Gall, while Iso, the representative of the learning of Fulda, was given charge of the "outer school" for the education of lay students). Moengal's activity as a teacher continued

¹ Cf. Zimmer, *Glossæ Hib.*; Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, ed. by Reeves.

until 871, the date of his death.¹ He had for pupils, Notker, Tutilo, Ratpert, Hartmann and Waltramm. We are told expressly that he taught the seven liberal arts as well as theology, and that, under his guidance, the monks of St. Gall became proficient in the art of music. Indeed, the achievements of his pupils are the best tribute to his success as a teacher. Notker's activity in the various departments of sacred and profane learning are well known; especially is he noted for his use of the vernacular (Old German) in many of his writings—most important material for the study of German philology. Tutilo was the artist of the group; we are told that he attained extraordinary proficiency in the use of stringed instruments (the harp?), and the visitor to St. Gall can still see and admire his carvings in ivory. Fortunately these men found in the writer of the *Annals of St. Gall* a faithful chronicler of their daily life, and, thanks to him, we can form a vivid detailed picture of the group of scholars: Notker, surnamed the Stammerer, the student of logic and translator of Boethius; Tutilo, the poet, musician, painter and sculptor; Waltramm, the librarian of the monastery, and poet; Salomon and Hartmann, both of whom were afterwards bishops. These were accustomed to gather, at night, in the writing-room (*scriptorium*), to discuss their literary projects; and when their enemy, Sindolf, the *refectorarius*, who suspected that their midnight gatherings had something to do with the "dark art," was caught playing the spy, the sons of learning were not slow to mete out to him the punishment which his eavesdropping deserved.² Whatever these men achieved in the realm of literature and art they owed, in large measure, to the training they received from Moengal. In the tenth century, *Faillan* and *Clemens*, both Irishmen, were teachers at St. Gall. The former is distinctly styled "head of the school" (*magister scholarum*); he died

¹ It is, I suppose, unnecessary to say that the picture of Moengal presented in Von Scheffel's popular romance, *Ekkehard*, has no claim to historical accuracy or even to historical probability.

² *M. G.*, SS., II, 94 ff.

in 991, as appears from the Necrology of the monastery.¹ In 841, the year in which Moengal arrived, there arrived also another Irish teacher, *Eusebius*. Soon, however, he retired, like many of his countrymen before him, to some mountain fastness, where he led the life of a recluse. Throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, Irish scholars continued to arrive at St. Gall, such as *Brendan*, *Dubslan*, *Adam*, *David*, *Melchomber*, *Fortegian*, *Chinchon*, *Hepidan*, and *Dubduin*, whose names occur in the necrologies and other records.² The last of these it was who in somewhat rude verses deploras the ascendancy of the German element in the monastery founded by an Irish saint, and extols the achievement of the monks of Irish nationality, to whose credit he places the conversion of England and Germany.³

Not only are the Irish teachers associated with the school of dialectic that flourished at Auxerre and with the logical studies of the monastery of St. Gall (we have from the school of logic in St. Gall not only the treatises published by Hattemer and Piper, but also several hitherto unedited works, including a set of verses on the valid moods in the three syllogistic figures—a kind of forerunner of the “*Barbara, Celarent*” of Peter the Spaniard). They are also associated with abstruse metaphysical and mystical theological speculations suggested by the works of the Neo-Platonists, of which the rest of Europe at that time understood very little. For example, the Irishman, *Macarius Scotus*, who lived in the ninth century in the abbey of Corbey, commenting on a passage of St. Augustine’s *De Quantitate Animae*, revived the doctrine of monopsychism; that is to say, he taught that there is but one mind, or intellect, in which all men participate. Unfortunately, his work is lost; we have, however, an answer to it from the pen of the celebrated Ratramnus.⁴

¹ *Obitus Faillani Scotti, doctissimi et benignissimi magistri. St. Galler Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*, IX, 52, XI, 43; for Clemens cf. Dümmler, *Östfr. Reich*, II, 649.

² Cf. *St. Galler Todtenbuch u. Verbrüderungen*, St. Gall, 1869, also *M. G., Necrol. Germ.*, I, 464 ff.

³ These verses are still preserved in the library of the monastery of St. Gall, Ms. 10, saec. X; they are published by Dümmler in the *Neues Archiv*, X, 34.

⁴ Cf. Renan, *Averroes et l'Averroïsme*, Paris, 1882, p. 131; *M. G., Epp.*, VI, 153.

The influence of the Irish teachers was felt not only in Southern Germany, but also in Austria and Northern Italy. In the tenth century *Coloman* and several companions, returning from Rome, settled in Austria, founded several monasteries in the neighborhood of Vienna, and, no doubt, inaugurated there the literary activity for which their fellow-countrymen were distinguished. At Verona, in the ninth century, appeared an Irish monk from Bobbio, who was placed at the head of the school of St. Zeno. He seems, judging from a poem of his which has come down to us, to have run away from Bobbio, and the verses in which he describes his longing for the old home and the community of St. Columban have the ring of genuine pathos:

Nocte dieque gemo quia sum peregrinus et egens.

(*Poet. Aevi Carol.*, III, 688.)

Towards the end of the same century there was another Irish teacher at Verona. (*Ibid.*, 639, n.)

At Bobbio, on the Trebia, among the wildest, but most picturesque, of the Ligurian Appenines, Columban had made his monastic home, and there, after all his missionary labors, he found a final resting place. To this shrine of the greatest of Ireland's missionary saints pious scholars from Erin frequently found their way, bent on honoring the relics of their monastic founder. There *Cummian*, the aged bishop, found a haven of rest (about 750); there, by his piety and devotion, he earned the esteem of Luitprand, king of the Lombards. His epitaph was written by John, whom we judge from the title *magister* to have been the head of the school at Bobbio.¹ It was to Bobbio that, as we have seen, Dungal, the poet and astronomer, retired from the field of active work as a teacher, and it was to the library of Bobbio that he bequeathed his books, as a gift to St. Columban. Fortunately, we are as well informed about the library of Bobbio as we are about the school of St. Gall. We have a catalogue made in the tenth century² showing the titles of the books it contained at that

¹ Cf. *Poet. Aevi Carol.*, I, 107.

² Published by Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, III, 818 ff.

time. In it we find many interesting entries; for example, "Also the books which Dungal, the chief scholar among the Irish, gave to St. Columban . . . a book in Latin on the Irish language." As is well known, the Muratorian Fragment, which contains the oldest extant list of the Books of the New Testament, now in the Ambrosian Library, formerly belonged to the library of Bobbio. Finally, students of the history of mathematics will remember that it was while Abbot of Bobbio (982) that Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II, wrote his work on geometry, making use of the manuscripts which he found in the library of the monastery, especially of the works of the Roman surveyors.

In addition to all those whose names we have succeeded in gathering from various sources, both edited and unedited, there were, no doubt, many teachers from Ireland of whom the continental records make no mention whatsoever. It is equally certain that, among anonymous works composed during the ninth and tenth centuries, there were some which are to be added to the credit of the Irish scholars. Sometimes there is an indication, a point of style, a characteristic mistake in orthography, an allusion, a turn of phrase, which warrants the critic in surmising that the author of the work was Irish. Thus, Dümmler is able to hazard the hypothesis that an elegy to Bishop Gunthar of Cologne is the work of an Irish scholar.¹ Frequently, the mere fact that a work contains Greek words, or reveals an acquaintance with Greek, is taken as a sufficient proof of its Irish origin.

Whenever the Irish scribe used the characteristic Irish script, the origin of the book is, of course, evident even to the casual observer. It is as easy to distinguish a page of Latin written in Irish script from a page written in the continental style as it is to distinguish a printed page of German from a printed page of English. The Irish scribes, however, did not always use their own style of writing. In fact, the continental student found the Irish style of writing so difficult that he would have none of it. In the old booklists we often

¹ *Neues Archiv.*, IV, 320; *Anzeiger f. Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, XVIII, 10.

meet the entry, "Written in Irish characters: cannot be read"—"Scottice scriptus, legi non potest." And when parchment became scarce, as it did in the eleventh century, or when the supply in the monastery gave out, the Irish books were often the first to be sacrificed. Sometimes they were used in binding other books; we find pages from them pasted inside bookcovers, and if a still greater number of them were not sacrificed in this way it was probably because of the illuminations which gave them a value independently of their legibility. Nevertheless, the Irish form of letters influenced the style of alphabet generally used on the continent in the ninth and tenth centuries. And not only in respect to the form of letters, but also in such matters as the preparation of the parchment, the mixing of the ink, etc., did the Irish scribes influence the technique of bookmaking. Dr. Keller, Nigra, and others who have devoted attention to the matter, tell us that the ink used by the Irish scribes was of superior quality, and that it is still distinguishable by its extraordinary freshness; even Bede remarked the durability and brightness of the red ink used by the Irish scribes of his time. The perfection to which the Irish brought the art of illumination is well known. Their work in this department of the fine arts is an unceasing source of astonishment to the modern critic, who knows how far the continental artist fell below the level of their attainment. The Irish illuminated manuscripts are distinguishable principally by the delicate, and at the same time complicated, geometrical tracings, the curiously symbolical representations of men, animals and plants, the symmetrical wordspacing,—all of which, however, was done with the quill (the usual implement of writing among the Irish, as appears from a representation of St. John in the *Book of Kells*), and, so far as we know, without the aid of a compass. Examined under a microscope, these intricate designs do not reveal a single flaw. The *Book of Kells*, the *Book of Armagh*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, etc., which are to be seen in the libraries of Ireland and England, are not the only samples that have come down to us of the "Illuminated Hosts of the Books of Erin." Dr. Keller has made a study of the Irish manuscripts in the libraries of

Switzerland, and, in an interesting work on the subject,¹ has given some beautiful specimens of illumination and other ornamental work. He has a theory that not only the knowledge of Greek, for which the Irish teachers were famous, but also their art of illumination, was taught them by Greek monks from Alexandria who, he thinks, began to settle in Ireland early in the Christian era. However this may be, the specimens of Irish scroll work which he gives and the illustrations which are so generally reproduced nowadays from the *Book of Kells*, though they do not do full justice to the originals, give some idea of the perfection to which the Irish scribes brought the art of bookmaking. The Irish manuscripts are, however, interesting also from another point of view. The scribe whose sometimes uncongenial task it was to copy a treatise on Latin grammar would often adorn the margin of his page with a short poem of his own composition or with some side remark, such as "This is a dull page," "Night is drawing nigh," "The parchment is bad, the ink is bad; I'll say no more about it." These remarks and the marginal verses are sometimes in Irish, and constitute some of the most precious specimens of the old forms of the Gaelic language. The St. Gall copy of Priscian is especially interesting from this point of view. It is described by Nigra in his *Reliquie celtiche* (Turin, 1892). In it we meet invocations of Irish saints written on the margin (e. g., "St. Patrick, help me," "St. Brigit, aid the writer"), the names of Irish scribes who wrote the book, e. g., Maelpatrick, Dongus, Finguin, Cobtach, (Coffey), and an occasional set of verses, such as the quatrain in which the scribe, turning aside for a moment from the text of the grammarian, commemorates the song of the thrush singing in the green hedge outside the monastery walls. Finally, the Irish scribes who wrote in the schools of Switzerland and Germany left in their marginal notes and in the vocabularies which they drew up for the use of their students specimens of the old German language, for which the modern philologist is very grateful. For instance, among the most cherished treasures in the library

¹ *Bilder u. Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der schweizerischen Bibliotheken*, n. d.

of St. Gall is the little volume, *Vocabularius Sancti Galli*, said to have been used by St. Gall himself, but more probably written about 750. It contains Latin words with their German equivalents, written in Irish characters.

From the manuscript records alone it would not be difficult to show that the Irish teachers in the ninth and tenth centuries possessed a knowledge of Greek which was quite beyond the attainments of the continental scholars of that time. We have, however, more striking proofs in the achievements of John Scotus Eriugena, Sedulius and the Irish colony at Laon. In fact, the only question among modern critics is how to account for a condition which was certainly exceptional. The contemporaries of John the Scot expressed their surprise that one who came from the farthest regions of the earth could be so familiar with a language which was a closed book to those who stood closest to the center of ancient classic culture. And modern French and German scholars, students of the history of the early middle ages, can do little more than re-echo the note of astonishment.¹

The records of the ninth and tenth centuries give us some interesting, though all too meagre, details of the personal appearance and habits of the Irish scholars who appeared at every center of learning on the continent. The "Scots," they tell us, traveled in groups. They often made the pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land before taking up their abode at some French or German school. They presented a somewhat unusual appearance, having, we are told, the curious custom of dyeing, or tattooing, their eyebrows. They carried their books about from place to place in a kind of satchel, called a *capsa* (these were sometimes very highly ornamental), and generally used, instead of the ordinary pilgrim's staff, a crooked stick which was sometimes called *cambutta Scottorum*. From kings and princes who loved learning they received a royal welcome, at monasteries where the Irish were already known they were given hospitality, if not for their

¹ Occasionally, as in the *Athenæum* for December 1st, 1906, a belated British critic asks "Did they (the Irish teachers in the early middle ages) know any more Greek than the Alphabet?" For the answer of modern German scholarship consult Traube, *O Roma Nobilis*, pp. 50 and 57.

own sake, at least for the sake of the books and the learning they brought with them. There is in the Stadts u. Universitäts Bibliothek at Munich a manuscript volume (cod. lat. 14412, the text of the book was written in the 14th cent.), which, according to a note on the inside of the cover, was acquired by a monastery from a "foreign priest for four loaves of bread — 'a sacerdote peregrino pro quattuor panibus.'" The note may, perhaps, refer to the time when "peregrinus" and "Irishmen" were synonymous. One would like to know the circumstances of this barter of the cherished book for the bare necessities of life, though the exchange may have been common enough at the time of which we are treating. That the Irish scholars were not always received with favor, however, is only too evident. When Alcuin's monks at Tours saw some strange ecclesiastics at the gate, they exclaimed, "Here are some more of the British (Irish) strangers." And the incident may be taken as typical. Indeed, the naturally ardent temperament of the Irish teachers, their light, airy way of referring to their own superiority, as when the two of whom the monk of St. Gall speaks cried out in the market-place, "If any one desire wisdom, let him come to us and he will receive it," their occasional boastfulness, as when Sedulius, describing the scene at Bethlehem, remarks that, as the Magi from the Orient brought gold, frankincense and myrrh as an offering to Christ, so the Irish from the West brought Him the tribute of their wisdom,—all this was calculated to provoke opposition. And it did. We have seen how St. Boniface denounced the Irishman Clement for rejecting the authority of the Latin Fathers, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory. Similarly, Alcuin, contrasting his own loyalty to the Latin Fathers with the well known preference of the Irish for the Greeks, complained that the "Egyptians" had supplanted the "Latins" at the court of Charlemagne. In many of his letters he returns to the same charge, sometimes indirectly, as when he says, "There are some who seek their own praise by striving to throw blame on others," "There are some who are better prepared to carp at the sayings of others than to put their own sayings before the public," sometimes more pointedly as, "They esteem it less to answer according to

custom and authority than to add *reason* by way of confirmation.'"¹ There was a twofold occasion for this conflict. In the first place, there was a real incompatibility between the Anglo-Saxon and the Celtic temperament, an incompatibility which explains much of medieval as well as of modern history. In the next place, there was a real divergence of views between Alcuin and his followers on the one hand and the Irish teachers on the other. The Anglo-Saxon mind, as represented by Alcuin, was not highly speculative. Its range was bounded by facts; its self-imposed task was to understand and expound the positive in the Christian system. The Celtic mind, on the contrary, was highly speculative. It was eager to know and to explain, and, as far as natural inclination went, it stopped at nothing in its effort to grasp the speculative principles of all truth. It fed, by preference, on the Greek theological literature of the early Church. The favorite gospel of the Irish was St. John's, their favorite theologian was Pseudo-Dionysius, and their favorite profane author was Martianus Capella, who, though he wrote in Latin, was looked upon with suspicion by men like Alcuin because of the free Hellenic mould in which his treatment of the seven liberal arts was cast. It is easy to see that Benedict of Aniane, the pupil of Alcuin, must have felt the keen edge of some Irishman's wit when he denounced the "syllogism of delusion," with which the Scots were accustomed to overwhelm their opponents.² The most violent, one might say virulent, of the opponents of the Irish on the continent, was Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans. He ridiculed the Irish pronunciation of Latin. His favorite name for an Irishman was "Scotellus." In speaking of Clement, the Irishman, he employed language which may be said to represent the utmost limit of odium theologicum: "a lawless thing," "a dull horror," "a deadly foe," "a malignant pest."³ Even John

¹ *Mon. Alcuin.*, 426, 544; Migne, *P. L.*, C, 260.

² "Apud modernos scholasticos, maxime apud Scottos, iste syllogismus delusionis." We have, perhaps, a sample of this kind of argument in Cod. Monac. lat. 6407, saec. IX, where, by syllogistic reasoning, it is proved that "What is not, is."

³ Res dira, hostis atrox, hebes horror, pestis acerba,
Litigiosa lues, res fera, grande nefas.

(*Poet. Aevi Car.*, I, 254.)

the Scot, towering in gigantic proportions over all his contemporaries, did not escape the shafts of malignant criticism. Although he had been invited to take sides in the great theological controversy concerning Predestination, he received but scant courtesy from friend as well as foe. "Irish porridge," (*pultes scottica*), was the phrase applied by his critics to that particularly subtle mode of argumentation in which he and his countrymen excelled.

Notwithstanding hostile criticism, which, after all, was an unconscious tribute, the Irish teachers left a lasting impression on their own and subsequent generations. Not only were they the chief teachers of grammar, poetry, astronomy, music and geography at a time when these branches of culture had no other, or scarcely any other, representative on the continent of Europe, but they also profoundly influenced the course of medieval thought in matters of philosophy and theology. Their elucidations of the Gospel of St. John and their commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul formed a new school of exegesis, and it may be remarked, in passing, that their exposition was based, not on the commonly accepted Vulgate, but on an earlier Latin version and, sometimes, on the Greek text itself. They introduced the Neo-Platonic point of view in metaphysical speculation, and carried the art of dialectic to a higher point than it had ever before attained. It is no exaggeration to say that they were the founders of scholasticism and that Ireland is the Ionia of medieval philosophy. At the same time it is true that if the free, intellectual Hellenism with its background of Celtic imaginativeness and spirituality, which they represented, had not been held in check by the definite, inelastic Latinism, which stood for precise, juristic formularies in the place of vague ideals, the history of medieval thought would be very different from what it really is.¹

Those Irish teachers must have been dimly conscious of the sublimity of their aims and the magnitude of their mis-

¹On the influence of the Irish monastic rule on the political and economic ideas of medieval Germany, cf. Sommerlad, *Die wirtschaftliche Thätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1900), Bd. I. A whole chapter is devoted to this subject.

sion. For, in all their trials and amid all the clamor of race hatred and professional jealousy they preserved their ideals and were sustained in their devotion to learning. One can see in their writings that, though their mission called them to far distant lands, where their lot was that of an alien and an exile (*peregrinus* and *exul* occur very frequently in their descriptions of themselves), their heart yearned for Eire of their birth and the peaceful monastic homes from which they had been driven by the invader. What was said of Columkille might be said of each of his exiled brethren: "In his native land everything was dear to him, its mountains and valleys, its rivers and lakes, the song of its birds, the gentleness of its youth, the wisdom of its aged. He loved to steer his bark round its coast and to see the waves break on its shore. He even envied the driftwood which floated out from the shore of Iona, because it was free to land on the coast of Erin. He thought that death in Ireland was to be preferred to life in any other land, and when an Irishman was leaving Iona, he would say pathetically, "You are returning to the country which you love."¹

The foregoing pages are intended to set forth the details of the work of the Irish teachers, as far as it is possible to do so, from the scanty records which have come down to us. Of general tributes to the importance of that work there is no lack. That the Irish were the first teachers of scholastic theology as Mosheim expresses it, that, by carrying their talents and their learning to other lands, they won for their own country the high title of "Island of the Holy and the Learned," as Newman says:² that their work formed, as Zimmer remarks,³ the actual foundation of our present continental system of civilization; that, as the distinguished historian of the Carolingian schools writes, "Ireland was the one land where the Church achieved a double conquest unaided by the civil arm and unstained by the effusion of

¹ Cf. Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, IX, cap. 2; Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, pp. 285-7.

² *Historical Sketches*, III, 68.

³ *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture*, translated by Jane E. Edmands, New York, 1891, p. 4.

blood;" that from Ireland went forth that "enquiring, restless and often unruly Celtic spirit, touched and quickened by Hellenic thought, delighting in the discovery of new paths, impatient of every unproved formula, and accepting half mistrustfully, at best, what comes to it stamped with the highest sanction of wisdom and experience"—all this is nowadays accepted¹ as a commonplace in the history of medieval education. To show, however, that in these and similar statements there is no exaggeration, it seemed necessary to trace out the men who took a share in that work, to set down their names and recall their achievements, thus adding one more tribute to their fame, the tribute of their own writings, "for the glory of God and the honor of Erin," as the ancient scribes themselves were wont to express it.

WILLIAM TURNER.

¹ Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, London, 1877, pp. 115, 193; for a German Catholic estimate of the services of the Irish medieval teachers, cf. the late Bishop Stang's *Germany's Debt to Ireland*, New York, 1891, p. 4.

CATHOLIC COLONIAL SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

When the Jesuits established themselves at Bohemia, it was, as has been observed, partly with the purpose of making that place a base for missionary work in the newly founded colony of the Quakers to the North. The broad-minded tolerance of Penn in religious matters attracted people of all creeds to his colony. A strong stream of emigration set in early from Germany, which Penn himself visited for the purpose of securing emigrants.¹ Many of these came from the Rhine provinces, and among them were a considerable number of Catholics. Most of the German emigrants were farmers, and naturally continued the same occupation after their arrival in this country, taking up lands to the west and northwest of Philadelphia. Emigrants came in large numbers from Ireland also, though somewhat later. The proportion of Irish became noticeably large about the year 1717, and ten years later the Irish outnumbered greatly all other nationalities in the list of emigrants for the year.² Most of these were from the North of Ireland, and were Protestants, but there were some Catholics among them. The tendency of the Irish was to settle in Philadelphia or the other towns.

Teaching school was a favorite occupation of the better educated Irish emigrants after their arrival, at least until something more advantageous offered. Many of the emigrants were "redemptioners," or indentured servants, being bound to service for a term of years in payment for their passage to America or for other obligation, and some of these engaged in school-teaching. There are frequent references to Irish schoolmasters in Pennsylvania during the first half of the 18th century, and mention is made of several who were

¹ Bolles, *Hist. of Penn.*, II, p. 146.

² *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, XVI, p. 68, seq. and XVIII, p. 99.

Catholics. A letter of the Rev. Mr. Backhouse, an Episcopalian clergyman, of Chester, Pa., written in 1741, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in London, has a special interest in this connection, in that it discloses the attitude of the Quakers towards Catholics in general, and incidentally, to some extent, towards Catholic schools. It appears that the Episcopalians of Chester had brought a school-teacher of their faith from Maryland, and had had him open a school. As they were not numerous enough themselves to support him, they endeavored to induce the Quakers to patronize the school. What the Quakers did, we are told by Mr. Backhouse in words that still glow with the fervor of his astonished indignation:

“They did what none but Quakers dare do, in a country under the government of a Protestant king; that is, they engaged by their great encouragement a rigid, virulent Papist to set up school in the said town of Chester, in order to oppose and impoverish the said Protestant teacher. Under such proceedings we meekly and seriously debated the matter with him. . . . Yet, notwithstanding they did, and still persist to encourage the same. Nay, they carried their implacable malice so far as to occasion by threats and promises most of the children who were under the said Protestant teacher’s tuition to be taken from him without being able to give any reason for such their proceedings.”³

Writing again to the Society the following year, he is obliged to complain that the Quakers “still maintain their Papist master purely in opposition to ours.” The Quakers were, in fact, friendly to Catholics, as they were in general to all denominations, and Catholics in Pennsylvania appear to have enjoyed the full religious liberty guaranteed by the Charter of William Penn, notwithstanding the existing proscriptive laws against them in England.⁴

A favorable opportunity thus offered in Pennsylvania for the work of the Jesuits. From about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the scattered Catholics there were visited from time to time by missionaries from Maryland. In

³ *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, XI, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, p. 24.

1730, Father Greateon, S. J., came from Maryland, and established himself in Philadelphia. Out of a total population of about 10,000 in the city, he organized the first little Catholic congregation consisting of 37 persons, and four years later was able to erect a modest church.⁵ The influx of Catholic emigrants soon called for additional laborers in this ripening harvest-field, and in 1741 Father Greateon was joined by the Rev. Henry Neale, S. J. The same year, the German Province of the Society of Jesus sent out two priests to minister to the German Catholics in the colony. These were Father Wapeler, who founded the missions of Conewago and Lancaster, and Father Schneider, who took up his residence at Goshenhoppen, in Berks county. Other German Jesuits came later on, one of these being the celebrated Father Farmer.⁶

There is no documentary proof to show the time of the establishment of the first Catholic schools in Pennsylvania, but there is strong traditional evidence for the belief that they date back to the time of the very first organization of the Church in the various centers of Catholic life. Local traditions indicate that in nearly every instance the organization of a Catholic parish was attended, if not preceded, by the organization of a parish school, the priest himself, in some cases, being the first school-teacher.⁷ Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin, a competent historical authority here, has summed up the result of a thorough investigation of the subject in the statement that, "wherever throughout Pennsylvania prior to 1800 there was a chapel, there was undoubtedly, where there was a number of children, and where Catholics were in fair numbers, some system of instruction, even though the method was crude and but elementary in its extent."⁸ This conclusion is further supported by the fact that the other religious denominations in the colony, especially those which were German, almost invariably signalized the beginning of church work in a locality by the establishment of schools.⁹

⁵ *Amer. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, IX, p. 24.

⁶ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, No. 4, p. 249 seq.

⁷ Wickersham, *Hist. of Education in Penn.*, p. 115 seq. Riley, *Conewago*.

⁸ Letter to the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Philadelphia, 1905.

⁹ Wickersham, *op. cit.*, passim.

It is reasonably certain that the Jesuits, with their known zeal for education, were not behind the ministers of other denominations in practical effort to furnish the children of their respective flocks with the opportunity for at least a rudimentary schooling.

There seems to be a recognition of the existence of a school in Philadelphia for some time and of the need of providing larger and better accommodations for the pupils, in the will of James White, a merchant, made in 1767, and bequeathing 30 pounds "towards a schoolhouse."¹⁰ This is the earliest known bequest made in behalf of Catholic education in the colony. Again, in 1782, there is evidence that a school had long been in existence there, in the fact that a subscription was taken up for the purpose of paying for the "old school-house and lot" just purchased from the Quakers, and of erecting a new school building. Previous to this date, the school was probably taught in the parochial residence.¹¹ Among the German Catholics scattered through the counties farther west, a school was probably started near Conewago by Father Wapeler, a few years after his arrival there,¹² and probably, also, in the course of time, at several of the missions attended from Conewago, chief among which were Sportsman's Hall, Carlisle, Milton, York, Taneytown, Frederick, Littlestown, Brandt's Chapel, now Paradise, and Hanover. About 1787 the school near Conewago was so far developed as to be able to engage the services of the very capable schoolmaster at Goshenhoppen, for we find him moving there at that time.¹³ Goshenhoppen, too, where Father Schneider resided, became the center of a circle of missions, a number of which also had schools. From the will of John

¹⁰ *Rec. Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, VI, p. 459. The James White here mentioned was the ancestor of a Catholic family that has figured largely in the history of the church in this country. Edward Douglas White, who was appointed an Associate-Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1894, is a great-grandson of this first lay benefactor of Catholic education in Pennsylvania. *Ib.*, p. 467.

¹¹ *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, X, p. 60; Woodstock Letters, XIII, p. 33; Letter of Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin.

¹² Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹³ Riley, *Collections and Recollections*, History of the Gubernator Family, VII, p. 530 seq.; Letter of Mr. John T. Riley to the author.

McCarthy, we have evidence of the existence of a school at one of these missions, Haycock, in 1766; and again, in 1784, the marriage of Ferdinand Wagner, "our schoolmaster at Haycock," is recorded in the Goshenhoppen register.¹⁴ There was thus a Catholic school at Haycock long before there was a Catholic church there. According to local tradition, mass was said in McCarthy's house, and school was kept in another building on the premises until the erection of a permanent school building with the church later on.¹⁵ Reading was another mission-station which in all probability had a Catholic school soon after the organization of the Catholic congregation there in 1755.¹⁶

A peculiar interest attaches to the school at Goshenhoppen.¹⁷ The Jesuit missionaries in America, it has already been observed, were men of marked abilities and learning, as a class,—men, oftentimes, who had occupied places of distinction in the seminaries or universities of the order in the Old World. The German Jesuits who labored in the rough mission fields of Pennsylvania during those early days were men of this kind. Of Father Wapeler, Bishop Carroll wrote that "he was a man of much learning and unbounded zeal." He referred to Father Schneider as a "person of great dexterity in business, consummate prudence and undoubted magnanimity," and said that "he spread the faith of Christ far and near."¹⁸ An old Jesuit catalogue refers to the founder of the Goshenhoppen mission as, "*Theo. Schneider, qui docuit Philos. et contro. Leodi. et fuit rector magnif. Universi. Heidelbergensis.*"¹⁹ Father Schneider was born in Germany in the year 1700. He entered the Jesuit order while still young, and his superior talents caused him to be sent, after ordination, to the famous Jesuit seminary at Liège, in Belgium, where he taught both philosophy and theology. Subsequently, he was sent to Heidelberg, to teach in the uni-

¹⁴ Goshenhoppen Registers, in *Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, p. 388.

¹⁵ Letter of Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Now known as Bally, in Berks Co.

¹⁸ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, p. 250.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

versity or the college established by the Jesuits in connection with the university in 1703. Heidelberg was a Catholic university then, the Faculty of Philosophy, from the year 1716, being under the control of the Jesuits.²⁰ In this way, Father Schneider came to be chosen and installed as rector in December, 1738, his term of office lasting until December of the following year.²¹ It was a high distinction to have come to one comparatively so young—a fine tribute to his talents as well as to his popularity, and it opened up the prospect of a brilliant career. But a nobler and holier fire than that of intellectual ambition burned in the soul of Father Schneider. Like St. Francis Xavier, he turned aside from the shining heights of academic fame, to devote himself, as a poor and humble missionary in a distant land, to the ministry of souls. There was a call for German priests from the far-off frontiers of Pennsylvania, and Father Schneider was one of the two who were sent from Germany to inaugurate the apostolic work.

It is interesting to contemplate the brilliant young priest, fresh from the honors and the experience gained while fulfilling the office of *Rector Magnificus* of Heidelberg University, gathering the poor German children of Goshenhoppen and vicinity about him in his little room, to teach them, along with the simple catechism, the rudiments of a brief pioneer education. There can be no doubt that he himself took up the work of teaching, soon after his arrival in 1741. Reading, writing, and spelling were about all that was taught at that early period in the schools that were being started everywhere in the colony.²² Little if any attention was given to what is now called arithmetic. The term of schooling was brief, the pupils were few and of all ages. There was no church in Goshenhoppen as yet, mass being said in one of the

²⁰ Paulsen, *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts*, p. 278.

²¹ For the date of Father Schneider's rectorship of Heidelberg University, I am indebted to Prof. Wille, of that institution, who, at my request, made a search of the archives for the purpose. The archives reveal nothing more about Father Schneider than the fact of his having held the office of rector and the dates. For the manner of electing the rector, and the duties and honors attaching to the position, cf. Raumer, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, Vierter Theil, S. 18 seq.

²² Wickersham, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

farmers' houses. Father Schneider took up his residence in a two-story frame house, the largest, probably, in the vicinity, and here, according to local traditions, he began his school.²³ The school was eagerly attended by the children of the whole neighborhood, Protestant as well as Catholic, it being the only one in the place. Father Schneider, in fact, soon made himself greatly beloved by the members of all denominations, and there is a tradition that when, in 1745, he commenced the work of building a church, the Protestants of the region were not less generous than the Catholics in helping to furnish the necessary material means.²⁴ It is pleasant to record that the educational zeal of the first school-master at Goshenhoppen was not forgotten by the descendants of the early settlers. More than a century afterward, the public school authorities of the district showed their appreciation of what he had done, by an arrangement which provided for the education of the children of the Goshenhoppen parish school at the public expense.²⁵

Under Father Schneider, the work of organizing the parish at Goshenhoppen, as well as the neighboring Catholic missions, went steadily on. A church was built, a tract of about 500 acres of land purchased, and the land sold off from time to time in small portions, with the result of bringing about a considerable settlement of Catholic families near the church. For twenty-three years he lived at Goshenhoppen, ministering to the Catholics there and in the region for fifty miles around. He was skilled in medicine, and was frequently called upon to minister to the sick in the capacity of a physician. As "Doctor Schneider" he was often enabled to gain access to persons and places which he could not otherwise have visited. We have an evidence of his love of books, as well as of his incessant activity, in a beautifully bound manuscript copy of the entire Roman Missal, transcribed by his own hand—a piece of work that doubtless helped to fill out many a long wintry day, a work that witnesses, too, to his

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 115; *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, XVII, p. 98; Letter of Father Bally, pastor of Goshenhoppen, in *Woodstock Letters*, V, pp. 202, 313.

²⁴ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, p. 250 seq.

²⁵ *Woodstock Letters*, V, pp. 202, 313.

life of extreme self-sacrifice and poverty.²⁶ Before he died, in 1764, he had the satisfaction of seeing the Church firmly established in Pennsylvania; and in the building of churches, schools and mission chapels, together with the increasing influx of Catholic emigrants, he must have discerned the prospect of a much greater and more rapid growth in the future.

For many years, however, the growth of the Church in and around Goshenhoppen was slow, and Father Schneider's school remained small. The French and Indian War came on, and the country became the scene of the most savage depredations on the part of the Indians. After Braddock's defeat, in 1755, Berks county was laid waste with fire and sword, hundreds of houses were burned, and many of the settlers slain and scalped, or dragged away into captivity to undergo a fate worse than death.²⁷ In 1757, the total number of adult Catholics in the county was only 117.²⁸ Yet Father Schneider seems to have kept up his school all this time, and to have gradually increased the number of pupils attending, for in 1763, about the time of the close of the war, we find that the school was large enough to engage the services of a paid school-teacher. The baptismal register of Goshenhoppen for that year records the private baptism of a child, when eleven weeks old, by "Henry Fredder, the schoolmaster at Conisahoppen."²⁹ A schoolhouse, too, apparently had been built. From this time on, there are frequent references to the schoolmasters in the parish records.

The schoolmaster was evidently looked upon as a person of distinction in the little world of Goshenhoppen, contrary to the custom which prevailed in the colonies generally. He

²⁶ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, p. 249 seq.

²⁷ *Egle, Hist. of Pennsylvania*, p. 334.

²⁸ *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, VII, p. 88.

²⁹ *Records Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, II, p. 328. The spelling of the name of the place must have been a perpetual puzzle to the children of Father Schneider's school, since even the pastor, as is evident from the above entry, did not seem to be able to fix upon any definite form. "Goshenhoppen" was the more commonly used name, but no less than seventeen different ways of spelling the name occur in the parish records between 1735 and 1787. Besides the two already given, we have, Gosshehoppen, Cosseshoppa, Quesohopen, Cushenhoppen, Cowshoppen, with others quite as curious. Cf. *ib.*, VIII, p. 341.

stood next to the parish priest, and was his right-hand man, a sort of lay assistant, in matters relating to the temporal, and even the spiritual welfare of the Catholic flock. Three schoolmasters are mentioned in the parish registers between 1763 and 1796, Henry Fredder, Breitenbach, and John Lawrence Gubernator. Breitenbach does not seem to have stayed for more than a short time, as we have only a single mention of him, as standing sponsor for a child, with "his wife Susan," in 1768. He was preceded by Henry Fredder, who is mentioned occasionally between 1763 and 1768. There is an interval then of sixteen years, during which we have no means of knowing who the school-teacher was, for if his name is given in the registers, as it probably is, the title of his office is not subjoined. John Lawrence Gubernator, the most distinguished of the Goshenhoppen schoolmasters, and the ancestor of the numerous Pennsylvania families who have borne that name, appears first on the parish registers in 1784. He was born in Oppenheim, Germany, in 1735, served as an officer in the army of the Allies in the Seven Years' War, and came to America during the Revolutionary War. He landed in Philadelphia, and made his way to Goshenhoppen, where he was engaged by Father Ritter, then pastor, to take charge of the school. He seems to have been a finely educated man, and a devoted teacher, and rendered great services to the cause of Catholic education in Pennsylvania during a period of twenty-five years. He served as organist as well as schoolmaster. Not long after coming to Goshenhoppen, he was married to a widow named Johanna Darham. It was made a gala day in the old Catholic settlement, and the chronicle of the happy event in the parish records, brief as it is, affords us a pleasant glimpse of the position of social prominence accorded to this successor of Father Schneider in the Goshenhoppen school.³⁰ He subsequently taught school near Conewago, returned to Goshenhoppen, and, after several years, finally settled down as a teacher in the newly started preparatory seminary of the Sulpicians at Pigeon

³⁰ Goshenhoppen parish registers, in *Rec. Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, p. 388.

Hills, Pa. His son became a school-teacher also, and had charge for a time of the school near Conewago.³¹

There is reason for believing that a school was founded at Lancaster also at a very early date, although local tradition is silent on the point. Father Farmer was there from 1752 to 1758, and he was not the man to permit the parish to be behindhand in the matter of education, even if Father Wapeler had not been able to see his way to the establishment of a school at an earlier date. When the Rev. John B. Caussee took charge of the parish in 1785, he probably found a Catholic school in existence, and we find him petitioning the State authorities for the establishment of a "charity school" at Lancaster. Instead of a "charity school," however, he started an institution of a higher grade, in conjunction with the other denominations of the place, which was chartered by the legislature under the name of Franklin College.³²

Father Farmer, whose real name was Steinmeyer, was a famous figure in the history of the Church of Pennsylvania. Born in Germany in 1720, he passed through a university course, devoting special attention to physics. When twenty-three years of age he joined the Jesuit order, and was sent to America in 1752. After being six years at Lancaster, he was called to Philadelphia to minister especially to the Germans there, and continued to make that city the center of his extensive missionary labors until his death in 1786. He founded mission stations in New Jersey, and organized a Catholic congregation in the city of New York. His genial temperament and lively charity endeared him greatly to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, regardless of religious beliefs. He was a member of the famous Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, and was made a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Philadelphia, when that institution was chartered in 1779.³³ Another learned Jesuit who labored in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War was the Rev. Robert Molyneux, the companion of Father Farmer during

³¹ Riley, *Collections and Recollections, History of the Gubernator Family*, II, p. 530.

³² S. M. Sener, in *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, I, p. 215.

³³ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, p. 249; *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, Vol. II, New Series, p. 72.

many years at St. Mary's Church.³⁴ He was an Englishman by birth, and a man of extensive knowledge, his society being eagerly sought for in the most polite circles in Philadelphia, then the capital city. He was a favorite guest at the house of the Marquis de la Luzerne, Minister Plenipotentiary from France, and became instructor in English to him.³⁵

Under the direction of these able and universally respected priests, the Church made rapid progress in Philadelphia, and broad and firm foundations were laid for a system of Catholic schools. It is impossible to tell how much we are indebted to these two men for the change which came over the Continental Congress and the country generally during the Revolutionary War in respect to the Catholic Church. There were, of course, deeper causes at work, but surely something must be credited to the personal influence of Fathers Molyneux and Farmer, who, in character, seemed each to combine the finest traditions of Jesuit scholarship and Jesuit piety, and who, in their daily lives, were thrown into frequent contact with many of the men who were engaged in framing the new government and informing it with its spirit. Many were the notable gatherings that St. Mary's Church witnessed during the Revolutionary War. It was the place of worship for the diplomatic representatives of the Catholic powers. Washington was twice at Vespers there, and more than once it is recorded that the members of Congress attended the services in a body.³⁶

The education of the Catholic children of Philadelphia claimed the special attention of Fathers Molyneux and Farmer. Father Molyneux was the first in this country, so far as is known, to get out text-books for the use of Catholic schools. He had a catechism printed, and other elementary books, among which was "a spelling primer for children with the Catholic Catechism annexed," printed in 1785.³⁷ The latter were probably reprints of commonly used

³⁴ The new church built by Father Harding in 1763 was called St. Mary's.

³⁵ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, p. 249 seq.

³⁶ *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, XIII, p. 174; New Series, I, p. 161.

³⁷ Sketches of Father Molyneux, in *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, p. 249 seq.; *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, V, p. 31.

text-books for spelling and reading, with modifications and additions to make them adaptable for use in Catholic schools. He was the first to make extensive use of the press to disseminate religious truth, importing Catholic books from England, and causing to be reprinted in Philadelphia such works as Challoner's *Catholic Christian Instructed*, and *The History of the Bible*.³⁸

It was from the beginning the steady purpose of those in charge of the church in Philadelphia to provide a training under Catholic auspices for all the Catholic children of the city. A clear evidence of this purpose is afforded in the case of the children of the exiled Acadians, a colony of whom took refuge in Philadelphia. In 1771, a petition was forwarded to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, praying for the granting of relief to some of the Acadians who were sadly in need of it, and among others to Ann Bryald, a Catholic lady who had been engaged to teach their children. The petition refers to her as "Ann Bryald, a woman who acts as Schoolmistress to the Children, and on that account in need of assistance, as she cannot work for a livelihood, her whole time being taken up in the Care of them."³⁹ The event shows how careful the good pastors were that no portion of their growing flock should be left without the opportunity of a sound religious and secular education. The difficulty of securing a Catholic teacher who understood French would account for the anxiety to retain the services of Ann Bryald. The parish was poor, too. The total annual revenue from all sources at this time amounted to only about 90 pounds;⁴⁰ and the support of the regular parish school must have been felt as a burden already sufficiently heavy. Another illustration of this fixity of educational purpose was afforded on the occasion of the yellow fever scourge. In the year 1798, and during several preceding years, the city was ravaged by the disease, and hundreds of Catholics fell victims to it. To care for the helpless orphans left behind, an associa-

³⁸ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, loc. cit.

³⁹ *Amer. Cath. Hist. Rec.*, XVIII, p. 141.

⁴⁰ *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, IV, loc. cit.

tion was formed which succeeded in establishing a Catholic orphans' home and school, and this institution developed subsequently into St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, the first Catholic orphan asylum within the limits of the United States.⁴¹

Towards the close of the Revolutionary War, with the influx of Catholic emigrants, there was a great increase in the Catholic population of Philadelphia. Two more priests arrived, and the number of adult Catholics in the city, in the year 1784, was reckoned by Father Molyneux to be about 2,000.⁴² The number of children in the school was correspondingly increased, and the need was felt of larger and better quarters. The old schoolhouse and lot of the Quakers was purchased for 400 pounds in 1781. A new schoolhouse was built for 440 pounds, and subscriptions were started to meet the cost of these extensive improvements, which involved a total debt of approximately 1000 pounds. The general interest of Catholics in the matter of education was shown by the ready and generous response to the appeal of Father Molyneux, a sum of over 320 pounds being raised by individual subscriptions within a year. Among the largest contributors were, besides Father Molyneux himself, Captain Baxter's wife, Captain John Walsh, Captain James Byrne, James Oeller, the Catholic ambassadors, and Thomas Fitzsimons, a signer of the constitution, who was a member of the parish and a staunch advocate of Catholic schools.⁴³

The new schoolhouse was finished in 1782, and probably opened for the first time in August of that year. It was two stories high, and was no doubt regarded by the Catholics of Philadelphia as a thing perfect in its kind. The walls were plastered, and the interior wood-work painted. One of the items of expense was "308 panes of window glass," each 8 x 10 in. Firewood was to be supplied regularly and abundantly for the new building. Light, heat, and sanitation were evidently carefully looked after according to the

⁴¹ Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 414.

⁴² *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, loc. cit.

⁴³ *Rec. Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, IV, *passim*.

standards of the time. The school was divided into two sections. The upper schoolroom was reserved for the younger children, the lower for "such as shall be fit for Writing & Cyphering."⁴⁴ Two teachers were consequently employed. The affairs of the church and school at this time were administered by a board of managers, at the head of which were the pastors. Later on, when the church was incorporated, the board of managers became the board of trustees.

The school was called a "free school," but the term then did not mean precisely what it does now. It was hoped, however, to make it in time an endowed school, and thus relieve parents of the necessity of paying tuition for their children. As a step in this direction, and with the view of providing for the education of the poorer children of the congregation, the managers resolved, in 1783, that each of the teachers should furnish instruction gratis to six poor scholars annually.⁴⁵ From the rest they were to receive payment. In 1794 the tuition charge was 17 s. 6 d. for the pupils in the upper room, and 20 s. for those in the lower. But there must have been difficulty in collecting the money, for this plan was soon abandoned, and the teachers paid a fixed salary out of the parish treasury, the money being raised by means of "charity sermons," church collections, and occasional gifts. The salary of the head schoolmaster, in 1788, was 75 pounds per annum. The cost of text-books, considering the scarcity of books at the time, was not great. Spelling-books sold for 10 d. apiece, catechisms for 5 d., and "fables," or readers, for 3 s. 9 d. Children were received as young as six years of age.

The managers were determined to bring the work of the school up to the highest possible standard of excellence. One of the means adopted for this purpose was the offering of cash premiums to the pupils having the best records. It was resolved that, "as an encouragement to the Children's improvement at school, premiums be given them four times in the year, viz., the first Mondays in February, May, Au-

⁴⁴ Minutes of the board meeting, Sept. 1, 1783, in *Rec. Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, IV, p. 268.

⁴⁵ Minutes of the board meeting, *ibid.*

gust & November, to the value of Twenty shillings each time."⁴⁶ Very little vacation, if any, it would appear, was allowed during the summer months.

The greatest difficulty experienced by the managers in their efforts to improve the school came from the lack of good teachers. Between 1787 and 1800, the head teacher was changed eight times. The plan of having a woman teacher for the girls was tried, and found to give satisfaction. A constant effort was made to secure better teachers. It must be remembered that teaching was not regarded as a profession in those days, and most of those who took up the work continued in it only until they were able to get something better. To meet this difficulty, the salaries of the teachers were raised again and again. In 1795, the salary of the head master was \$400, but out of this he had to pay "a female assistant to the care of the girls," which assistant was "subject to his jurisdiction and to the approbation of the Trustees." There seem to have been three teachers employed at this time, as besides the head teacher and his assistant in charge of the girls, we find that there was another teacher who was known as the "Master of the Poor School."⁴⁷ The "Poor School" consisted of those pupils who were unable to pay their tuition, with, probably, the small boys. The salary of the "Master of the Poor School" was 120 pounds (Pennsylvanian standard), or about \$337. The known teachers of St. Mary's School up to 1800 were, Hugh Sweeney, Edward Barrington, Patrick Brady, Mrs. Short, Mr. and Mrs. McLaughlin, T. Reagan, Mr. Brady, Mr. Graham, Mr. Chapman, James Reagan, Terence Byrne, and P. J. Doyle.

The school was thus growing, the class-rooms were crowded, and an enlargement of the building had to be made. New problems were springing up as the result, involving the separation and classification of the pupils and the differentiation of the teaching. The solution of these problems meant increased expense. Collections were taken up in the church at intervals for the benefit of the school, and the interest

⁴⁶*Ibid.*⁴⁷*Ibid.*

of the people in education and in the efforts that were being made towards its improvement may be gauged, in some measure, by the extent of the response to these appeals. The collection was generally preceded by a "charity sermon," or an address by one of the more able preachers, upon the object to which the proceeds were to be applied. In 1788, the collection for the school which was taken up on May 4th, brought 50 pounds, while in November of the same year the collection amounted to 39 pounds. Besides this, there were individual gifts, which were often of a considerable sum.⁴⁸

The general interest in education, and the generosity of the people in contributing to its support, is shown even more notably by the donations and bequests made from time to time, having for their object the permanent endowment of the school. Between 1788 and 1810 there were twelve bequests or donations made to the school with this end in view. Some of these gifts were in the form of houses or lands, others in cash or bonds. The largest was that of James Costelloe, whose will was made in Philadelphia in 1793. He bequeathed 20 acres of land on Boon Island, Kingsessing, "the rents, issues and profits to be divided into equal parts, one moiety or half to be forever appropriated towards the maintenance and support of the Free School of St. Mary's."⁴⁹ This property was subsequently sold for \$2000. Among the benefactors of St. Mary's school was Commodore John Barry, the "Father of the American Navy." In 1803, he left an annuity of 20 pounds, the principal of which, on the death of his negro man, was "to be given to the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Society worshipping at the Church of St. Mary, in the city of Philadelphia, for the use and benefit of the poor school of said church." The principal, when turned over to the corporation, amounted to \$900.⁵⁰

An interesting feature of the school, which serves to

⁴⁸ Minutes of the board meeting.

⁴⁹ *Amer. Cath. Hist. Res.*, VIII, p. 19.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

show the efforts made to reach all classes of the Catholic population, was the giving of instruction in the evening to such as, for one cause or another, were unable to come during the day. It may have been due also, in part, to lack of room in daytime. There is no evidence to show when this "night-school" was started, or how long it continued, but it was in existence in 1805, as on the evening of May 21, that year, the meeting of the trustees—they met in the schoolhouse—could not be held on account of the session of the "night-school."⁵¹ A "singing-school" was also established, to prepare singers for the choir, but it probably had no connection with the regular school.

If the account of St. Mary's School has been somewhat long and detailed, it is due to a desire to set forth, as fully as the documentary evidence will permit, the plan of the school, and above all, the motives which lay back of its organization and development, for it may be said to have been the mother-school of all the parochial schools in the English-speaking States. Philadelphia was the largest city, and St. Mary's was the largest and richest Catholic parish, in the United States. It was the center of Catholic power and influence, and other parishes, as they grew up, especially in the cities, naturally looked to it for guidance in the solution of the many problems that confronted the newly organized Catholic congregation under New-World conditions—foremost and most far-reaching of which was the problem of religious education. The problem had been solved in Philadelphia, solved apparently to the satisfaction of both clergy and laity, as the result of a process of development springing from newly developed needs. The solution resulted in fixing an education ideal, which has struck its roots deeper and more firmly into the Catholic American mind with every year that has since elapsed.

The influence of this idea was shown shortly in the organization of other parishes in Philadelphia. The Germans broke off from St. Mary's parish in 1788, and soon afterward built a church of their own—Holy Trinity. Provision

⁵¹ Griffin, *History of Bishop Egan*, p. 15.

was immediately made for a parish school. As they were not able to build a schoolhouse as yet, the basement of the church was set apart for that purpose, and fitted up as a schoolroom. The church was described as being "100 feet long and 60 feet broad, and underneath was a comfortable schoolroom."⁵² A few years later, with the rapid growth of the parish, the need of a separate schoolhouse was felt, and the congregation had recourse to a lottery—a commonly employed means of raising money for charitable purposes at the time. The sum of \$10,000 was wanted, and the legislature of Pennsylvania was petitioned for the legal power to create a lottery in that amount. The Act was passed in 1803, and the lottery was a great success. The tickets were sold for \$6 apiece, and there were 6,274 prizes, amounting to \$8,700.⁵³

A third parish in Philadelphia was organized in 1796 by members of the Augustinian Order, and became known as St. Augustine's. For some years, the members of the new parish continued to send their children to St. Mary's School, but in 1811 a school was begun at St. Augustine's which combined instruction in preparatory and collegiate, as well as elementary branches. It opened with 39 pupils. The example set by St. Mary's was imitated by other parishes also as they grew up, a school being usually begun as soon as the congregation was organized and a place of worship secured.⁵⁴

The factional troubles which broke out in St. Mary's Parish in 1812 and continued for many years, to the great detriment of the Church in Philadelphia, had a very injurious effect upon the school in point both of efficiency and of attendance. Nevertheless, the old school continued to exist and to render valuable service to the cause of Catholic education. St. Mary's School was not attached to St. Mary's Church, but was back of Walnut street, next to the "Old Chapel" of St. Joseph's. The school building which had been erected in 1782, was torn down in 1838, when the present St. Joseph's Church was built, St. Joseph's having become a

⁵² *Hist. Sketches of the Cath. Church in Phila.*, p. 43.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

separate congregation after 1821. After 1838, school was kept in the basement of St. Joseph's Church, but in 1852 a three-story school building, which is still standing, was built on the northern part of St. Joseph's lot, with the entrance from Walnut street. The present schoolhouse annexed to St. Mary's Church was built in 1843.⁵⁵

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⁵⁵ Letter of Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin to the author.

NOTES ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

If we desire that truths become functional in the mind of the child as soon as they are learned by him, what considerations should determine the order of their presentation ?¹

In applying the methods of pedagogy to the actual work of developing the minds of the young, the teacher should aim to give the information which is compatible with the child's age, his social condition, and the particular vocation to which he is best adapted. Hence, any adequate scheme of education must recognize three objects which are to be sought in this work of child development, and these are: the acquisition of knowledge, the development of the mind's powers and the culture of the moral sense.

Learning is the sum-total of precise and coördinated knowledge which the pupil has assimilated through personal activity. We use the term *precise* advisedly, for one who has but vague, indefinite, or incomplete notions of things, cannot be classed as learned. Again, we designedly employ the word *coördinated* knowledge, because *to know* is to be acquainted with causes, and thus mentally to connect causes with their consequences, the laws with the facts or the phenomena which indicate the existence of these laws. *Assimilated* knowledge means true, real knowledge, not something artificial, not something applied at random by the mind from without or merely held in the memory, but consisting of connected truths which form an integral part of the mind's equipment and are there organized so as to become available. It may be truthfully asserted then that an intelligent pupil who has attentively followed the primary courses only, will be much better instructed than the pupil who has listened passively to the higher instruction, and has obtained therefrom only incomplete ideas as to the relation of things presented.

Important as knowledge is, it is, however, not so important as the harmonious cultivation of the faculties; for "the forming of the intellect," says Joubert, "is of greater moment than its progress." It is the special function of the teacher to train children and fit them for social life. It should never be forgotten that the *book-worm*, or the one possessing book knowledge only, is, all things being equal, not the best qualified to enter a profession and succeed therein: it is rather he who

¹ The Psychology of Education, Lesson VI, Q. 2.

is ever on the alert and ready to grasp ideas and their relations and profit by his own experience that is most likely to achieve success in life. Experience proves that it is not the most learned, but the most wise who are the best prepared and the most experienced.

To attain this end, the teacher should seek to employ certain methods and processes so that the knowledge which he imparts may serve as a means to the cultivation of all the child's faculties. It is obvious, therefore, that were we to devote special attention to the exclusive development of any one particular faculty it would tend to destroy the mental harmony and equilibrium that should prevail and thus bring about a deformity. Hence, if any study, such as mathematics, should rather develop the judgment, owing to the constant use of deductive reasoning, it should not be understood that the memory and imagination are to be excluded, for experience teaches that the exercise of both is beneficial. Again, if we take literature which calls for the use of memory, it should be remembered that this study develops the imagination, the judgment, and the moral sense. The educational value of any lesson depends wholly upon the teacher. The skill and tact of the teacher are displayed when he is capable of arousing the fullest interest in the pupils. Thus in giving a lesson in history, the moral sense may be excited to a degree of patriotic enthusiasm; the practical judgment may be exercised by the application of moral principles to the actions involved; the reasoning may be called into play by pointing out the relations between cause and effect; and lastly, the ways of Providence may be pointed by emphasizing the fact that God destines man and directs them to the fulfillment of His designs. It should not, however, be presumed that the higher branches only possess such a high educational value. Teachers who have acquired much varied experience, are endowed with reverence and love for children, and have a certain skill for elementary teaching, can give many profitable hints along these lines.

That teaching may attain to a realization of the children's intellectual training, it should be rational and adapted to the mental resources of those instructed. Thus it promotes and fosters assimilation of knowledge by impregnating it with the children's self-activity, but it will be crowned with success only when it becomes stimulating and vivifying during the lessons. It is slow in its progress, and made applicable to varied exercises. It should be controlled by processes beyond dispute and constantly presented to the mind by frequent recapitulations and reviews. Hence the teacher should adhere to well-defined methods, for perseverance therein will insure success. Moreover, teaching should be practical, keeping constantly in view the children's

future functions and environments; and *moral*, in order to direct them to their true destiny.

That teaching may become effective, it will not be amiss to dwell upon the qualities that characterize good teaching. It may be asked when is teaching rational? (1)—When the teacher is judicious in his choice of subjects and employs correct methods in teaching; (2)—when he is conformed to the nature and *modus operandi* of the growing intelligence of the children and develops the faculties harmoniously; (3)—when he is particularly careful to exercise their reason and judgment in the various lessons.

The skilled botanist gives to every plant that necessary care which its condition and peculiarity require. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the clever teacher will adapt his lessons to the laws governing the human intellect, specially to those which govern the method of acquiring knowledge. The intellect seizes the truth only when the teacher is clear, logical, and convincing in his exposition. Consequently, whatever the subject treated by the teacher or whatever the aptitude of his pupils, he should always substantiate his affirmations by sufficiently clear proofs. He should proceed from the known to the unknown, from the proximate to the remote, from the simple to the complex, and when practicable from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract and from the sensible to the supersensible. Moreover, he should never omit the essentials in relation to the given question, always pointing out the connection which exists between the questions relating to the same subject. The teacher should not only strive to acquire the requisite knowledge; but should earnestly endeavor to obtain facility of expression, clearness and precision in the use of terms, which invariably bring conviction to the mind.

Teaching should not only be rational, but it should be adapted to the intelligence of the pupils. Hence truths communicated by teaching are compared to food which assimilation only makes beneficial. The comparison is proper when we contrast the internal work whereby food is transformed into our own substance and the transformation of acquired notions or ideas into personal knowledge, or when we consider the extreme precautions that necessarily accompany the choice and preparation of this food, either intellectual or material. Thus, the child gets that food which is properly adapted to his constitution, while the adult requires stronger aliment for his more vigorous brain. The viands which are suitable to a strong constitution, do not agree with a feeble or an infirm constitution. Hence the teacher should adapt his teaching to the capacity of the children in general, while noting the particular adaptibility of the majority of his pupils. The child's intellect is feeble, undeveloped. It therefore needs special attention, for the budding in-

telligence is often injured by abstract deductions, because it is incapable of perceiving ideas which require the exercise of vigorous reasoning.

A prudent teacher will, therefore, not endeavor to teach his pupils all that he may know concerning a given subject, but will limit himself to what is fitted for the pupil's actual needs. He separates the principle from the accessory, gives force to his teaching by simplifying it, and thus allows the pupils ample time for study and review, practical exercises, research work, and the reading of instructive books.

Moreover, the tactful teacher introduces variety into the class-work, thus awakening interest and maintaining the spirit of love of study. He carefully avoids, when left free to select, the encyclopedia program or schedule which seemingly lays equal stress on every branch and which really divides the intellectual forces and hence leaves in the mind only a superficial and confused knowledge of the subjects treated.

While adapting his method to the intellectual condition of his pupil the teacher should be on his guard not to belittle his dignity by using the language of the uncultured classes, for to become too common in speech and manner is to neutralize the work of education. A child is said to grasp an idea when he is able, by a moderate effort and with the help of the teacher, to understand and apply it in the exercises following the explanation of the rule. Although the teacher should require this effort on the part of the pupil, he should not be too exacting or severe, lest the pupil, either through indifference or inability, become discouraged. However judicious the classification of the pupils in a school may be, the teacher is confronted with an array of a diversity of talents. The pupils range through all degrees of brightness, mediocrity, and weakness. The skilled teacher will direct his attention to the mediocre class chiefly, explaining his lessons so thoroughly, lucidly, and interestingly that even the weakest pupils can profit by the explanations. He will prepare some exercises for the three grades, suitable to their different capacities, and capable of arousing their interest. Thus teaching will not be limited exclusively to the precocious and bright pupils, who like early plants, cultivated by artificial means, usually entail too many deceptions for those who take care of them; usually give the same lessons to all the pupils of the same class in such a manner that each one will make progress according to the order and degree of his mental training.

Teaching should be living and active, that is, the teacher should be filled with zeal and communicative ardor, giving the lessons in a marked impressive way and having the subject-matter so well in hand that it could be said to be living.

There are, however, two serious defects that oppose this kind of teaching, namely, dryness and routine. Dryness results from a too

close and constant adherence to the text-book, from the lack of initiative, from the careless, slipshod manner of oral explanations, the monotony of daily exercises, and, perhaps, from an indifference to study and research. Text-books, at best, are dry, and if they are not made vivifying by the ardor of the teacher, the task of enlightening and interesting youthful intelligence is abortive. Routine robs teaching of one of its most marked characteristics, and substitutes habit therefor, which loses its consciousness, being replaced by a species of automaton.

The teacher who is the unfortunate victim of routine, repeats each year the same lessons, in the same monotonous manner, and, evidently, without any success. Such teaching will inevitably engender a disgust, an enervation, not infrequently resulting in a kind of hopeless apathy.

If the pupils be found in this condition, the teacher should enter upon the work with enthusiasm. He should strive to give interesting explanations of the lessons and multiply questions to arrest attention. By patient perseverance in this method and a thoroughly conscientious preparation of the subject-matter to be treated, the teacher who may be engaged in the same grade for many years, will be able to arouse enthusiasm, elicit thought, and create a love for study in his pupils. By judicious reading and consultations, he will become progressive, abreast of the age, and glean great thoughts from many rich, productive fields. Otherwise, the formation of the children's intellect will be a failure, owing to dryness consequent to monotony and weakness.

The skillful teacher does not lay undue stress on gravity or dignity, but tactfully resorts to questions, including thought and rejoinders, turning the lessons, without, however, losing discipline and the requirements of the different specialties, into a masterly, controlled conversation. Experience confirms this well-known adage of pedagogy: "When pupils are passive and inactive, the class is dead." The living teacher presents his thoughts in that interesting, attractive manner, which excites emulation and stimulates initiative. In this method he finds an element of success in the very interest the pupils take in listening, whereas failure would inevitably follow were he to allow the thought of study and weariness to become associated in their youthful minds.

It may safely be asserted that teaching is active and living when the faculties of the pupils are judiciously exercised and when their attention is properly directed by promoting research and profitable reading. Another unfailing sign of such teaching is when the questions are within the reach of the pupils. Clearness in presentation stimulates investigation of the consequences that flow from given principles, that is, when the lessons in hand tend to collaborate coördinate branches and point out the interdependence of principles and subject-matter.

This method of procedure contributes powerfully to the formation of the judgment, to the rectification of errors, and to the art of correct speaking. We may say that it constitutes the essence of teaching.

And here it may be well to warn inexperienced teachers that teaching should be gradually progressive, repeatedly applied and properly directed. Experience teaches and has taught that the notions which children receive in teaching are generally new truths, and, therefore, it is of vital importance to their intellectual advancement that the teacher proceed slowly to allow the pupils to grasp the ideas to coördinate them, and to memorize and assimilate them. Hence, the teacher should guard against haste which is content with a superficial knowledge and survey of the subject, being utterly unmindful of or indifferent to the difficulties presented to the child. There is a species of simplification which multiplies questions under the vain pretext of adhering to the essential part, while an unenlightened zeal exerts a pressure, and undue straining which tends rather to enervate the intellect than to stimulate it. The true teacher will assure himself by patient questioning that his pupils have thoroughly comprehended his lessons and have not placed a false interpretation on his words.

It may be assumed as a universal pedagogic axiom that rules best understood and demonstrations most clearly given, are apt to be forgotten by pupils if the teacher were merely satisfied with oral explanations. Hence to ensure their thorough grounding and ever practical utility, frequent and varied applications of rules should be made by exercises that elicit thought and research.

BROTHER CONSTANTIUS, LL. D.

Christian Brothers' College, St. Louis.

Show how the principle announced on the title-page of this lesson applies in the teaching of the various branches of the curriculum.¹

"The presence and consciousness of appropriate feeling is indispensable to mental assimilation."

The good old days of the Latin Master and his ready rod have passed away; a new era has dawned for the schoolboy with his shining face; and the essence of this change is discovered in the fact that we are now striving to create an atmosphere for the subjects taught; in other words, to make use of the power of environment as a factor in mental assimilation.

And so the Aeneid is no longer a kind of unhappy hunting-ground for the dead forms of a language dead and buried. It is for us the

¹ Shields, Correspondence Course on the Psychology of Education, Lesson XVI, Q. 2.

voice of the New Rome, speaking through its own mouthpiece, and speaking in a language that is world-wide; the language of the human soul. It is the embodiment of the Roman spirit; the mirror of the Augustan age; an impetus to its impulse; a summary of its principles; a part of the construction, or rather reconstruction, policy of that subtle mind which shook the foundations of state and sent the Roman eagle beyond the wings of morning and the setting stars; a living thing; a moving thing; a breathing thing; the noblest conception of perhaps the noblest souls of paganism. It is, as it were, the bible of the Roman race, brave, stern, devout, pathetic in its very greatness, its groping to the light of the Eternal Truth. In such a spirit must the Aeneid be read. Unless a keen personal interest be waked it will matter little about everything else.

In like manner we must picture Cicero standing in the surging, seething Forum, or facing the haughty, supercilious Senate, as he pours out his keen, sharp, pitiless invective against the traitor, or pleads tenderly for the friend of his youth. Here we must get to know the *man* if we would understand the *orator*, and there are few more lovable characters than the stern prosecutor of Catiline; his very humanness appeals to us; his very weakness shows his greatness.

And even the terse, manly narrative of the Gallic War has its own peculiar atmosphere, though on the whole it has less of personal character than the foregoing and is more a field for grammatical study. This should not be its sole end. I have found pupils who knew nothing of the subject-matter of the book, and who were perfectly familiar with all the forms of its language; this is absurd. The strong, vigorous figure of the Imperator stands out on every page. It too, in another way, is a glorification of Rome, of the military Rome of which Virgil has written:

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento
Hæc tibi erunt artes pacisque imponere morem
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."

In this way Latin becomes not a sarcophagus of dead bones but a temple of living thought. Volumes might be written on this subject and what is said of Latin may be likewise said of her sister language, Greek. The Anabasis of Xenophon is one of the most wonderful records in history. It must be read as personal narrative of a man who writes what he has seen and heard and felt. Its key-note is a lesson for ages: "It is clear that discipline has saved as lack of discipline has ruined many." This has all the national spirit of the Gallic War, but it has more humanness; it has here and there a flash of the irrepressible Greek humor. There is no more characteristic image of the Greek

spirit than the scene where the two leaders, in the face of most trying danger, bandy each other about their City's theories of stealing—the theft of a Spartan and the graft of the Athenian; or again, where Xenophon tells his men if it be necessary they must eat their enemies “raw.” No words are necessary for Homer; his very syllables are magic. No one can read him for ease and mood and tense.

If this be true for the so-called “dead languages,” is it not more profitable for the speech of living nations? Each work of a great artist is a kind of reflex of his own spirit and of the spirit of his times. We cannot separate Dante from the City State. We cannot read Racine and Molière apart from the court of the Great Monarch. We cannot separate Shakespeare from the dramatic epoch of the English people, an epoch in which, for them, indeed, all the world was a stage. And many the parts they played when the spirit of the Skald and the Renaissance mingled in the same throbbing heart. Chaucer still mirrors for us the birth of national England; his pilgrims are of the past and yet of the living present. They still look out from the pages of Thackeray and Scott; yes, they live and move in our very century as surely as they set out that fresh spring morning from the old Tabard Inn. The types have changed only in appearance; the human remains. We cannot separate any work from its historical setting; we cannot often separate it from its maker; we can study nothing well without love and sympathy; the more love and the more sympathy we bring to our daily work, the better will it be done.

There is no more stimulating study in the school course than the study of the mother tongue and, until lately, there is no study that has been more neglected. In the old Latin school it was unknown. Truly this seems passing strange to us of the present period. This re-creation of atmosphere may be done to a large extent in secondary work. It can and should be done likewise in primary work. This in proportion to the age and power of the pupil.

Geography and history give ample scope. May I say it? Geography, apart from some concrete knowledge, seems to me almost useless. I can remember learning the name and location of every mountain, cape, gulf and bay, city, lake, river,—with its rise, flow and terminus—on every map of the known globe—and I question now if it mattered much whether the Danube flowed north, south, east or west, whether it emptied into the Mediterranean or Black Sea, if I knew nothing of the Danube beside. And if this be true of the Danube, it may be more so of the Don. This is perhaps a radical view. It is certainly the view of a theorist in primary work, but I would never insist on children's learning a geographical name unless it be given some concrete value from a physical, historical, or political association. This may be rank

heresy and I say it in a whisper. It is as easy for us to tell primary teachers what to do, and how to do it, as it is for college professors to direct secondary teachers. The sympathy and good will is on both sides, but we are all likely to ride our hobby and here we ride it in the dark.

There is no subject more facile in suggestion than history; no subject can be less easily separated from life; atmosphere is its essence. The nations must be to us living people, living their lives as we live ours, not puppets pulled by unseen strings. This in all history work is possible and essential. The American Revolution is not a mere record of events; it is the product of English ideals and the outgrowth of Colonial spirit and conditions. The Civil War is not an enumeration of battles lost or won. It is a national crisis, the test of life or death. Its blood is yet red on our fields; the problems beneath it are yet unsolved. What is true of us is true of those that have gone before us. Greece lives. She lives in her art, her architecture, her statuary. That art is the embodiment of her national life. Rome lives. She lives in her politics. She rules our empires, she controls our senates. The Teutons live. They live in our modern liberty. They govern in our states, congresses, municipalities. The past lives. It is an integral part of the present. It will be a part of every future. And so might we go on forever.

Science is of comparatively late growth. We have now given it its proper atmosphere in the laboratory and in the field. It is no longer smothered between the leaves of a text-book. But of this more than enough has been said.

In short, the principle laid down is essential in every branch. It is illustrated in our improvements in our buildings, libraries, laboratories, gardens, the equipment of the classroom, the scientific and historical character of our charts, the authenticity of our text illustration, and so throughout. We no longer have the fearfully-wonderfully-made pictorials of by-gone days, at least we do not find them in standard text.

Fresh air, sunlight, a cheery room, a kindly face, do much to make the class work easier and better. The resultant of these forces will always be the path of least resistance. Good feeling, coöperation, kindness are essentials of the atmosphere of the schoolroom. This is true of all work but mainly so of primary work. The personal environment of the teacher is a power for influence for good. Cheeriness and helpfulness go a long way; sharpness and impatience do no permanent good, they may do irreparable harm.

The system of reward and punishment is a part of the economy of Providence. Painful feeling is punishment. It may be at times neces-

sary for the maintaining of discipline; it will go a very short way in mental development. What is learned under force is not well learned. There may be cases where difficulties help mental discipline and here the pain soon results in pleasure. But where the feeling is always painful we can expect very small results. Hard study is sometimes painful, but we must always try to make it pleasurable when possible in order that it may prove profitable. Separated from a pleasant atmosphere a child will seldom do satisfactory work. We are all creatures of feeling to some extent; children are to a great extent. I do not believe in "keeping after school," at least, I do not think it ought to be done very often. Nothing is gained in the end. We all remember how little we felt like studying under those conditions.

In his excellent work, *The Art of Study*, Professor Hinsdale says:¹ "The teacher must cultivate in the pupil those states of feeling that harmonize with study and the acquisition of knowledge The more one knows the more he feels, and the more energetic is his will. Excluding the will for the present, we find that strong intellectual activity is accompanied by weak feeling, strong feeling by weak intellectual activity. In a sense, the more one knows the less, for the time, he feels, and the more one feels the less he knows. There are apparent exceptions, perhaps real ones, but such is the rule or the law.

"So it is not strange that feeling should present to the educator some important educational problems. . . . The main facts for us to consider are that the feelings of children are easily excited, that they have little control over them, and that, when strongly excited, they are largely incapable of intellectual activity, and wholly incapable of studying and learning lessons."

He goes on to say that pleasant feeling is to be cultivated and violent feeling is to be discouraged. "A gentle glow or wave of pleasant feeling should play through the schoolroom, and over the mind of the individual pupil while he is engaged in study. Courage, hopefulness, appreciation, should mark the emotional climate rather than discouragement or despair. Appreciation may be carried to the point of teaching the pupil false ideas concerning himself and his relations to the world. Pupils should not be led to form exaggerated ideas of themselves and their attainments, but they should be led to believe that much can be done in the school, and that they can do it." He then quotes from Dr. Carpenter on Willfulness:

"Great mistakes are often made by parents and teachers, who, being

¹ Hinsdale, *The Art of Study*, p. 190.

ignorant of this fundamental fact of child-nature, treat as *will-fulness* what is in reality just the contrary of will-fullness; being the direct result of the *want* of volitional control over the automatic activity of the brain. To punish a child for the want of obedience which it has not the power to render, is to inflict an injury which may almost be said to be irreparable. Hence the determination often expressed to 'break the will' of an obstinate child by punishment is almost certain to strengthen these reactionary influences. Many a child is put into 'durance vile' for not learning 'the little busy bee' who simply cannot give its small mind to the task, whilst disturbed by stern commands and threats of yet severer punishment for a disobedience it cannot help; when a suggestion kindly and skillfully adapted to its automatic nature, by directing the turbid current of thought and feeling into a smoother channel, and guiding the activity which it does not attempt to oppose, shall bring about the desired result, to the surprise alike of the baffled teacher, the passionate pupil, and the perplexed bystanders."

Are we religious teachers not somewhat inclined to forget this? We who are so severe with self, are we not inclined unconsciously to be severe with others? Do we not sometimes lose the sense of proportion and exact as much from our pupils as we exact from ourselves? Do we not smooth our overzeal with devotedness and disinterestedness? Do we not measure the defects of children against rule and order by too high a standard, that of our own obligations to rule? At least we have an inclination this way which we must combat. We are so immolated to our work that we are apt to think we are perfectly understood in our motives on all occasions. Because we always have in view to do the best, we are inclined to think we always do the best; because our ideals are so lofty we forget they are not the standard of common living. If we keep the sense of proportion more distinct, we will do better work for the glory of our Master and the good of His little ones.

SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME.

College of Notre Dame, San Jose, California.

Trace in detail the channels through which discoveries in pure science reach and modify the work of primary and intermediate education.¹

Undoubtedly the best kind of school-work is that which, based on investigation, leads the pupil to the highest form of activity, to use

¹ Shields, Correspondence Course of the Psychology of Education, Lesson IV, Q. 2.

his concrete sense experience gained out of school, in assimilating the truths encountered in the classroom; and in turn to use "his school-acquired knowledge on his surroundings and thus reënforce his natural power of observation." Now what is true of college or university, in this regard, is equally true of primary and intermediate schools.

The triumph of this view of education is due, chiefly, to the spirit of progress awakened by the recent development of the natural and physical sciences. The impetus which this progress has given to research work in the universities has completely revolutionized the methods of instruction carried on in these institutions, within the past fifty years; but the beneficent effects of this transformation are not only visible in universities and higher institutions of learning. These influences reach primary and intermediate schools chiefly through the teacher, but incidentally also through their environment and the demands of modern school life.

Normal schools and colleges have of late years become deeply imbued with the scientific spirit, transmitted to them through university students who are yearly stepping into the ranks of training teachers and college professors. Normal courses have, in consequence, taken on an entirely new aspect; it is no longer considered sufficient to receive instruction in methods of teaching only, but an understanding of the principles underlying the theory and art of teaching is deemed far more important. Laboratory practice, too, has become a prominent feature of these courses.

Teachers who receive their training in such institutions bring to the work in primary and intermediate grades a freshness and vigor that is truly inspiring. They have come to look upon education as a vital process of growth, and hence, in their teaching employ natural methods instead of submitting their pupils to the deadening monotony of purely formal drills. They have been made to realize that truths taught in school do not become real knowledge to the pupil until he has rediscovered them for himself, and therefore will not treat the children as passive receptacles to be crammed with knowledge according to the capacity of each one's memory, but will lead them to observe and find by interesting experiments and careful study the facts which would otherwise appear dull and lifeless.

Teachers of all grades are at length learning to embody in their work the principles inculcated long ago on the hillsides of Galilee, by the Master Teacher of all time, who demonstrated His teachings by lessons from nature.

The leaven of progress has completely permeated every branch of industry in which men are engaged. Discoveries in science have so greatly benefited agricultural pursuits that scientific methods are now

employed by the most successful farmers. Improvements in manufacturing are likewise due to recent developments in science; and what has not science done for mining and commerce? Charles A. McMurray says: "the thousandfold applications of natural science to human industry and comfort deserve to be perceived as the result of labor and inventive skill. Our much-lauded steam engines, telegraphs, microscopes, sewing machines, reapers, iron ships, and printing presses are examples, not of a few, but of myriads of things that natural science has secured."

Now, as it is true in nature that there is a law of environment and that plants and animals are affected by their surroundings, it is likewise true of human institutions. In every age education has been modified by the prevailing ideas and customs. The undercurrent of progress that everywhere stimulates our busy population to put forth greater energy and to employ more skillful methods in the execution of their project, must needs pervade the atmosphere of the school also. Teachers and pupils are unconsciously, but nevertheless really, influenced by the opinions of those with whom they come in daily contact. To quote C. A. McMurray again: "The natural sciences have made recently such surprising advances, and have so penetrated and transformed our modern life, that we are simply compelled, even in the common school, to take heed of these great living educational forces already at work."

The demands of our modern work-a-day world, with its schemes for advancement and its ever-varying fortunes are such as to require men and women fitted to cope with difficulties undreamed of in the past, and equipped for the exigencies inseparable from a changing environment. The needs of the present time call for individuals of broad intelligence, sound judgment, integrity of purpose, and capable of adjustment to a variety of conditions.

We have been slow in coming to a realization of the fact that school is both "life and preparation for life;" how common a thing it has been in the past to hear of young men and women, who after spending years in acquiring a fund of "book learning," on entering upon the active duties of life, found themselves utterly helpless and dependent, unsuited to their surroundings, and unprepared to meet the emergencies attendant upon the daily struggle for existence, until experience had given them some real knowledge.

Herbert Spencer, speaking of education in England some forty or fifty years ago, said: "That which our school courses leave almost entirely out we thus find to be that which most nearly concerns the business of life. All our industries would cease, were it not for that information which they begin to acquire as they best may after their

education is said to be finished. And were it not for this information that has been from age to age accumulated and spread by unofficial means, these industries would never have existed. Had there been no teaching but such as is given in our public schools, England would now be what it was in feudal times. That increasing acquaintance with the laws of nature which has through successive ages enabled us to subjugate nature to our needs, and in these days gives to the common laborer comforts which a few centuries ago kings could not purchase, is scarcely in any degree owed to the appointed means of instructing our youth. The vital knowledge—that by which we have grown as a nation to what we are, and which now underlies our whole existence—is a knowledge that has got itself taught in nooks and corners, while the ordained agencies for teaching have been mumbling little else but dead formulas.”

This condition has certainly improved. Educators everywhere are beginning to recognize the fact that they must adapt their methods to the needs of the day; and thus only can they hope to attain the desired end.

SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME.

St. James' School, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

- Query : I. How does the ideal of Christian education as presented in part II, p. 38,¹ harmonize with the statement, p. 46, “The success of a school is measured by the success of the alumni in the struggle for existence”? What does that success imply?**
- II. How far should the school “adjust its methods to the needs and conditions of the outer world”? Is not the tendency to too ready adjustment to conditions in the outer world likely to lower standards and establish wrong or at least low ideals?**
- III. How would you characterize “the power which went out from the kingdom to regenerate a pagan world”?**
- IV. Has not the “removal of the compelling force of local custom and family tradition” been productive of evil as well as good results? Constituted as we are, social beings, will not such elements enter largely into our lives and have a salutary influence?**
- V. Is not the tendency at present to too great plasticity? Is not human nature as much dependent as ever upon ac-**

¹ Shields' Correspondence Course, Psychology of Education.

cepted standards of conduct? Can a man battle alone with the storms of temptation and passion, rather is not the man who can do so the exception and can education so modify human nature as to make such characters the rule?

VI. Is the present tendency (in the light of the plea for the development of individual power) to organization in trusts on the one hand and trade unions on the other, a legitimate tendency?¹

MISS AGNES REGAN.

San Francisco, California.

I. Your first question asks how the passage "It has been the unchanging purpose of Christian education to put the pupil into possession of a body of truth derived from these four sources and to bring his conduct into conformity with the Christian ideals and with the standards of the civilization of his day," harmonizes with the statement "The success of a school is measured by the success of the alumni in the struggle for existence." This depends, of course, on what we should consider the success of the alumni in the struggle for existence. Now, I am tempted to ask the old question: "What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world if he lose his own soul?" And the young man or woman engaged in the struggle for existence who sacrifices high ideals, who foregoes the delights of literature and art, who renounces the joy of a virtuous life and a Christian home, and sacrifices his claims on eternity, in order to make money and accumulate stocks and bonds, has failed utterly in the struggle for existence. Success in the struggle for existence must evidently mean the preservation and development of all that is best in ourselves and the acquirement of all that is best and highest in the heritage of our race, while still maintaining our place in the material world into which we have been born.

"How far should the school 'adjust its methods to the needs and conditions of the outer world?' Is not the tendency to too ready adjustment to the conditions in the outer world likely to lower the standard and establish wrong or at least low ideals?" There seems to be a misunderstanding here of the term adjustment as a vital process. "Life is a continued adjustment of internal to external relations." Dead things level themselves down to the conditions to which they are adjusted, but adjustment in living things means, in the first instance, the preservation of the inward content; it means the gaining of ability to conquer the environment instead of being conquered by it and destroyed by it as a consequence of the failure to adjust. There never

¹Questions on Lesson IV, Shields' Correspondence Course, The Psychology of Education.

can be too ready an adjustment of life to its conditions. If the current standards in the social and economic groups into which the child must enter on leaving school are low, then the adjustment in the pupil must be such as to enable him to rise superior to their standards and maintain his own. Once we understand the matter in this way, and I believe it is the only understanding that could arise from a thorough study of vital phenomena, it will be at once evident, not only that the adjustment can never be too ready, but that the main purpose of education is and must always be the securing of the most perfect adjustment possible to the conditions into which the pupil must enter.

Your third question opens up a very big field of thought, but I take it that the answer is not far to seek. It was the power which taught men to find their happiness in loving rather than in being loved, in giving rather than in receiving, in recognizing the three great central truths of the conquest of man over himself and his environment which is portrayed for us in the first pages of the Gospel: "Not by bread alone doth man live, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God." "It is written, thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." By the first of these fundamental principles of the kingdom, man is lifted into control of his physiological appetites, and having gained in strength in this way, the second principle enables him to conquer ambition for wealth and domination over his fellow-man, and to find the goal of all his striving in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The third principle makes him self-helpful and teaches him that he must not expect God, by miraculous intervention, to do for him what he is enabled to do for himself by the proper use of the powers and faculties wherewith his Creator has endowed him.

"Has not the 'removal of the compelling force of local custom and family tradition' been productive of evil, as well as of good results?" Yes, certainly. Wherever the environment of any living being changes rapidly the pressure becomes great and the tendency to the destruction of the living form pronounced. This is as true of man as it is of other forms of life and we should, therefore, expect that this radical change in man's environment would be productive of great hardships and of evil consequences, but to those who believe in an over-ruling Providence this will not seem the result of accident or the design of an evil being. Whether we see the termination of the process or not, we will still know that in it God is working for His own ends and aims and for the good of man rather than for his destruction. Those who pass through the struggle successfully at present will find themselves endowed with stronger personal adhesion to high ideals and will, from every point of view, be superior to the men who were good, not by

virtue of the kingdom of God which dwells in their own souls, but because a family group preserved them from the shock of temptation and the danger of wrong-doing.

You will find in what has just been said the answer to your fifth question: "Is not the tendency at present to too great plasticity?"

"Is the present tendency to organization in trusts, etc., a legitimate tendency?" I do not know what you mean by legitimate in this connection. The changes in our industrial system have compelled man to enter into organizations of this sort, and whether the tendency to do so be legitimate or not it is the inevitable outcome of present conditions which have resulted from the introduction of labor-saving machinery. But again, you have opened up here one of the most far-reaching problems of modern sociology and economics, the discussion of which is quite impossible in these pages.

Query: I. There is some doubt as to the appropriateness of the expression "controlled involuntary attention" as used in answer to question I. Is it correct?

Query: II. The crowded condition of the lower classes of our parochial schools is, in the mind of our teachers, the biggest obstacle to the teaching of the art of study to the pupils. Is there any means of overcoming this obstacle other than that of dividing the class into a number of sections?¹

BROTHER PHILIP.

La Salle Academy, New York City.

I. Your phrase "controlled involuntary attention" strikes me as quite happy in spite of the apparent contradiction between "controlled" and "involuntary." There is a great deal of confusion, as you know, in the use of the term voluntary and involuntary attention. Some writers use the term voluntary attention to designate the attention which flows from the will, and involuntary attention for the attention which results from the intellect alone. Personally, I prefer this usage. On the other hand, it would seem very natural to designate that spontaneous attention which we give to things that interest us without any effort of the will as voluntary; and some writers use it in this sense. But in your phrase "involuntary" attention is used as the equivalent of spontaneous or absorbed attention, and it is evidently proper to speak of this attention as controlled, for, as you very justly remark, if this sort of attention

¹ Questions on Lesson II, Shields' Correspondence Course, The Psychology of Education.

were not under the control of the will, even though that control be indirect, we would have no such thing as freedom. The term "non-voluntary attention," is, in my opinion, better than "controlled voluntary attention."

II. No teacher can do justice to more than fifty pupils and the best results can hardly be achieved where the number exceeds forty, but I do not believe that the number of pupils interferes more with the teaching of the art of study than it does with the teaching of any other study in the curriculum. As a matter of fact, it is through the art of study imparted to the pupils that they become independent of the teacher and thereby escape some of the worst consequences of excessively large classes. There seems to me to be another thought in the minds of your teachers which I would like to deal with at greater length than is here possible. Let me say in passing that I am inclined to think great good would result from our attempt to treat the pupils of one grade more as individuals and less as if we considered them all alike and capable of benefiting by like treatment.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

La Théologie de Saint Hippolyte. Par Adhémar d'Alès. Beauchesne, Paris, 1906. Pp. liv + 242.

In a previous number the BULLETIN introduced M. d'Alès to its readers and bespoke consideration for his faithful, sympathetic reproduction of Tertullian. The volume to hand deals with the theology of Saint Hippolytus—that strange figure of early church history who rose from the ranks of the Roman clergy to play the part of anti-pope against Saint Calixtus, the legitimate successor of the Fisherman. It reflects, if anything, even more credit on M. d'Alès for his judicious treatment of a delicate and complex theme. The student of theology and church history will find in this volume a store of information, not elsewhere gathered together, concerning the character of Hippolytus, who crowned his faulty, turbulent career with a martyr's death. Those interested in the history of philosophy might profitably compare with the knowledge we now have from other sources the account which Hippolytus gives of the leading schools of Greek philosophy and their tenets; and the lover of scientific method will lay this volume down satisfied. Priest, philosopher, theologian, agitator, anti-pope, martyr, Hippolytus presents many sides of character to the student which are but so many perplexing problems to the critic who endeavors, so to speak, to restore him in the original. This M. d'Alès succeeds admirably in accomplishing, after searching every nook and cranny where a bit of knowledge is to be found.

The author draws his information concerning the person and work of Hippolytus from the literary and hagiographical tradition, and from a third source which he has made to yield original results—namely, the much mooted work called “The Refutation of all Heresies,” better known under the title of “Philosophumena,” for the most part a misnomer.

In his learned Introduction, M. d'Alès collects the autobiographical elements scattered through the *Philosophumena*, and arranges them into a mosaic portrait of the author. Much needed new light is thus thrown on the mysterious personality of Hippolytus. The notion of Hippolytus anti-pope is central. The clue to his many sides of character is to be found here, if anywhere, in the bitter personal antagonism, amounting to schism, toward Pope Calixtus. M. d'Alès submits to

penetrating criticism the rival claims to the authorship of these disputed writings. The results greatly increase the probabilities in favor of Hippolytus.

The personal attitude of Hippolytus toward Pope Calixtus, as reflected in the theological questions of the day which divided the minds of these two rivals and embittered their relations; the attitude of Hippolytus toward the Trinitarian heresies, toward holy Scripture, toward science, sacred and profane, together with his views on the "Last Things," is successfully inquired into by the author in five solid chapters. In these chapters M. d'Alès succeeds in discovering the main motive of Hippolytus and the key to his complex character. This psychological reconstruction of a man of mystery along the lines of unity of purpose and more or less consistency of conduct, is a fine piece of work, harder to accomplish in the field of letters, perhaps, than in the kindred domains of art or archæology. When the connecting thread of a man's mental and practical life lies hidden beneath a mass of seemingly unrelated detail, it is no small credit to the critic who discovers it; and when we remember, furthermore, that the literary remains of Hippolytus were almost unknown until the early fifties of the last century and have been increased only by very recent discovery, the value of M. d'Alès' painstaking collection of information and judicious handling of new material is at once apparent. There is an attractiveness about the author's treatment which pervades even the minutest details. His great erudition has not stifled his power and grace of expression, nor has his power of expression tempted him to forget the severities of scientific method. These qualities are worthy of note, because in these days the interests of the 'mind literary' are too often sacrificed in scientific treatises as if the beautiful were no longer a fit companion for the true.

The author, after a close study of the manuscript brought from the East in the early forties of the last century and now in the national library of Paris, has shown very convincingly that critics have been too hasty in lamenting the loss of the second and third books of the *Philosophumena*. These he has discovered somewhat mutilated, but substantially intact in the so-called fourth book of the actual editions. The most considerable loss is probably that of the development of the "mysteries," though even this lost part of the treatise, as indications all seem to point, cannot have been extensive. In his choice of explanatory suppositions, the author leans to the theory of a distracted scribe or copyist. The bulkiness of this so-called fourth book, as compared with the others, lends additional support to the author's contention that the greater part of the second and third books was inadvertently transferred. This piece of critical restoration is a real

contribution to knowledge, and there is nothing painfully labored either in manner or matter about its presentation.

This volume is well worthy of the praise here bestowed upon it. It is interesting, exact, sympathetic, novel. Carefully prepared tables and indices make any of its varied topics easily accessible for reference. Taking a topic at random—the Redemption, for instance, we find a succinct and complete presentation of what Hippolytus has to say on the subject. One of the general effects produced by reading the volume is the high estimate to be put upon Pope Calixtus who towers above his erratic rival when the two are measured alongside. We hope that our readers will find place on their library shelves for this work on Hippolytus and its companion volume on Tertullian. These are the days of special studies, and it is seldom that tradition has been so thoroughly ransacked for information as it has been by our author in the two cases of Rome and Carthage. We congratulate M. d'Alès on his noteworthy achievement.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Justins Lehre von Jesus Christus. Von Alfred Leonhard Feder, S. J. Herder : St. Louis, 1906. Pp. xiii + 303.

Justin Martyr's ranking position as the first of the Christian Apologists, not indeed in the order of time, but in the order of importance—since he gives us a most valuable insight into the faith and practice of the early church—makes him an interesting object of study.

In the learned Introduction to this volume, the author reviews the various estimates passed upon Justin and his work from the earliest days to the latest publications, Catholic and Protestant, on the subject. This presentation of the literature concerning Justin Martyr is in itself valuable, but the author has made it more so by the clear and entertaining account which he adds of the purpose, presuppositions, and results reached by the respective investigators. He rightly claims that a complete understanding of any author cannot be reached by studying one topic exclusively, but only by computing and appreciating the relative influence upon one another of an author's many views, and by taking into due account the formative circumstances of time, place, and personages upon such a traveller and enthusiast as was Justin Martyr. The results justify Father Feder's contention. Throughout the entire volume the origin of the various ideas expressed by Justin is traced, his sources are studied, and a concrete, living presentation of the martyr Apologist is the pleasing result of the method which the author follows.

Justin's views on Christ as Messiah form the first topic of investigation. These are followed by a description of his Logos doctrine, and a very searching inquiry into its sources. The ancient Greek, Stoic, and Jewish-Alexandrian doctrines of the Logos are studied with a view to determining their influence on Justin and his indebtedness to them. This pagan influence has been grossly exaggerated by those investigators who seem bent on proving a foreign source for every Christian doctrine and have been misled by this prepossession into straining at gnats in their efforts to establish an actual point of contact and place of borrowing. Not the least of the merits of this learned volume consists in overthrowing this thesis of foreign importation.

The author shows very clearly the dependence of Justin upon the Sapiential Books of the Old Testament and upon St. John and St. Paul. He brings out this dependence more clearly still by means of a comparative table which exhibits the parallelism of thought and even of expression. His conclusion is that Justin's doctrine of the Logos, so far as its fundamentally religious character enters, is of biblical origin, and not an outgrowth either of Jewish-Alexandrian or Greek philosophy. It is not even the basis of his theology, but a secondary concept which Justin uses to illustrate and support his belief in the divine sonship of Christ. The author concedes that because of loose and erroneous expressions Justin may in a certain sense be called a forerunner of Semi-Arianism, but denies that the charge of Arianism proper can be raised against him. These first two studies of the author are as valuable as they are timely. They will serve especially to check the strong tendency now current which consists in belittling traditional, and in magnifying supposed heathen sources of Christian doctrine.

The third part of the work before us is on the Christology of Justin and the fourth on his Soteriology. Space will not permit a detailed recount or appreciation of the interesting topics which the author interestingly treats. Suffice it to say that Justin's fund of ideas on Christ as God and Christ as Man, on His work as Redeemer, Savior, Teacher, High Priest, Lawgiver, King, and Judge is laid before the reader for inspection in an orderly, scientific way, and in an easy, uninvolved style which greatly adds to the presentation. The life of Christ according to Justin completes the treatment. A review, followed by a triple index of sources, names, and topics, makes the volume handy as a work of reference.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Die Lehre des hl. Ambrosius vom Reiche Gottes auf Erden.

Eine Patristische Studie. Von Dr. Joh. Ev. Niederhuber. Mainz, 1904. Pp. x + 282.

The mere fact that St. Ambrose was of an intensely practical and moral turn of mind is sufficient to assure him a hearing in an age which has erected the practical into a philosophy of life. His Roman education in philosophy, rhetoric, and law, and his experience in the consular service before his election by acclamation to the see of Milan, developed in him those practical qualities which are in great measure characteristic of his writings. It has been said that the genius of the Roman was for organization and government, whereas that of the Greek was for speculation and culture. There is a good grain of truth in the contrast of these two racial traits, but unfortunately the contrast has been so far pressed at times that it has degenerated into rhetoric, and ceased to be history. St. Ambrose was no stranger to Greek influence. It is hard at times to discover a dominant conception in his writings. His ideas are so rich and varied that the critic finds no little difficulty in attempting to put systematic order into the mass of details. Mystic and literal as his language is on occasion, the bishop of Milan needs to be completely studied before a due estimate of his thought can be reached. Fragments yield no clue. He often emphasizes so positively the particular feature of a topic which he is treating that many mistake this over-emphasis for an exclusive statement, instead of correcting and modifying it by comparison with other texts. It is only in this way that the thought of any writer can be made to seek its level. Our author realizes this thoroughly, and it is not the least merit of this contribution to patristic literature that the total drift of St. Ambrose's thought is judiciously estimated from all sources before being set forth or systematized.

The author first inquires into the natural presuppositions of the kingdom of God among men as conceived by Ambrose. These are the bodily and spiritual constituents of man, and the immortality of the soul, viewed religiously in relation to the redemptive work of Christ. The author takes care to point out to hasty interpreters that the tri-otomy which Ambrose admits in man's constitution is not physical, but an application of religious and ethical conceptions to the problem of anthropology. The view is based upon the supernatural constitution of man through grace, and does not imply the admission of a three-fold physical compound, body, soul, and spirit. This is a necessary and timely correction.

After insisting on this religious and moral standpoint as central with St. Ambrose, the author successively examines into the Bishop of

Milan's views on the original condition of man in Paradise, namely, on his creation in the image and likeness of God, which was the special quality on which the kingdom of God was founded, a grace, in other words, and not a natural belonging; on the kingdom of this world established by sin and by Satan in antagonism to the kingdom of God which needed to be re-established as a matter of moral necessity for man's restoration to his original, spiritual well-being; on the grace of Christ in relation to the grace of primitive justice and as the constituent principle of the kingdom of God; as the source of our salvation and renovation; of merit, of eternal life, of intellectual and moral perfection; on the kingdom of God as the subjective possession of the "vita beata" by those who are its members, who live no longer a life of isolation, but one of communion with one another in faith, prayers, merits, and deeds on earth, to become members of the perfect community of the blest hereafter.

These summary indications will acquaint the reader with the variety of interesting topics treated. It is no small matter to have succeeded so well in collecting scattered bits of information from the many discourses and writings of St. Ambrose where they lie isolated and at times seemingly unrelated. The reader will derive not only intellectual but spiritual profit from studying this highly moral and practical conception of the church which St. Ambrose has left us. The author has realized the wish expressed in the preface that his volume would prove a serviceable contribution to the patristic literature of the present. The volume makes a very worthy addition to the "Investigations in Christian Literature and the History of Dogma" edited by Doctors Ehrhard and Kirsch.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Cursus brevis Philosophiae, auctore Gustavo Pécsi. Vol. I, *Logica, Metaphysica*. Esztergon (Hungary), Gustav Buzárovits, 1906. Pp. xvi + 311.

If, as the author of this Course of Philosophy asserts (p. 151), the term "curious" comes from the Latin "cur" and therefore expresses the tendency of the mind to know the "why" of things and events—an etymology, however, which the philologist is not likely to accept as scientific—a new Latin text-book of scholastic philosophy ought to arouse some curiosity. Why is it published? Simply to increase the already large number of such manuals? Or at last to supply what has been looked for so long, namely, a qualitative improvement? We can but praise Dr. Pécsi for his purpose as set forth in the Preface.

Philosophy, he tells us, must be adapted to our own times, and cannot be simply a re-edition of medieval philosophy. "In the twentieth century, one must philosophize as Aristotle and St. Thomas would, if they lived to-day." Hence old principles are to be presented in a new dress, and brought in touch with modern science. This certainly is a condition on which the vitality of philosophy depends. It has not always been understood sufficiently, and the author's undertaking is highly commendable. The use of the strict syllogistic form has also great advantages, but we doubt whether it can give philosophy "the clearness and exactness of mathematics," and enable it to reach "clear and apodictic conclusions" like those of the mathematical sciences.

This first volume contains Logic (including Epistemology) and General Metaphysics. The advisability of giving General Metaphysics so early a place in the course may be questioned; but, to our mind, the treating of Epistemology before Psychology is objectionable. How can the value of the cognitive faculties be tested before knowing their mode of function and their mutual complex relations? We need not enter into details on the contents of the book. On the whole, the author follows the classical divisions found in other text-books of scholastic philosophy, and teaches the traditional doctrines with only few changes or additions, and these of secondary importance. To bring the book up-to-date certain questions should have received a little more attention. For instance, two very unsatisfactory pages are insufficient for the treatment of the process of induction. The general problem of method should not be reduced to four pages on the formal scholastic "*disputatio philosophica*," and two on the "*methodus philosophica*."

The external form of the book is remarkably good. Misprints, however, are not sufficiently eliminated. Thus we find Lotz for Lotze, Francellin for Franzelin, Suares for Suarez (which is also found), Schoppenhauer for Schopenhauer. Pesch is preceded by the initials H. or P. neither of which applies to either of the two authors of that name. Such words as Descartes and Kant are indiscriminately used along with their Latin forms Cartesius and Kantius. The same word is spelt differently, like *sofisma* and *sophisma*; *phisiologia* and *physiologia*; *phisica*, *fisica* and *physica*; the same for *metaphisica*, etc.; we even find *metaphfisica*. These and similar defects mar the appearance of a book whose typography is otherwise perfect, and, for clearness, might well be set up as a model for text-books.

C. A. DUBRAY.

Neue Schule des gregorianischen Choralgesangs. P. Dominicus Johner, Benediktiner von Beuron. Pustet, Regensburg.

A New School of Gregorian Chant by the Rev. Dom Dominic Johner, O. S. B., of Beuron Abbey. Pustet, Regensburg.

This work and its translation proceed from the Abbey of Beuron. It is another instance of the high cultivation of the ecclesiastical chant by the Benedictines throughout the world. Father Johner belongs to the school of the oratorical rhythm, which system maintains the doctrine of equal duration of all Gregorian notes and a peculiar theory of accent. All will not, of course, accede to this. However, whatever may be said on these points, to which all will not agree, and justly so, the book will be of practical value for Church music. It is not only useful for professional musicians and savants, but is practical also for beginners. It is divided into three parts: Preparatory School (Vorschule), Normal School (Normalschule), High School (Hochschule). To this is added a threefold appendix. The most practical instructions for the Gregorian singer are in the second part, the "Normalschule" (pp. 21-142).

Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae juxta Editionem Vaticanam a SS. PP. Pio X evulgatam. Fr. Pustet, Regensburg.

Commune Sanctorum juxta Editionem Vaticanam a SS. PP. Pio X evulgatam. Fr. Pustet, Regensburg.

Here we have a fine reprint of the Vatican "Kyriale" and "Commune Sanctorum" from the house of Fr. Pustet. "Pustet editions," of the old plain chant, were justly popular for their typographical excellence and it was to be expected that, in the many editions of the "new plain-chant" books, Pustet would also prove his superiority in this department.

Kyriale seu Ordinarium Missae juxta Editionem Vaticanam. Modern notation. By Dr. Fr. X. Mathias. Pustet, Regensburg.

This edition of the *Kyriale Romanum* in modern notation has been prepared by Dr. Mathias with the assistance of the Rev. Dom Dominic Johner, O. S. B., of Beuron Abbey. The special characteristics of this edition, as the author states in his preface, are: the strict adherence to the graphic grouping of the notes as in the typical edition; and the indication of the rhythm according to the ordinary methods of modern notation, familiar to every singer. It proceeds from the press of Pustet and is on a par with their excellent work in this respect.

Catholic Church Hymnal with Music. Edited by A. Edmonds Tozer. J. Fischer & Bro., New York.

Catholic Church hymnals are always welcome, as they help our congregational singing in the vernacular. The author has made large use of mediæval hymns, something that has not been done heretofore to such an extent. The compass of the tunes, with a few exceptions, has been kept within the proper limits for unison singing. Many of the hymns are set to the author's own compositions.

Trusts, Pools and Corporations. Edited with an Introduction by W. Z. Ripley, Ph. D. Boston, New York, Chicago, London : Ginn & Co. Pp. xxx, 473.

Trade Unionism and Labor Problems. Edited with an Introduction by John R. Commons. Boston, New York, Chicago, London : Ginn & Co. Pp. iv, 628.

Railway Problems. Edited with an Introduction by W. Z. Ripley, Ph. D. Boston, New York, Chicago, London : Ginn & Co. Pp. vi, 686.

Selected Readings in Public Finance. By C. J. Bullock. Boston, New York, Chicago, London : Ginn & Co. Pp. 671.

In the above volumes of the series of *Selections and Documents in Economics*, Professor Ripley, the editor has given us something new and stimulating in the line of text-books. The purpose of the series is to furnish in convenient form for the student and the general reader, materials for supplementing the treatment given economic questions in the general text-books, by study of specific cases bearing upon the principles or practices under consideration. It represents an attempt to apply to the study of economic problems the "case method" which has proved so successful in the law schools.

Professor Bullock's volume of *Selected Readings in Public Finance* is a slight departure from the plan followed in preparing the other three; as its title indicates, it is intended to give the reader the views of the best known writers on Finance on particular topics of financial import, rather than to enable him to gather the principles of finance from instances of actual financial practice. The materials for all of the volumes has been previously published.

The two volumes prepared by Professor Ripley himself impress as

the most valuable in a valuable series. In these the idea of allowing the reader to gather for himself, from the history of specific transactions and of leading legal cases, the actual working of the industrial combinations and the railways, and the attitude of the law toward these great organizations of capital is closely adhered to. These essays on the formation of well-known "trusts," on their practices, on railroad organization, on railroad rate-making as illustrated by specific instances, and on judicial decisions and legislation are at once illustrative and splendid inductive material.

Professor John R. Commous in selecting the essays for his volume on *Labor Problems* has no doubt been handicapped by the meagreness of literature from which to choose. As it is, the volume suffers somewhat, in comparison with the two noticed above, from a lack of the same consistency. The essays on trade-unionism are instructive and well grouped, and with a few more of the same character would have made a serviceable volume for the study of trade-unionism by the case system, but their incorporation with such essays as that on the "Slav in Coal Mining" and the symposium on the "Negro Artisan" deprive the book of the unity of subject-matter attained in the others. All the essays, however, are interesting, and the width of range which makes the book less valuable for classroom purposes may add to its attractiveness to the general reader.

D. A. McCABE.

La Paroisse, par M. l'Abbé Henri Lesêtre. Paris : Lecoffre, 1906.
Pp. 263.

M. Lesêtre is to be congratulated on this very readable and scholarly addition to the Bibliothèque d'Économie Sociale. With a completeness which is remarkable when we consider the narrow compass within which the author was obliged to confine his treatment, he traces the history of parishes in general from the close of the third century to our own day, devotes a few special chapters to the study of their condition in France before and after the Revolution, indicates the peculiar influences exerted by local conditions in the various countries of the Catholic world, and attempts to forecast the future of the French parish in the changed circumstances to which it must now adjust itself.

The principal part of the work is given up to an account of the origin and development of the parish as a necessary element in the organized activity of the Church. It is a most interesting view that is given the reader, with numerous side-lights on related topics—the support of the clergy, the administration of temporalities, the intervention

of lay authority in parochial affairs. Evidently, we gather, no century has a monopoly of distressing conditions for the Church; even in France the Curés will not look back with regret to a time when a lay-lord controlled all parish revenues and even relieved the clergy of their stipends for Masses.

It is especially interesting to the American reader to discover in the ninth chapter, which is intended to familiarize the author's fellow-countrymen with parochial organization in other countries, that the marked characteristic of parishes in the United States is their powerful contribution to the cause of national unity. Our parishes, it is said, are at the same time Catholic and American; our pastors feel free to preach love of country as well as love of religion, since the civil authority is never guilty of any act tending to menace faith, chill love of country or wound love of the Church.

The final chapter, *La Paroisse de Demain*, contains reflections on the actual situation in France. M. Lesêtre is of the large number of those who believe that the difficulties created by the government are largely compensated by the greater liberty which will come to bishops and priests, and he is confident that the generosity of the people may be fully relied on to meet all the needs of religion. The great need of the French church to-day, he holds, is of a vigorous endeavor to control and enlighten public opinion by utilizing to the full the great power of the press, by an improved and more zealous ministry of preaching, and by proclaiming the obligation of a more practical piety.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Nomination et Institution Canonique des Evêques, par T. Crepon des Varennes. Paris : Tequi, 1903. Pp. 213.

The contents of this work are really indicated by two words of the sub-title, "Pragmatiques-Sanctions, Concordats;" for after a brief introductory notice on episcopal elections in general, the author concerns himself exclusively with those famous documents which have affected the nomination of Bishops in France during the last seven centuries. The so-called Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, the Concordat of 1516, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the Concordat of 1802, and the Concordat of Fontainebleau are discussed in turn. Though this discussion cannot lay any claim to novelty, the treatment is interesting, and there can be no doubt that the work has a very real value, breathing as it does love and reverence for the Church, and evidencing the desire of an earnest and cultured

layman to contribute his influence in behalf of religion. M. des Varrennes prefers the concordatory method of choosing bishops, with the coöperation of the supreme civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and looks with less favor on nomination by the prelates of a province or by the Pope alone. This judgment may not meet with the approval of all, but no one surely can find fault with the principle which he would have incorporated in any code governing episcopal elections—never to confer the honor of the episcopate on any priest who solicits it.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Valeur des Décisions Doctrinales et Disciplinaires du Saint-Siège, par Lucien Choupin, S. J. Paris: Beauchesne, 1907. Pp. 388.

The major part of this volume is taken up with a long explanation of the Syllabus and a briefer study of the decrees of the Holy Office and of the Index touching the case of Galileo, but in an interesting introductory section the author treats many questions that continually suggest themselves to those who have to do with pontifical acts and with the decrees of the Roman Congregations. What is the precise nature and extent of papal infallibility; does a denial of an infallible decree of the Sovereign Pontiff always imply heresy; what form of assent is due to constitutions and encyclicals like the "Libertas" and the "Immortale Dei" of Leo XIII; what are our precise obligations in reference to decisions emanating from the Holy Office; how are we to distinguish between dogmatic and disciplinary pronouncements; these are questions of permanent interest, an interest, too, that is rendered the livelier by the varying opinions of canonists and theologians in regard to particular apostolic or congregational acts. Most readers will regret that this portion of the work was not enlarged, even at the cost of a more confined study of the Syllabus. As to the value of this famous list of condemned propositions, Père Choupin concludes that the opinion of those who maintain that the Syllabus is not guaranteed by the infallibility of the Church is neither improbable nor rash.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Konversations-Lexicon. Herder. Vol. VI. *Mirabeau-Pompeji*. Net \$3.50. Vol. VII. *Pompejus-Spinner*. Net \$3.50.

The sixth and the seventh volumes of Herder's *Konversations Lexicon*, appearing within a few months of each other, invite renewed attention

to this great undertaking of the Herders. The seven volumes already published contain over six thousand pages of carefully prepared and classified material touching on practically every topic which has any culture interest. The plates and maps are up to the standard of excellence consistently maintained by the Herders in all their work. Art, warfare, mechanics, anatomy, astronomy are as generously treated in text and illustration as the more common topics of daily interest. The judicious use of abbreviations increases enormously the amount of information which the publishers are enabled to give within the limits set.

The Lexicon is excellent from every standpoint. Commendations uttered on the occasion of the appearance of the earlier volumes may be repeated with added emphasis in welcoming the new volumes in America.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Linguae Hebraicae Grammatica et Chrestomathia cum Glossario. Editio altera. By H. Gismondi, S. J. Rome : C. de Luigi. Pp. 96 + 20 + 60. Price L. 4.00.

The present work of F. Gismondi is very clear and methodical, and will be of the greatest service to the beginners in Hebrew. Intending this grammar to be elementary, the author has omitted all bibliographical notes, as well as all questions relative to the origin and philological derivation of the various forms. A little of both would not be out of place, were it only to let the students know the existence of the problem. From a scientific point of view, this grammar seems to be a little too mechanical, but this does not take away any of its practical qualities and we recommend it to all those that are interested in the study of Hebrew.

R. BUTIN.

The Essentials and Non-Essentials of The Catholic Religion. By Rev. H. G. Hughes. The Ave Maria Press, Notre Dame, Ind., 1906. Pp. xi + 132.

An admirable little book, admirable in design, and admirable in execution. Written originally for the information of those outside of the Church it is republished with the hope that it may also be useful to some within the Church. That hope we believe to be well founded. We know of no better service a Catholic writer can do to Catholics than

to make them acquainted with the distinction between the truths of faith and the theological opinions which, however true they may be, are not obligatory. In our own experience, we have never yet met with a Catholic troubled by doubts really "against the faith," but we have met many who were troubled by doubts against things which they supposed to be of faith, but which were not so. The gift of faith can scarcely prevent the mind from doubting human opinions. Father Hughes' little book will do much to prevent such confusion.

M. J. RYAN.

St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

Questions of the Day. By Very Rev. A. Macdonald, D. D., V. G. Vol. II. New York: Christian Press Association Publishing Company, 1906. Pp. viii + 228.

This volume contains a number of miscellaneous essays by one who is known as one of the most zealous and diligent Catholic writers in Canada. The essays on "The Symbol in the New Testament," and on the "Discipline of the Secret," have been incorporated in the author's larger work on "The Symbol," which was noticed in the BULLETIN on a former occasion. There is an essay on the Ethical Aspect of Bribery at Elections, which is characterized by a noble, moral tone, and which sustains a view which we believe to be absolutely right, by arguments of great force and clearness.

M. J. RYAN.

St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

Lex Credendi: A Sequel to *Lex Orandi*. By George Tyrrell. Longmans, New York, 1906. Pp. xviii + 256.

Oil and Wine. By George Tyrrell. Longmans, London.

There are many things in these books with which we disagree; yet we do not find that our differences are in fact so great as the preface to "Oil and Wine" had led us to anticipate. In his chivalrous fairness, in his anxiety not to appear to simple believers to speak with an authority which he does not possess, and not to be taken by outsiders as an official representative of the Schola, Father Tyrrell has been led, we think, to profess that he stands at a greater distance from what he calls "the school at present in the ascendancy at headquarters" than is the case in reality with his works. For, after all, within the Catholic

fullness of the Church there are "many mansions;" and apart from the influence of the divine Spirit who is her life, her varied experience of so many ages and nations and stages of civilization has furnished her with some school of thought for every variety of character and intellect. In some places, too, his language lays itself open to misunderstanding, *e. g.*, on p. xiv of this preface he speaks of "the Church," when he obviously only means the executive departments of the government of the Church. As one man's meat is another man's poison, so what might be one man's poison may be another's meat; and Father Tyrrell found from experience that this work when privately circulated, "did not suggest difficulties" but "alleviated them;" did not "scandalize or discourage" souls, but "stimulated them;" a result which he attributes to the fact that it was read only by people competent to think for themselves, and warned by him that the work should be read with a vigilant and critical eye.

The interdependence of the rule of faith and the rule of prayer, which was officially asserted long ago, is the theme of the two books entitled "*Lex Orandi*" and "*Lex Credendi*." Both in the conclusion and in the preface of the latter, Father Tyrrell draws our attention to some characteristics of the former work which were not as clear to some of his critics as he thinks they might have been. He reminds us that both of these works were written for a particular class—a class which he fears is growing in numbers—viz.: those who, though "earnestly religious," have become "impatient of theological disputes" and think that "the Gospel means deeds rather than words or theories," and who therefore are coming "to look upon the Creed with a cold eye; to view it as belonging more to the outward life of the visible Church than to the inward life of the individual Christian." And, as in the "*Lex Orandi*," he tried to show such people that "creeds and dogmas cannot be dispensed with," in the spiritual life because "they are the presuppositions of all life," so in the "*Lex Credendi*," he tries to show them that the Creed may be evolved from, because it is presupposed in, the Prayer of prayers, that which our Lord taught to his disciples.

For the aim and purpose of these works we cannot imagine that anyone can have any feeling but sympathy and gratitude. The spirit of zeal for the Catholic religion, and the love of souls which inspired them deserve, and have, our profoundest admiration. But with all this, there may legitimately be respectful differences of opinion as to the manner in which the task has been accomplished. We think that Father Tyrrell's view of the relation of the science of theology to Faith and to the Depositum "once delivered to the Saints," will have to be modified before it will commend itself to the mind of the Church as something to be not only tolerated in private individuals but commonly

and publicly adopted among the recognized schools. His theory of Development has not yet been explained with sufficient clearness to render a fair criticism within a short space possible. But it is something widely different from that of Newman and Perrone. In saying so, Father Tyrrell acts with characteristic honesty and candor; we always know where Father Tyrrell stands; and he is to be honored for this. And, believing, as we personally do, that the theory which he opposes, though susceptible of improvement or correction in details, contains a great deal more of truth than his own, yet we much prefer his open and honorable attack to the conduct of some writers in France who have tried to propagate a view under the name of Newman that is much nearer to the Hegelian process of thought than to any theory of development which John Henry Newman would have sanctioned.

We must not omit, however, that Father Tyrrell makes it clear that he is neither a "Pragmatist" nor a "Voluntarist." If, in writing for a particular class of minds, he emphasizes the apologetic value of religious experience and the criterion of the practical helpfulness of particular articles of the creed, yet he warns his readers as plainly as any theologian could do, that this must not be understood as a depreciation of the importance of reflection and reasoning.

The printers of these books have done their work well, except for one absurd mistake in the last sentence of the preface to "*Lex Credendi*"—a misprint which mars one of the most beautiful and most familiar sentences of the Imitation. We call attention to it here, both because it is a pity that such a heart-touching sentence should have been spoiled, and because it expresses our feelings toward the distinguished apologist: "*Post hiemem sequitur aestas; post noctem¹ redit dies; et post tempestatem magna serenitas.*" May these things be his! will be the prayer of those who criticise his works from their quiet shores, as much as of any of the troubled souls whom he has saved from greater trouble or helped to attain to peace.

M. J. RYAN.

St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

Indulgences, Their Origin, Nature and Development. By Rev.

A. M. Lépicier, Professor of Divinity in the College of the Propaganda.
Benziger Bros., New York. 1906. Pp. xxiv-500.

This is a learned work, as might be expected from Fr. Lépicier, and is intended as a reply to Mr. H. C. Lea's work on the same subject.

¹ The printer has turned *noctem* into *mortem*.

It would, however, have been better if the denial were omitted of Mr. Lea's great learning, which is an honor to the American intellect in the eyes of the world; and certainly Fr. Lépiciér is altogether astray in supposing that Mr. Lea has any wish to justify the Anglican article concerning Indulgences. From Mr. Lea's standpoint, Anglicanism is scarcely less false and pernicious than Catholicism. The severity, however, is perfectly just with which he speaks of Mr. Lea's anti-Catholic (or rather anti-Christian) prejudices, which deprive him of the power, so invaluable to the historian, of entering dramatically into the ideas, principles, motives, and spirit that have created Catholic institutions and laws. Fr. Lépiciér's views on Development are chiefly noticeable for his recognition of the analogy between organic and ecclesiastical evolution. His views on Plenary Indulgences will be as useful as it is (in our opinion) true.

M. J. RYAN.

Folia Fugitiva. Leaves from the Logbook of St. Erconwald's Deanery, Essex. Edited by Rev. W. H. Cologan. Benziger Bros. 1907. Pp. xii-420.

This volume contains a number of very readable papers, highly creditable to the priests of St. Erconwald's Deanery. But an American naturally turns first to the paper on "Americanism," and is gratified to find a tribute to the loyalty and devotion of all American Catholics to the Holy See.

M. J. RYAN.

The Unseen World. An Exposition of Catholic Theology in its Relation to Modern Spiritism. By Rev. A. M. Lépiciér, O. S. M., Professor of Divinity in the College of the Propaganda, Rome. Benziger Bros. 1906. Pp. 284.

Hypnotism and Spiritism. A Critical and Medical Study. By Dr. J. Lapponi. Translated by Mrs. Philip Gibbs. Longmans, New York. 1907. Pp. xi + 273.

Two hundred and forty years ago, Reginald Glanville, one of the most active advocates of the experimental science, then a novelty, urged upon men of science the duty of recognizing the reality of spiritual phenomena and witchcraft.¹ The masters of experimental science in those days

¹ "A blow at modern Sadducism," republished later in an enlarged form as "Sadducismus Triumphatus," described by Lecky as the ablest defense of the reality of Witchcraft.

could not be induced to notice any but physical phenomena; in our own day, the abnormal psychic phenomena indicated by the names of hypnotism and spiritualism have forced themselves upon everyone's attention; and the deep interest of the subject is indicated by the two books we notice, as well as by the lectures which are being delivered by one of the most distinguished members of the British Society for Psychical Research.

Father Lépiciér's work, which is written on the *a priori* lines of the Summa, and which is as useful as any *a priori* treatment of the subject can be, expressly recognizes the distinction between hypnotic and spiritistic phenomena and the utility of hypnotism in the treatment of nervous diseases. Dr. Lapponi's work is based on observations and on facts recorded in the past as well as in the present. The translation is very well done. Dr. Lapponi's historical statements need to be carefully verified. What, for instance, is meant by his telling us that after A. D. 1750, cruel laws were enacted and severities practiced against occult arts especially in England, Switzerland, and Germany? The last trial for witchcraft in England was in 1712, and the sentence was not executed.

M. J. RYAN.

Stimulus Divini Amoris; that is, The Goad of Divine Love, revised and edited by Rev. W. A. Phillipson, Washbourne, London. Benziger, New York, 1907. Pp. iii + 309.

The Profit of Love. Studies in altruism. By A. A. McGinley; with preface by Rev. G. Tyrrell. Longmans, New York, 1907. Pp. xiv + 291.

The beautiful mediæval book of devotion, first named, is here presented to us in the quaint English of the seventeenth century, revised so as to omit figures of speech not in accordance with modern taste. The revision and editing has been accomplished with great judgment. When the English translation was first published, in the year 1642, the Cromwellian fury against Catholicism and the Catholicization of the Church of England was bursting out in civil war; and by a singular coincidence the book has come to us in its new form, at a time when the Cromwellian attack is renewed with equal malice but not with equal success. The Catholics this time have defeated Oliver just when he thought he had stolen a triumph; and, that the nation has supported the Catholics and "Anglo-Catholics" against the Cromwellians is

chiefly due to the increased acquaintance with Catholic books of devotion.

The Profit of Love, which is introduced by a characteristic preface from Fr. Tyrrell, is a new book of which the greater part appeared in the admirable Catholic periodical *The Dolphin*, now unhappily defunct. The book is intended chiefly for educated women, and especially for those who are concerned in the education of boys or of girls. We seldom have read a book of as noble a tone, or of as much wisdom; and the speculations in it, though not old-fashioned, are quite "safe." We would particularly commend for its spiritual insight the chapter on "The penalties of love" (especially p. 123), and for its practical wisdom, the chapter on "The life of the perfect" (especially pp. 70, 71).

M. J. RYAN.

The Sins of Society. Words spoken by Rev. Fr. D. Vaughan. Kegan Paul, London. Herder, St. Louis, 1907. Pp. xxii + 272.

These sermons which, when they were preached, created a great sensation, owing to an attempt made by non-conformist radicals to turn what was a moral censure on the "vulgar rich" into a political attack upon the aristocracy, are now accompanied by a preface intended to guard them against misrepresentation. No sensible man expects from a moral reformer a delicate sense of proportion or an exact distribution of praise and blame. And we remember that at the time of their delivery, it was shown that the smallest number of children to the family and the largest percentage of divorces in Great Britain belonged to those very non-conformist classes who were so ready to take up the cry; who do more preaching and less practice than any other section of the British people; who are always ready to reform everybody but themselves; and who think that, by reviling their own nation for the advantage of their sect (because the nation is not as vile as themselves) they acquire a character for impartiality that entitles them to revile other nations also, and particularly to meddle in the affairs of Catholic countries.¹

M. J. RYAN.

¹ Dr. Brownson remarks that an Englishman generally should be judged to be the contrary of the principles which he professes. The benevolent and philanthropic man talks prudence or even affects the language of cynicism. The selfish, aggressive and intolerant employ the language of the loftiest liberality and philanthropy. The history of the Non-conformists, from the days of Cromwell to the present day, furnishes much evidence for this view. The "Liberal" party has never been liberal except in the days when it was led by Mr. Gladstone, whose high church following enabled him to keep the non-conformists in their proper place.

Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall. Irish Names and Surnames. Part I.

By the Rev. Patrick Woulfe. Dublin, 1906.

Father Woulfe says in the preface to this little book that its aim "is simply to supply the members of the Gaelic League with the Irish forms of their names and surnames, and to furnish a few rules which will help to secure them a correct grammatical setting." Such an excellent beginning has been made, however, in this primer that the compiler should continue his researches in this field and provide us with an exhaustive thesaurus of Irish names of persons. The work shows painstaking accuracy and the author has gone to the original sources. So far as we have been able to discover, there are no "ghost" words. In reading over the little book, we have been impressed by the arrangement of the material and by the very ingenious, though a little confusing, system of abbreviation by which the various forms of the family names are referred to this or that district of Ireland. Here and there are interesting notes on dialectic usage and what is said on the declension of names is sufficient for the purpose. An interesting addition, which we hope to see in another edition of the work, would be a chapter on the names, such as Doherty, Fahy, Moran, which have assumed different forms within and outside of Ireland according as the stress falls on one or another syllable of the word.

The author asks for additions, variations and corrections. Without going into detail, a rapid reading of the little book has suggested that another heading than "Irish Christian Names" be given to Chapter I. This heading is confusing, because many of the "Christian" names, by which the author means prenomina or given names, are native Gaelic names and, consequently, prechristian. It would add to the clearness, for many readers, if the English equivalents of the Irish names on pages 5 and 6 were given. P. 15, l. 7 from bottom, read *mBúrcach*.

To the list of authorities quoted on pp. 35, 36 might be added *inter alia* the following of more or less value: J. H. Todd, *War of the Gaedhel and the Gall*; A. Bugge, *Caithrem Cellachan Caisil*; *idem*, *On the Fomorians and the Norsemen*; H. Barber, *British Family Names*, 2nd ed., 1904, London; O'Donovan, *Battle of Magh Leana*; O'Donovan, *Battle of Magh Rath* (Ir. Arch. Soc., 1842); Flaherty, *Ogygia*; Aenghus O'Daly, *Tribes of Ireland*; an essay in Thomas Davis' works; Flannery, *For the Tongue of the Gael*, p. 60 ff.; *Proceedings of the R. I. Acad.*; *Polite Lit. and Antiquities*, I, ser. II, March, 1877; H. Zimmer, *Keltische Beiträge in Zeit. f. Deutsches Altertum u. D. Lit.* XXXII, 285, 301; H. Zimmer, *Sitzungsber. der Berlin. Akad.*, 1891,

pp. 302, 303, 306, 315; Nicholson, *Argyll Names of Places*, *passim*; a leaflet on "*Irish Personal Names*," published by John Owens, Dublin.

JOSEPH DUNN.

A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland, Treating of the Government, Military System, and Law; Religion, Learning, and Art; Trades, Industries, and Commerce; Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life, of the Ancient Irish People. By P. W. Joyce, LL. D. Longmans, Green and Co., 1906.

This book is an abridgment of Dr. Joyce's larger work in two stately volumes of more than thirteen hundred pages and more than three hundred illustrations, which was reviewed at length in the *BULLETIN* for January, 1904. What was said there in praise of the epoch-making larger *Social History* applies with equal force to the smaller work which covers the same ground but omits most of the illustrative quotations and proofs and nearly all the references to authorities. Thus a knowledge of the social condition of Ancient Ireland is brought within reach of all and this very readable and interesting account will lead many to follow it up with the author's larger work. This book is, for the general run of readers, perhaps the most valuable that has come out of Ireland in several generations, and we should like to see it find a place with the author's other works on Ireland on the shelves and in the prize-lists of schools and societies that give attention to the political and cultural history of Ireland.

We only regret that there is no index of the Irish words occurring in the text, and that more uniformity had not been followed in the spelling and pronunciation of Irish words, e. g., *kinels*, p. 30 (Older Irish spelling with an English termination); *méirge* [mair-ya], p. 64 (Modern-Irish pronunciation); *Táin Bó Quelna*, p. 66, for the current *Cuailnge* or *Cooley* (cf. p. 235).

JOSEPH DUNN.

PONTIFICAL PROGRAM OF ECCLESIASTICAL STUDIES.

INSTRUCTION OF THE CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND REGULARS TO THE BISHOPS OF ITALY REGULATING THE STUDIES IN ECCLESIASTICAL SEMINARIES.

The following important Instruction has been sent to all the Bishops of Italy in the name of the Holy See. As it represents the directions which the Holy See gives in Italy to the movement for a reformation of theological studies, it cannot but interest all our readers, especially the teachers and students in all diocesan seminaries and theological institutes.

Illustre e Molto Rev. Monsignore come Fratello,

La S. Congregazione dei VV. e RR., avendo avuto dal S. Padre l'incarico di riordinare i Seminari d'Italia, oltre ad aver presi a tal fine speciali provvedimenti, ha creduto opportuno di proporre un Programma generale di studi per uniformare e migliorare l'insegnamento nei Seminari medesimi.

Nell'elaborare il Programma si è preso a base dell'ordinamento degli studi la divisione dei corsi che è stata ormai introdotta in quasi tutti i Seminari, cioè in Ginnasio, Liceo, Teologia.

Per le materie d'insegnamento nel Ginnasio e nel Liceo e per la loro distribuzione, si è ritenuto doversi seguire, con le necessarie modificazioni, i programmi vigenti in Italia; e ciò non perchè siano perfetti, ma principalmente per le seguenti ragioni:

1. I programmi in vigore rappresentano innanzi alla società lo sviluppo della cultura che oggi si richiede, onde l'opinione pubblica circonda naturalmente di maggiore stima coloro che vengono istruiti secondo i medesimi; e il rifiutarli sarebbe mettere il clero, almeno secondo il giudizio di molti, al disotto dei secolari.

2. È da considerare inoltre che i nostri alunni non possono, in via ordinaria, decidersi seriamente sulla loro vocazione allo stato ecclesiastico, se non quando sono giunti a una età più matura: sembra quindi utile di ordinare gli studi in modo che gli alunni possano trovarsi in grado di fornirsi de' titoli legali, e con ciò esser più liberi nella scelta dello stato. Senza dire poi, che detti titoli, anzichè nuocere, saranno giovevoli anche a quelli che Dio si degnerà di chiamare alla vita sacerdotale.

Una saggia e accorta direzione impedirà facilmente, o attenuerà di molto, gl'inconvenienti che potrebbero nascere del caso di alunni che tentassero di rimanere in Seminario, dopo il Ginnasio, al solo scopo di conseguire la licenza liceale.

Finalmente il programma del Liceo non aggiunge alle materie che debbono far parte della Filosofia nei Seminari, se non la continuazione dello studio delle Lettere e della Storia, studio che è necessarissimo anche agli alunni del Santuario, per riuscire *instructi ad omne opus bonum*.

Si è stimato conveniente di premettere un anno di Propedeutica alla Teologia, sia per completare l'insegnamento della Filosofia, sia per esporre alcune materie che non troverebbero facilmente luogo nel corso teologico; ma da questo anno si potrà ottenere la dispensa della S. C. dei VV. e RR. quando venga dimostrato che nel Liceo si è provveduto per una adeguata preparazione alla Teologia.

Per gli studi teologici sono determinate le materie necessarie a renderli completi, e che nondimeno possano comodamente svolgersi in quattro anni.

Si propone poi qualche esempio d'orario che potrà servir di guida ai Perfetti degli Studi.

Tale è il programma che, debitamente approvato dalla suprema autorità del S. Padre, mi pregio di rimettere alla S. V. con la preghiera di far sì, che nel prossimo anno scolastico, il medesimo entri pienamente in vigore per i corsi di studi stabiliti in codesto V. Seminario.

La S. V. è pregata ancora di riferire a questa S. C. circa l'ordinamento scolastico di codesto V. Seminario, come pure di trasmettere l'elenco degl'insegnanti e la lista dei libri di testo adottati.

Nutro ferma fiducia che, grazie alle cure diligenti della S. V., sarà assicurata l'esatta osservanza del programma, la quale contribuirà efficacemente a perfezionare la cultura del clero, ponendolo in grado di compiere, con maggior frutto per le anime, la sua alta missione.

Augurandole dal Signore ogni bene, con riverente stima mi pregio di confermarmi.

Roma, 10 Maggio 1907.

Come Fratello

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Prefetto*.

F. Giustini, *Segretario*.

PROGRAMMA GENERALE DI STUDI

I. — *Divisione del Corso di studi.*

Il Corso di studi in tutti i Seminari d'Italia si divide in Ginnasio, Liceo e Teologia.

II. — *Ginnasio.*

a) Nessuno sarà iscritto alle classi ginnasiali se non presenti il certificato che ne dimostri l'idoneità, per aver compiuto regolarmente le classi precedenti, o non ne superi il relativo esame.

b) Il Ginnasio avrà un corso di cinque anni, diviso in cinque classi, nelle quali s'insegneranno le materie dei programmi vigenti, seguen-
dono anche la distribuzione della ore, in modo però che, da una parte, si dia una certa preferenza alla lingua latina in tutte le classi, e dall'altra, si mettano gli alunni in grado di prendere la licenza ginnasiale.

c) Si assegnerà almeno un'ora per settimana in ogni classe per l'instruzione catechistica.

III. — *Liceo.*

a) Nessuno sia ammesso al Liceo che non abbia regolarmente compiuto le classi ginnasiali, superandone gli esami.

b) Il Liceo sarà diviso in tre classi corrispondenti a tre anni di studio, le quali per le materie e per le ore d'insegnamento si adatteranno ai programmi vigenti, in modo che gli alunni possano prendere la licenza liceale, e d'altra parte si dia più ampio sviluppo alla sana filosofia.

c) Si dovrà assegnare almeno un' ora per settimana al l'insegnamento della religione.

IV. — *Anno preparatorio alla Teologia.*

a) In questo corso, oltre a rendere più profonda la conoscenza della filosofia, si studieranno speciali materie, le quali potranno essere quelle indicate nell' esempio d' orario che si trova in calce di questo programma (*Quadro A*).

b) Nei Seminari dove sarà stabilito questo speciale anno di Propedeutica, lo studio della filosofia nei tre anni di Liceo dovrà comprendere: psicologia, logica e metafisica generale, etica.

c) Dove si ottenesse dispensa da quest'anno, nei tre anni di Liceo, per i chierici aspiranti al sacerdozio, oltre le materie stabilite nei programmi, si dovranno assegnare almeno due ore di più per settimana fosse anche nel giovedì per compire lo studio della filosofia, specialmente di quelle parti che sono necessarie per una adeguata preparazione agli studi teologici.

V. — *Teologia.*

a) La Teologia avrà un corso di quattro anni diviso in quattro classi, con un orario regolare di quattro ore d'insegnamento al giorno.

b) Esso comprenderà le materie seguenti: Luoghi teologici — Introduzione generale e speciale alla S. Scrittura — Esegesi biblica — Teologia dogmatica e sacramentaria — Teologia morale e pastorale — Istituzioni di diritto Canonico — Storia ecclesiastica — Lingua ebraica — Lingua greca — Archeologia ed Arte Sacra — S. Eloquenza e Patristica — S. Liturgia.

VI. — *Disposizioni generali.*

a) Perchè tale programma sia convenientemente eseguito, ogni Seminario abbia un Prefetto degli Studi, eletto dal Vescovo.

b) Al Prefetto spetterà, sempre sotto la dipendenza del Vescovo, la preparazione degli schemi per i professori, la compilazione del Calendario e degli Orari scolastici.

c) Egli — sentito anche il parere de'Professori, che dovrà chiamare a consiglio ogni mese e con più frequenza se lo giudicherà necessario — adatterà al bisogno e anche modificherà i programmi vigenti, distribuirà le ore d'insegnamento de'programmi medesimi, in modo che, salva la sostanza e la preparazione adeguata agli esami di licenza, si possa dare maggior tempo a materie di più grande importanza rispetto al fine de'Seminari, come si è già osservato per il latino nel Ginnasio e per la Filosofia nel Liceo.

d) L'anno scolastico durerà non meno di nove mesi.

e) Il Prefetto degli Studi, con il Consiglio de'Professori, disporrà che alla fine dell'anno si facciano regolari e severi esami di tutte le materie, per la promozione alle classi superiori, fissandone il voto necessario per ottenere la idoneità.

f) Sarà stabilita una sessione per gli esami di riparazione.

g) Le singole materie negli studi liceali e teologici saranno affidate a distinti Professori, i quali potranno, in via eccezionale, essere incaricati dell'insegnamento di qualche materia affine. Si dovrà sempre però evitare ad ogni costo l'inconveniente che una stessa persona abbia troppe ore di insegnamento, con danno evidente degli alunni.

h) Nello svolgimento della propria materia, ciascun Professore adotterà un testo, che spiegherà in modo da poter esaurire dentro l'anno, proporzionatamente e per intero, il programma.

i) Per il Ginnasio ed il Liceo, dovendo seguirsi i programmi vigenti, i libri di testo saranno scelti a norma dei programmi medesimi, avuto naturalmente riguardo all'indole e allo scopo dei Seminari.

k) Per la Filosofia e la Teologia il testo sarà proposto dal Consiglio dei Professori, e sottomesso all'approvazione del Vescovo.

Nota. — Nei Seminari centrali e interdiocesani, i diritti dell'Ordinario spettano al Collegio dei Vescovi cointeressati.

Vidimus et adprobavimus, Venerabilibus fratribus Episcopis fidelem observantiam enixe commendantes.

Die v Maii, festo S. Pii V, anno MCMVII.

PIUS PP. X

QUADRO A.

Esempio d'Orario per la Classe preparatoria alla Teologia.

- 1^a Ora — Tutti i giorni — *De vera Religione.*
 2^a Ora { Lunedì, Mercoledì, Venerdì — *Propedeutica alla Storia Eccl.*
 { Martedì, Sabato — *Greco Biblico.*
 3^a Ora { Lunedì, Mercoledì, Venerdì — *Teodicea.*
 { Martedì, Sabato — *Diritto Naturale.*
 4^a Ora { Lunedì, Mercoledì, Venerdì — *Cosmologia.*
 { Martedì, Sabato — *Storia della Filosofia.*

QUADRO B.

Esempio d'Orario per la Teologia.

Lunedì.

- 1^a Ora — *Luoghi Teologici* — I° anno.
 " — *Teologia Morale* — II°, III° e IV° anno.
 2^a Ora — *Dogmatica* — II°, III° e IV° anno.
 " — *Morale, De actibus Hum., Conscientia, Legibus* — I° anno.
 3^a Ora — *Lingua Ebraica o Greca, Introd. Gen. alla S. Scrittura* — I° e II° anno.
 " — *Istituzioni Canoniche* — III° e IV° anno.
 4^a Ora — *Storia Ecclesiastica* — Tutti gli anni.

Martedì.

- 1ª Ora — *Lingua Ebraica o Greca, Introd. alla S. S.* — I° e II° anno.
 " — *Istituzioni Canoniche* — III° e IV° anno.
 2ª Ora — *Esegesi Biblica* — Tutti gli anni.
 3ª Ora — *Archeologia ed Arte Sacra* — Tutti gli anni.
 4ª Ora — *Storia ecclesiastica* — Tutti gli anni.

Mercoledì.

- 1ª, 2ª, 3ª Ora — Come il Lunedì.
 4ª Ora — *Esegesi Biblica* — Tutti gli anni.

Venerdì.

- 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, 4ª Ora — Come il Lunedì.

Sabato.

- 1ª e 2ª Ora — Come il Lunedì.
 3ª Ora — *Eloquenza Sacra, Patristica* — Tutti gli anni.
 4ª Ora — *Sacra Liturgia* — Tutti gli anni.

N. B.—Pel I° e II° anno è segnata la lingua Ebraica o Greca, perchè il Professore, alternativamente, in un anno insegnerà l'Ebraico e l'Introduzione al Vecchio Testamento, nell' altro insegnerà il Greco e l'Introduzione al Nuovo Testamento.

QUADRO C.

Teologia.

Con l'orario precedente si avranno per ogni settimana.

Pel I° anno.

- 4 Ore di *Lingua Ebraica o Greca e Introd. alla S. S.*
 2 Ore di *Esegesi Biblica.*
 4 Ore di *Luoghi Teologici.*
 4 Ore di *Trattati Fondamentali della Teologia Morale.*
 3 Ore di *Storia ecclesiastica.*
 1 Ora di *Archeologia e Arte Sacra.*
 1 Ora di *Eloquenza Sacra e Patristica.*
 1 Ora di *Sacra Liturgia.*

Totale 20 Ore.

Pel II° anno.

- 4 Ore di *Lingua Ebraica o Greca e Introd. alla S. S.*
- 4 Ore di *Morale.*
- 2 Ore di *Esegesi Biblica.*
- 4 Ore di *Dogmatica.*
- 3 Ore di *Storia ecclesiastica.*
- 1 Ora di *Archeologia e Arte Sacra.*
- 1 Ora di *Eloquenza Sacra e Patristica.*
- 1 Ora di *Sacra Liturgia.*

Totale 20 Ore.

Pel III° e IV° anno.

- 4 Ore di *Morale e Pastorale.*
- 4 Ore di *Dogmatica.*
- 4 Ore di *Istituzioni Canoniche.*
- 3 Ore di *Storia ecclesiastica.*
- 2 Ore di *Esegesi Biblica.*
- 1 Ora di *Archeologia e Arte Sacra.*
- 1 Ora di *Eloquenza Sacra e Patristica.*
- 1 Ora di *Sacra Liturgia.*

Totale 20 Ore.

[TRANSLATION.]

Your Lordship,

The Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, having been charged by the Holy Father to organize the Seminaries of Italy, has not only taken special measures to this end, but has deemed it well to propose a general Programme of Studies in order to unify and improve the teaching in the said Seminaries.

In elaborating the Programme it has been decided to take as the basis of the order of studies the division of the courses which has been already introduced into nearly all the seminaries, namely Gymnasium, Lyceum and Theology.

For the subjects of the courses in the Gymnasium and the Lyceum and for their distribution it has been considered necessary to follow, with the necessary modifications, the programmes in general use in Italy, not because these are perfect, but principally for the following reasons:

1. The programmes in use represent in the eyes of society the development of culture which is required to-day, and as a result public opinion holds in higher esteem those who have been educated according to them, and to reject them would be to put the clergy, at least in the eyes of many, in a position of inferiority to laymen.

2. It is also to be considered that our students cannot as a rule seriously decide whether they have a vocation to the ecclesiastical state until they have reached a certain age; hence it seems well to regulate the studies in such a way that they may be able to provide themselves with the diplomas required by law, and be thus rendered more free in their choice of a state of life. It is not necessary to say that these diplomas will help rather than hurt even those whom God may be pleased to call to the priesthood.

A wise and prudent superintendence will easily prevent, or will at least greatly mitigate the disadvantages arising from cases of students endeavoring to remain in the Seminaries after the Gymnasium for the sole purpose of obtaining the Lyceal licentiate.

Finally the programme of the Lyceum adds nothing to the matters which should form part of the Philosophy course in the Seminaries, except the continuation of the study of Letters and History, a study which is most necessary also for the students of the sanctuary in order that they may be *instructi ad omne opus bonum*.

It has been deemed well to prepare for the Theology Course by a year of Propedeutics, in order to complete the course of Philosophy and to deal with some matters which could not well find a place during the course of Theology; but a dispensation may be had from this year from the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars when it is shown that during the Lyceum adequate preparation has been made for the course of Theology.

For the theological studies rules are given defining the matters necessary to render this course complete and yet capable of being conveniently treated in four years.

Finally a time-table is proposed which may serve as a guide to Prefects of Studies.

Such is the Programme, duly approved by the Supreme Authority of the Holy Father, which I have the honor to communicate to Your Lordship, begging you to provide that it be put in force in the curriculum of your seminary during the next scholastic year.

Your Lordship is also requested to report to this Sacred Congregation the scholastic regulations of your seminary and also to forward the roll of professors and the list of text-books employed.

I cherish the firm hope that, thanks to the diligent care of Your

Lordship, the exact observance of the Programme will be ensured, for this will contribute efficaciously to perfect the culture of the clergy and enable them, with greater fruit for souls, to fulfil their lofty mission.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Prefect.*

F. GIUSTINI, *Secretary.*

I. — *Division of the Course of Studies.*

The course of studies in all the Seminaries of Italy is divided into Gymnasium, Lyceum, and Theology.

II. — *Gymnasium.*

a) No student shall be admitted to the classes of the Gymnasium unless he present a certificate of fitness, showing that he has regularly completed the preceding classes, and pass the entrance examination.

b) The course of the Gymnasium shall be one of five years divided into five classes, during which shall be taught the matters of the programmes in general use, and the same table-time shall be followed, but in such a way as to give a certain preference to Latin in all the classes while at the same time qualifying the students to pass the examination of the Gymnasial licentiate.

c) At least one hour a week shall be assigned in every class for catechetical instruction.

III. — *Lyceum.*

a) No student shall be admitted to the Lyceum unless he have regularly gone through the classes of the Gymnasium and passed the examinations.

b) The Lyceum shall be divided into three classes, corresponding with the three years of the course, and these classes shall correspond both with regard to the subjects and to the time-tables with the programmes in general use, in such a way that the students shall be prepared to pass the Lyceal licentiate and at the same time a more ample development be given to sound philosophy. (See IV, b and c).

c) At least one hour a week shall be assigned for religious instruction.

IV. — *Year of Preparation for Theology.*

a) In this course the students besides acquiring a more profound knowledge of philosophy, shall study other matters, which may be those indicated in the time-table appended, under *Section A.*

b) In the Seminaries where this year of Propedeutics shall be established the study of philosophy in the three years of the Lyceum shall embrace psychology, logic, general metaphysics, ethics.

c) Where a dispensation for this year has been obtained, clerics aspiring to the priesthood shall during the three years of the Lyceum, in addition to the matters contained in the Programme, have assigned to them at least two hours a week, if necessary even on Thursdays, for the completion of the study of philosophy, and especially of those parts of philosophy which are necessary for an adequate preparation for theological studies.

V. — *Theology.*

a) The course of Theology shall be one of four years, divided into four classes, with a regular time-table of four hours a day of teaching.

b) It shall embrace the following matters: Loci theologici, General and Particular Introduction to the Sacred Scripture, Biblical Exegesis, Dogmatic Theology and the Sacraments, Moral and Pastoral Theology, Institutions of Canon Law, Ecclesiastical History, Hebrew, Greek, Sacred Archeology and Art, Sacred Eloquence and Patrology, Liturgy.

VI. — *General Regulations.*

a) In order that this Programme may be properly carried out every Seminary shall have a Prefect of Studies, who is to be elected by the Bishop.

b) To the Prefect, always under the superintendence of the Bishop, shall appertain the preparation of the course of lectures for the Professors, the compilation of the Calendar and of the scholastic time-tables.

c) After having consulted with the Professors, whom he is to assemble in council every month and more frequently should he judge it necessary, the Prefect of Studies shall apply or even modify the programme in general use, arrange the hours of teaching according to these programmes in such a way as to observe the substance of them and leave them adequate for the examinations of the licentiate, while at the same time allowing more time for matters of greater importance for the scope of the Seminaries, as has been above observed for Latin in the Gymnasium and Philosophy in the Lyceum.

d) The scholastic year shall last for not less than nine months.

e) The Prefect of Studies with the Board of Professors shall arrange that at the end of the year searching examinations be held regularly in all the matters, for promotion to the higher classes, and decide on the number of votes required for a pass.

f) A session for supplementary examinations shall be established for those who have failed to pass in the first examination.

g) The different matters in the Lyceal and Theological courses shall be entrusted to good Professors, who may also, by way of exception, be charged with teaching some branch kindred to their own. But in all cases care must be taken that no Professor be burdened with too many hours of teaching, to the evident loss of the students.

h) Each Professor in treating his subject shall employ a text-book, which he shall explain in such a way as to complete the annual course marked out in the Programme.

i) For the Gymnasium and the Lyceum, as the programmes in general use are to be followed, the text-books shall be selected in conformity with these programmes, due regard of course being paid to the nature and scope of the Seminaries.

k) For Philosophy and Theology the text-book shall be proposed by the Board of Professors, and submitted for the approval of the Bishop.

NOTE.—In the central and interdiocesan seminaries the rights of the Ordinary belong to the body of Bishops interested.

We have seen and approved, warmly commending to Our Venerable Brothers the Bishops the faithful observance of the above.

May 5, Feast of St. Pius V, Anno MCMVII.

PIUS X POPE.

APPENDIX.

SECTION A. A TIME-TABLE FOR THE CLASS OF PREPARATION FOR THEOLOGY.

First hour.—Every day: “De vera religione.”

Second hour.—Monday, Wednesday and Friday: “Propedeutics to Ecclesiastical History;” Tuesday and Saturday: “Biblical Greek.”

Third hour.—Monday, Wednesday and Friday: “Theodicea;” Tuesday and Saturday: “Natural Law.”

Fourth hour.—Monday, Wednesday and Friday: “Cosmology;” Tuesday and Saturday: “History of Philosophy.”

SECTION B. A TIME-TABLE FOR THEOLOGY.

Monday, first hour.—First year: “Loci Theologici;” second, third and fourth year: “Moral Theology.”

Second hour.—Second, third and fourth year: "Dogma;" first year: "Moral, De actibus humanis, Conscientia, Legibus."

Third hour.—First and second year: "Hebrew or Greek, Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures;" third and fourth year: "Institutions of Canon Law."

Fourth hour, for all years: "Hebrew or Greek, Introduction to Ecclesiastical history."

Tuesday, first hour.—First and second year: "The Sacred Scriptures;" third and fourth year: "Institutions of Canon Law."

Second hour, all four years: "Biblical Exegesis."

Third hour, all four years: "Sacred Archæology and Art."

Fourth hour, all four years: "Ecclesiastical History."

Wednesday, first, second and third hour as on Monday.

Fourth hour, all four years: "Biblical Exegesis."

Friday, as on Monday.

Saturday, first and second hour, as on Monday.

Third hour, all four years: "Sacred Eloquence, Patrology."

Fourth hour, all four years: "Sacred Liturgy."

SECTION C. THEOLOGY.

With the foregoing time-table, the plan of lectures works out as follows:

For the first year: four hours of "Hebrew or Greek, and Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures;" two hours of "Biblical Exegesis;" four hours of "Locī Theologici;" four hours of "Fundamental treatises of Moral Theology;" three hours of "Ecclesiastical History;" one hour of "Sacred Archæology and Art;" one hour of "Sacred Eloquence and Patrology;" one hour of "Sacred Liturgy." Total, twenty hours.

For the second year: Four hours of "Hebrew or Greek and Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures;" four hours of "Moral;" two hours of "Biblical Exegesis;" four hours of "Dogma;" three hours of "Ecclesiastical History;" one hour of "Sacred Archæology and Art;" one hour of "Sacred Eloquence and Patrology;" one hour of "Sacred Liturgy." Total, twenty hours.

For the third and fourth years: four hours of "Moral and Pastoral Theology;" four hours of "Institutions of Canon Law;" three hours of "Ecclesiastical History;" two hours of "Biblical Exegesis;" one hour of "Sacred Archæology and Art;" one hour of "Sacred Eloquence and Patrology;" one hour of "Sacred Liturgy." Total, twenty hours.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Vacation Notes.—At the Convention of the Catholic Educational Association, held in Milwaukee July 9-11, the Right Rev. Rector of the University, President of the Association, presided at the General Meetings, and gave the address of welcome to the delegates. In the Seminary Department Rev. Dr. Shahan read a paper on Latin in Our Seminaries. Rev. Drs. Pace, Shields, Melody and Turner took part in the discussions in the College and School departments. The Right Rev. Rector of the University was re-elected President of the Association, and His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons was elected Honorary President.—Dr. Bolling is spending the summer months in Berlin, preparing an edition of the *Atharva-Veda*.—Dr. Dunn lectured at the Catholic Summer School, Cliff Haven, N. Y., on the Poetry of the Ancient Irish.

The Knights of Columbus and the Catholic University.—The *Columbiad*, the official publication of the Knights of Columbus, announces that at the recent annual meeting of the Supreme Council of the Order favorable action was taken on the motion to undertake the raising of a fund of \$500,000 for the Catholic University. The details of this generous action will be announced later, when the various local Councils to which the matter has been referred will have been heard from.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

"Let there be progress, therefore ; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commons*, c. 6.

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